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THE HISTORY OF

BRITISH INDIA.

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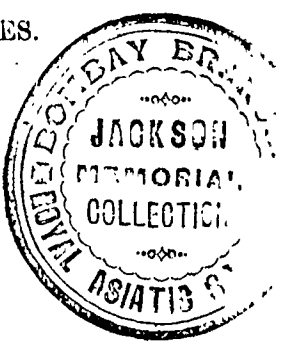
FROM 1805 TO 1835.

HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

[redacted]R OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA, AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

IN THREE VOLUMES.

VOLUME I.



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THE HISTORY
OF BRITISH INDIA,
BY
MILL & WILSON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VII.

ADVERTISEMENT.

WHEN I consented to carry a new edition of Mill's History of British India through the press, I engaged to continue the History to the date at which the East India Company's charter was last renewed. The engagement was somewhat ill-considered. It was acceded to, under an anticipation that the task could be accomplished with comparative facility, as a residence in Bengal, during nearly the entire interval, had made me familiar with the general course of the events which had occurred, and some of which I had, at various times attempted to record. It was soon evident that I had much miscalculated.

However lively the impression which had been made by the interesting and important character of the transactions I had witnessed, I felt it to be my duty, before undertaking to narrate them, to consult all the available authorities of an original and authentic description in which they were to be traced. Foremost among these

were the valuable but voluminous Records at the India House; an unreserved access to which was readily granted by Sir John Hobhouse, the President of the Board of Controul, and W. B. Bayley, Esq., then Chairman of the Court of Directors. The obligation of making use of this privilege, however imperfectly, has caused an amount of labour and expenditure of time far exceeding my expectations.

Beside the manuscript volumes, to which the great bulk of the Records is necessarily confined, very extensive portions of them have been occasionally printed by order of Parliament, or under the authority of the Court of Directors. To these, also, it was necessary to refer, and the reference was not effected without incurring additional trouble and delay.

The third and last class of authorities to which extensive application has been made, consists of the published accounts of persons engaged or interested in the occurrences which they have related. There is a great body of contemporary evidence of this description, varying in merit and in weight, but exacting attention from all who wish to obtain an accurate knowledge of the origin and progress of events. The perusal in more or less detail of as many publications of this class as I could meet with has contributed to retard the completion of my task beyond the limits within which I had trusted that it would have been concluded.

I have thought it necessary thus to account for the delay which has occurred, and which is not yet at an end. It has been occasioned by an anxious wish to offer to the public an historical work in which they may place some trust. Whether that object has been attained, remains to be determined; but the desire to merit confidence will, perhaps, be accepted as a sufficient excuse for the apparent tardiness of the writer.

H. H. Wilson.

London,
25*th November*, 1844.

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OF

BRITISH INDIA.

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FROM THE CONCLUSION OF PEACE WITH THE MAHRATTAS, 1805, TO THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1813.

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General View of the Political State of India.— Relations of the British Government with the Native States.—Accessions of Territory.— Protection of Shah Alem.— Bundelkhand, Sketch of its History and Condition.— NATIVE PRINCES.—Mohammedans.—KING OF DELHI.— *Conduct of Prince Jehangir.*—NAWAB OF OUDE.— *Vicious Administration of the Principality.*—NIZAM OF HYDERABAD. —*Discontent.— Determination of the British Government to maintain the Alliance.—Career of Raja Mahipat Ram. — Death of Mir Alem.*—Hindus.—Mahrattas.—PESHWA. — *Attempts to recover his Political Consideration.*— GAEKWAR.—*Pecuniary Embarrassments.— British Interference.— Settlement of Kattiwar.— Intrigues at Baroda.* RAJA OF BERAR.— *Dissatisfaction.— Relinquishment of Sambhalpur.*— SINDHIA.— *Pecuniary Difficulties.— Decline of Power.— Quarrels at his Court.— Conduct to Bhopal.*— HOLKAR.— *Exactions from the surrounding States.—Death of his Nephew, Kandi Rao,—of his Brother, Kasi Rao.—Derangement.—Tulasi Bhai, Regent.*— AMIR KHAN.— *His Rise and Power.*— Rajputs.— RANA

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1805.

OF UDAYPUR.—RAJAS OF JODHPUR AND JAYPUR.— *Contest for the Hand of Krishna Kumari, Princess of Udaypur.—Mahratta Extortion.—Application of Jaypur for British Interference,—refused.—Policy of Holkar and Sindhia.— Amir Khan joins the Rana.— Death of the Princess.— Other Rajput Princes.* — BIKANER, KOTA, BUNDI, MACHERI.—Jats.—RAJA OF BHURTPORE.— RANA OF GOHUD.— *Treaty with him annulled.*—Sikhs, *their Origin and Constitution.— Rise of Ranjit Sing.— Remarks.*

THE recent hostilities between the British Government of India and the chiefs of the principal Mahratta states had entirely altered the relative position of the contending parties, and had engendered the elements of still more momentous change.

The Mahrattas had occupied through the latter half of the eighteenth century the chief place amongst the native states of India: they had brought under their sway the widest and most valuable portions of Hindustan, and had possessed themselves of the name and person of the Emperor of Delhi. On the first occasion on which they had come into collision with the British arms, they had inflicted upon them discomfiture and discredit; and they had plunged into the late struggle, strong both in military resources and reputation, and confident that they should rid themselves of a dangerous and encroaching rival. The result had disappointed their hopes and accelerated the aggrandisement of that power which they had trusted to overthrow.

In the outset of the contest, native opinion had inclined to the Mahrattas; the close of the war had shaken belief in their superiority. Still, however, much of the prepossession in their favour survived their reverses, and the full consequences of the encounter seem to have been but imperfectly appreciated, even by those who had been engaged in the strife. Engrossed by the care of providing for immediate pecuniary embarrassments, the British Government overlooked all political considerations; and, in its impatience to relieve financial pressure, threw away some actual and some prospective advantages, shrunk from the commanding elevation to which it had been raised, and

by unseasonable moderation disseminated doubts of its vigour, and held out encouragement to future aggression. The Mahratta leaders, justly ascribing much of their adversity to internal disunion, misinterpreting the motives of their enemy's forbearance, and fretting under the losses and indignities they had sustained, accustomed themselves to undervalue the resources and energies of their conquerors, and to look forward to some favourable opportunity of repairing their reputation and recovering their territory. At the same time, with the improvidence inseparable from the character of Indian princes, they set on foot no adequate preparations for the realisation of their purposes. Instead of profiting by the experience of the past, and the respite which had been granted to them; instead of husbanding their means, consolidating their power, and cementing that union in which alone lay their safety, they wasted their strength in a petty and predatory warfare with the princes of Rajputana, or in intestine dissensions; and with territories almost depopulated, revenues utterly exhausted, troops wholly disorganized, and mutual animosities incurably exacerbated, they again provoked the resentment of the British Government when in the full exercise of its energies, and awakened to a clear perception of its true interests and of those of Hindustan. The last act of this extraordinary drama was then consummated. The Marquis of Hastings completed what Clive had begun, and all India acknowledged the supremacy of Great Britain.

As some time intervened before the predominance of the British power throughout India was finally established, we may, for the present, pause to contemplate the political condition of the country at the period at which the narrative recommences; and for a few years following; so as to form a correct notion of the extent of British dominion and authority, and of the circumstances and objects of the principal native states. We shall thus be better able to understand the character of those transactions which led to a renewal of the struggle, and to the final attainment of that commanding attitude which the British Government, after repeated proofs of forbearance, was at last compelled to assume.

The capture of Seringapatam and death of Tippoo

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1805.

Sultan, in 1799, put an end to all fear of any formidable enmity in the south of India. Those events had added largely to the Company's territory in the Peninsula,[1] and had restored the principality of Mysore to the representative of its former Hindu Rajas, on conditions the avowed intentions of which were, the entire command of the resources of the country in time of war, and a general controuling power over its government in time of peace. Tribute under the denomination of subsidy was also imposed upon the Raja, and provision was made for appropriating the whole of the revenue, subject to a pension to be paid to him in the event of his failing to fulfil his obligations.[2] The Raja, Krishna Raja Udayávar, was a minor, and the administration of the affairs of the state was intrusted to a native minister named Purnia, a Brahmin, a man of ability and judgment who distinctly understood the position in which Mysore was placed, and its entire dependance upon the power to which it owed its existence. As long as he lived, the connexion was maintained in a spirit of sincere submission on the part of the inferior, and of implicit confidence on that of the superior; rendering Mysore virtually an integral portion of the British Indian Empire.

The western coast of the Peninsula was, with a few exceptions, British territory. At the southern extremity, the petty states of Cochin and Travancore were governed by their own Rajas. These princes had been rescued by the interposition of the British arms. from the tyrannny of Tippoo, and had agreed to pay a stipulated subsidy for the protection which they received.[3] The amount had, however, been determined without an equitable regard to

[1] By the Partition Treaty of Mysore, July 1799, territory yielding an annual revenue of 13,74,000 Cantarai Pagodas was reserved to the Mysore Raja. To the Company was assigned a portion that was valued at C. Rs. 7,77,000; to the Nizam lands to the amount of C. Rs. 6,07,000, and of C. Rs. 2,63,957 to the Peshwa. The shares of the two latter were subsequently transferred to the Company. — Collection of Treaties and Engagements with Native Princes and States of Asia, published in 1812, p. 441.

[2] Treaty with Mysore, 8th July, 1799, and supplementary treaties, 1803 and 1807.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 454, 248, 302.

[3] The Raja of Cochin was made to pay to the Company a lakh of rupees annually; treaty, 1791.—Collection of Treaties, p. 421. An agreement was made in 1788 with the Raja of Travancore, by which he engaged to subsidize two battalions of Sipahis. In 1795, he agreed to maintain constantly one battalion. This was extended, in 1797, to three battalions, and one company of European artillery. In 1805, the Raja was compelled to pay for a fourth battalion.—Collection of Treaties, pp. 174, 170, 283.

the advantages for which it was an equivalent, or to the sources from which it was derived.[1] The demand became an exaction, and the payment speedily fell into arrear. A perpetual and undignified interchange of requisition and evasion ensued, and mutual dissatisfaction was the unavoidable result. This was more especially the case with the Raja of Travancore, as, upon the plea of danger from the designs of France, an additional subsidy had been levied upon him subsequently to the capture of Seringapatam; and, as he neither understood nor dreaded the peril, the cost of arming against its occurrence was felt to be both onerous and unjust. Discontent and indignation were consequently brooding over the councils of Travancore, and their dictates shortly afterwards impelled the Raja to an unavailing effort to throw off the burden under which he laboured.

Proceeding along the Malabar coast towards the north, a few districts of limited extent were subject to petty Mahratta chiefs, feudatories of Poona; and Goa, and a narrow territory around it, still remained to the Portuguese: as amicable relations subsisted with the superior states, the subordinate character of these dependencies, as well as their insignificance, divested them of all political consideration. Goa, indeed, was occupied by an English garrison. Farther to the north, the coast belonged to the Gaekwar or ruler of Guzerat; whom a subsidiary treaty, and a connexion of the most intimate nature, attached inseparably to the interests of the British Government. Cutch, the adjacent country to the west, although independent, was distracted by civil broils, the chief parties in which appealed for assistance to the Presidency of Bombay. Sindh, the boundary province of India in this direction, was governed by independent princes, who had shown themselves disinclined to entertain any correspondence with the Company's authorities. They exercised little or no influence upon the politics of India, as their situation and circumstances restricted their inter-

[1] The gross revenue of Cochin was estimated at five lakhs of rupees, from which the charges of collection were to be deducted. The tribute was therefore about one-fourth of the net receipts. The total revenues of Travancore, in 1807, were estimated by the Resident at twenty lakhs of rupees: the Company's claim was nearly eight lakhs.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1805.

course in a great degree to their western and northern neighbours, the Baluchis and Afghans.

The whole of the eastern or Coromandel coast of the Peninsula was British, with the exception of a small tract occupied by the Danish settlement of Tranquebar. The Nawab of the Carnatic, and the Raja of Tanjore, had been deprived of territorial revenue and political importance, and had been reduced to the irrevocable condition of pensioners of the East India Company. The province of Cuttack, which, under the Mahratta government of Berar, had intercepted the communication between the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras, now served to connect them; as it had been taken from the Raja in the late war, and had been permanently annexed to the Company's possessions, which now extended along the whole line of coast from the Gulph of Manar to the Delta of the Ganges.

Important additions to the British dominions in Hindustan had been effected by treaty or conquest during the administration of Marquis Wellesley. At its commencement, the Bengal Presidency was bounded on the north by the course of the Gandak river, and by the confluence of the Ganges and the Jumna. The cession of Gorakhpur by the Nawab Vizir, Sádat Ali, carried the boundary across the Gandak to the foot of the mountains of Nepal; and the transfer of the lower Doab, Furruckabad, and Bareilly, by the same prince, extended the British authority over the country of the Rohillas. The victorious career of Lord Lake rescued the upper provinces of the Doab from Mahratta spoliation, and brought them as far as to the north-west of Delhi under British influence or rule. Of the conquests on the west bank of the Jumna, a narrow strip of land alone had been retained; but its value was more than commensurate with its extent, as it included the important cities of Agra, Mathura, and Delhi,—the first celebrated for its reliques of Mogul magnificence, the second sanctified by the religious veneration of the Hindus, and the third selected in every age of the history of India for the capital of those Hindu and Mohammedan monarchs who aspired to the universal sceptre of Hindustan. Along with this imperial city, the British became possessed of the person and family of the representative

of the fallen dynasty of Timur, the venerable Shah Alem, alike distinguished by his descent and his misfortunes. Indebted to the British in the dawn of life for safety and support, he had passed through manhood to old age amidst an unvarying succession of danger, tumult, treachery, and disaster, and was happy to end his days in peace and security under the shelter of his early friends. However trifling the accession to the real power of the victors which might be thought to accrue from their holding in their hands the titular sovereign of Hindustan, and although the charge was not unattended by circumstances of anxiety and embarrassment, yet that the keeping of the person of Shah Alem was not devoid of political value might be inferred from the eagerness with which the prize had been disputed by military adventurers both Mohammedans and Hindus, and by the weight which chieftains the most lawless, and princes the most powerful, still attached to an order or a grant that bore the seal of the emperor, even though the document conferred but a nominal title to the honours and possessions which it purported to bestow. Shah Alem himself was an object of general sympathy, from the injuries or indignities which he had undergone from his own rebellious servants or his Mahratta allies; and the respectful and benevolent treatment which he experienced from his new guardians contrasted favourably with the conduct pursued towards him by their predecessors. There can be no doubt that the change was most acceptable to the Mohammedans of Hindustan, and contributed essentially to conciliate their good-will, and gain their allegiance.

The greater portion of the territory on the west of the Jumna which had been wrested from the Mahrattas was precipitately relinquished by Marquis Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow, but on the south-west the extensive province of Bundelkhand was permanently comprehended within the limits of the Presidency of Bengal. The district had been ceded by the Peshwa in commutation of territory in the south of India, which he had at first assigned to the Company in place of the amount which he had agreed to pay for a subsidiary force.[1] At the time

[1] The annual revenue of these lands was computed to be 26 lakhs of rupees. reaty of Bassein, 1802. Portions to the value of 19 lakhs were restored to

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when this exchange was effected, the authority of the Peshwa over any part of Bundelkhand was little more than nominal, and his claims were at best of a questionable character, as will be evident upon a brief review of the history of the province.

The Rajas of Bundelkhand pretend to trace their pedigree from the Solar dynasty of Hindu kings; Kusa, one of the sons of the mytho-heroic prince Ramachandra, having, it is said, migrated from Ayodhyá or Oude, and settled in Bundelkhand. The traditions of the Hindus in general do not countenance such a genealogy; and it seems not unlikely that the Bundela tribe were foreigners and conquerors, who immigrated into the country[1] in comparatively modern times. They long struggled, with varied success, to maintain their independence against the Mohammedan kings of Delhi; but they sunk under a vigorous effort made in the beginning of the reign of Shah Jehan, and were compelled to acknowledge, for a season, the supremacy of the Mogul. This state of things was of no long duration: encouraged by the distracted condition of the empire during the latter years of Shah Jehan's reign, a chieftain named Champat Rai[2] led the way to the reassertion of the national independence. The task was prosecuted with improved success by his more celebrated son Chatrasál, and a new dynasty was founded by the latter, which reigned over the eastern division of the province: the western division was restored to the representatives of the ancient Rajas, who, however, renewed their professions of fealty to the throne of Delhi.

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the Peshwa, in lieu of which he ceded territory in Bundelkhand of the estimated annual value of 36 lakhs. Supplementary treaty, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 233, 242.

[1] Bundel-khand, "the portion of the Bundela," is not named in any ancient writings or inscriptions. The country is denominated Chaidya, the land of the Chedi, or Chandel, the name still borne by the agricultural population. The term Bundela is confined to the military chiefs, who never condescend to engage in the cultivation of the soil, and of whom the first is said to have been Devada Bir, a Rajput, who invaded and occupied the country some time in the 14th century.—Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Capt. J. Franklin; Tr. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

[2] Authorities differ with respect to the birth and station of Champat Rai. One account makes him an officer in the service of the Raja of Urcha.—Franklin, as above. Another affirms his being a member of the ruling dynasty, and Raja of Urcha himself.—Pogson, Hist. of the Bundelas, p. 44. This could scarcely have been the case, although he might have been a kinsman of the Raja.

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The elevation of Chatrasál to the rank and power of Raja, took place towards the end of the reign of Aurangzeb. The successors of that emperor, unable to make good their pretensions to supremacy, acknowledged the new Raja. In the reign of Mohammed Shah, however, Bangash Khan, the Afghan governor of Allahabad, fell suddenly upon Chatrasál with an overwhelming force, and dispossessed him of his dominions. Chatrasál had recourse to the Mahrattas, who, under the first Peshwa, Baji Rao, were at this time advancing slowly through Kandesh and Malwa to Hindustan. The opportunity of establishing their ascendancy in Bundelkhand, which was afforded by the application of the Raja, was promptly embraced; and Baji Rao, with a large force, surprised and defeated Bangash Khan, who was glad to escape with his life. The Mohammedan yoke was now thrown off for ever, but one not less oppressive was imposed, in the domination of the Mahrattas. In the first instance they replaced Chatrasál in his principality; but upon his death, which happened not long afterwards, the Peshwa, whom he had adopted as a son, succeeded by virtue of that adoption to one-third of the territory:[1] the other two-thirds were equally divided between the two sons of Chatrasál; one of whom, Hirdi Sah, became Raja of Panna; the other, Jagat Sah of Jetpur.[2]

It was a condition of the arrangement made in favour of the Peshwa, that the government of Poona should guarantee to the descendants of Chatrasál, the portions of the inheritance set apart for his sons. The stipulation was for some time faithfully observed; the sons of Chatrasál enjoyed their portions in peace, and parcelled them at their death amongst their posterity. Their example was imitated by their successors, subdivisions were infinitely

[1] The Mahratta records assert that this disposition of his Raj was the spontaneous effect of the Raja's gratitude.—Grant Duff, Hist. of the Mahrattas, i. 515. It is more probable that the cession was the price of the Peshwa's assistance, as intimated in the Seir Mutakherin, i. 232. In the memoirs of Amir Khan, it is stated, that, after the expulsion of the Afghan, Chatrasál adopted the Peshwa, and at once divided his Raj into four parts, of which he retained one, and apportioned the other three between the Peshwa and his sons. Govind Pandit was nominated manager of the Peshwa's share, which included Sagár, Jhansi, and Kalpi, or a line of country in the centre of the province from the Nerbudda to the Jumna, by which the Mahrattas could readily march from the Dekhin to the Doab.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 55.

[2] The Raja of Panna, and the Rajas of Ajaygerh, Charkari, Bijawar, Jetpur, and Sarili, are respectively descended from these princes.

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multiplied, and Bundelkhand was filled with a swarm of petty Rajas too weak to defend themselves against Mahratta aggression, and too turbulent to refrain from those mutual hostilities by which their weakness was aggravated: the state of confusion and anarchy into which the province was thrown by the intestine divisions of its rulers, offered it as a tempting bait to military adventure; and a follower of Sindhia, Ali Bahadur, was induced to avail himself of the favourable opportunity.

Ali Bahadur[1] was a Sirdar of some repute in the service of the Peshwa when he was despatched by Nana Furnavez, the minister of Poona, with a body of troops to co-operate with Madhoji Sindhia in his incursion into Hindustan. He bore an efficient part in the operations which gave Delhi and Shah Alem to Sindhia, but was not altogether satisfied with the requital which his exertions received. Ali Bahadur,[2] therefore, quitted Sindhia, and, at the instigation of Himmat Bahadur, who was the military leader and spiritual head of a large body of armed Gosains, combining the characters of religious vagrants and mercenary soldiers, and who had acquired
A.D. 1790. some territory in Bundelkhand, he marched into the province with a considerable force, and in a few years reduced under his authority the greater part of the territories which had been distributed amongst the unworthy descendants of Chatrasál. The stronghold of Kalinjar alone resisted his impetuosity, and, after a siege of two years,
A.D. 1802. he died in camp before its walls.[3] He left two sons, Shamshir Bahadur, and Zulfikar Ali. The former at the

[1] The father of Ali Bahadur, Shamshir Bahadur, was the son of the Peshwa Baji Rao, a Brahman, by a Mohammedan woman. Agreeably to the ancient Hindu law, he was of the caste, which in this case was equivalent to the religion, of his mother; a characteristic illustration of the laxity of manners of the Mahratta court, and of Hindu indifference to religious creeds.

[2] According to Malcolm, Ali Bahadur separated from Sindhia upon the advance of the latter to Delhi.—Central India. Grant Duff states the separation to have taken place after the capture of Delhi.—Hist. Mahr. iii. 75. The Memoirs of Amir Khan (p. 86) assert that he invaded Bundelkhand by command of the Peshwa. He no doubt professed to act as the Peshwa's officer, and hoisted the Zari Patka or regal standard of Poona.

[3] Ali Bahadur, to evince his determination not to relinquish the siege until the capture of the fortress, caused a house to be built near the fort for his residence. The Kiladar, not to be surpassed in bravado, sent him a present of some mango-seeds to sow in the garden to be attached to the new edifice, with an intimation that he might hope to take Kalinjar when the seeds should have grown to trees, and the trees should have borne fruit.—Pogson's Bundelas, p. 122.

date of his father's death was at Poona: the latter, who was an infant, was thereupon raised to the principality by his uncle Ghani Bahadur; but Shamshir Bahadur speedily arrived to vindicate his claim to the succession, put his uncle to death, and assumed the sovereignty over his father's conquests. He was not long able to maintain his authority.

The exchange of territory accomplished by the Peshwa was a genuine exemplification of Mahratta diplomacy, for it transferred to the British government the trouble of enforcing claims of questionable validity, and granted to them districts over which the court of Poona had never exercised actual sovereignty. The cessions were taken chiefly from the recent conquests of Ali Bahadur, whose right had neither become confirmed by time, nor by the recognition of the subjugated people; and whose possessions, although, inasmuch as they had fallen to a subject and officer of the Peshwa, they might be considered as in some degree dependent upon the head of the Mahratta state, yet had never acknowledged such dependence, nor contributed in any manner to his power or resources. The attempt of Shamshir Bahadur to establish himself in the country which his father had conquered, was as much opposed to the pretensions of the Peshwa, as to the claims of the English founded upon them, and he was consequently treated as the enemy of both. His father's friend and coadjutor, the Gosain Himmat Bahadur, foreseeing the inability of Shamshir Bahadur to resist this combination against him, speedily made terms with the British, and joined their forces on their advance into Bundelkhand. After an ineffectual show of resistance, Shamshir Bahadur was content to desist from opposition, and to accept a pension for himself and for his family, with permission to reside at Banda.[1] Himmat Bahadur soon after died; his armed bands were dismissed upon the return of peace, and his descendants were settled upon a Jagir in the Doab.[2] So far, little difficulty was found in the introduction of British authority into those portions of Bundel-

[1] The titular Nawab of Banda is at present Zulfikar Ali, the brother of Shamshir Bahadur, who resides near Banda, and receives a pension of four lakhs of rupees.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 283.

[2] Sekandra, in the district of Cawnpore. Ibid. p. 287.

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1808. The establishment of a government in Bundelkhand that proclaimed order and insisted upon obedience was, however, no easy task. The feuds of the numerous petty Rajas, and the depredations of the Mahrattas, had filled the country with military adventurers, few of whom had other means of supporting themselves and their followers than levying contributions on the peaceable inhabitants, and plundering those who resisted their exactions. Nor did they respect the new acquisitions of the Company; and, as these had been left imperfectly guarded by the precipitate dismissal of the irregular battalions which, during the war, had been taken into British pay, and by the improvident reduction of the regular force below the necessity for its services, the leaders of the marauding bands were long suffered to disturb the tranquillity of the country, and prevent its return to order and good government. The inhabitants themselves, a bold and resolute race, habituated to the use of arms, and unaccustomed to legal controul, were little inclined to submit to civil jurisdiction or fiscal regulations; and, when unable to resist the enforcement of the laws or the collection of the revenues, they deserted their villages and augmented the ranks of the banditti. Where this was not the case, they not unfrequently entered into a compact with the predatory leaders to defraud the state of its dues, by paying to them a sum less than the public demand, and receiving in return an acquittance for the whole. With this evidence of their having been compelled to pay their revenue, they claimed exemption from farther payment, alleging, with sufficient plausibility, that a government, which could not defend them, could not claim fulfilment of their obligations, and pleading the impossibility of their paying double the amount at which they were assessed. The plea was admitted, until its collusive origin was detected, and the refusal to grant exemptions on this account tended to put a stop to the fraud; but not until a loss of revenue had been sustained, the amount of which would have economically defrayed the expense of a protecting military force. Both the marauding chiefs, and the refractory villagers, derived support in their resistance to government, from

the numerous small forts with which the province was studded: at the time of its occupation there were not fewer than one hundred and fifty within the limits of the Company's acquired territory, the greater proportion of which were eventually demolished, but not without opposition.

Amidst the many strongholds which were erected in Bundelkhand, two were remarkable for their position and strength. These were Ajaygerh and Kalinjar. They were both in the hands of adventurers who had risen to power by the usual methods of military rapine and violence, and who, by their own armed adherents, or the marauding hordes to whom they afforded shelter, spread desolation and alarm through the adjacent country. A vigorous effort, early made, might have planted the British standard on their walls with little difficulty; but as it was the policy of the Government to conciliate, where to suppress and overawe would be attended with expense, it was determined, in the councils of Calcutta, that "a certain extent of dominion, local power and revenue, would be cheaply sacrificed for tranquillity and security within a more contracted circle." It was argued, that "it was not to be apprehended that the furtive depredations of roving banditti could be supposed to have intimidated the military power which had overthrown the combined force of the Mahratta confederacy, and that there was every reason to believe that the concessions which were proposed were not calculated to excite a renewal of the disorders by which they had been obtained."[1] Upon these principles, falsified as they were by the history of all past ages, and opposed to the opinions and recommendations of the principal civil and military functionaries, and of the Commander-in-Chief,[2] the occupants of Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were left in possession of their fortresses; and to them[3] and to other usurping chiefs the Government granted

[1] MS. Records. Proceedings of Bengal Government, 10th July, 1806.

[2] Lord Lake, in a letter to the Government, recorded the 17th July, 1806, expressed his conviction, that, until Ajaygerh and Kalinjar were in possession of the Government, it would be impossible to maintain peace in Bundelkhand. Events fully corroborated the justice of his prediction.

[3] Lakshman Dawa, the Kiladár of Ajaygerh, was allowed to keep his fort for two years, upon payment of a small annual tribute, and to hold the district adjacent in perpetual farm. Darya Sing Chaubè, the Kiladár of Kalinjar, was confirmed in the occupancy of that fort and the adjacent district; 8th December, 1806.

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sunnuds, formally recognising and confirming their right of occupancy, upon conditions of general submission and allegiance. In like manner, but upon more legitimate grounds, the descendants of Chatrasál, who still retained portions of their patrimony, were confirmed in their possessions, but their promise of allegiance was not to entitle them to protection; and so far was the doctrine of non-interference carried, that they were suffered to decide by the sword those disputes amongst themselves, to which the complicated questions of proprietary right to lands that had repeatedly changed masters, could not fail to give rise. It was not until a change of administration in Calcutta had taken place, that "it was deemed essential, not only to the preservation of political influence over the chiefs of Bundelkhand and its consequent advantages, but also to the dignity and reputation of the British Government, to interfere for the suppression of intestine disorder, by compelling that submission which it had till then been found impracticable to conciliate or command."[1]

The western portion of Bundelkhand was distributed among the Rajas of Dattea, Tehri, and Sampthar. They were descended from the ancient Rajas. They were acknowledged by the British as independent princes, and were bound to them by treaties of amity and alliance. No submission was required from them, and care was taken to avoid any obligation to defend them against foreign aggression. They remained, consequently, many years exposed to Mahratta insolence and spoliation, and were reduced to the verge of annihilation, when the course of events, and altered political views, brought them finally within the pale of British protection.

Such were the principal accessions to the territory of British India during the administration of Marquis Wellesley, and the position in which it was placed at the close of that of Sir G. Barlow with relation to some of the neighbouring princes. The situation and circumstances of the more important native states it will now be necessary to describe.

The great distinction of the native ruling powers was two-fold. They were either Mohammedan or Hindu. The

[1] Proceedings of Bengal Government, 8th September, 1807. Lord Minto had recently assumed charge of the Government.

latter comprised several varieties, and were mainly distinguishable as Mahrattas, Rajputs, Játs, and Sikhs.

Although extensive and populous territories still acknowledged the sway of some of the descendants of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, yet their political power was, in every instance of any importance, extinct; and, with one or two exceptions of little note or influence, they were either directly or indirectly dependent upon the British Government. They were its pensioners, or its subsidiary allies: the former compelled to forego all the attributes of sovereignty, except an empty title; the latter obliged to sheath their swords for ever, and rely for defence upon troops whom they alienated their dominions to pay, but over whom they held no command. At the head of the former class was the Great Mogul himself, the descendant and representative of Timurlang.

The actual occupant of the throne of Delhi did not long survive his transition from a rigorous to a respectful state of captivity. Shah Alem died on the 18th of December, 1806. He was succeeded by his eldest surviving son, who took the title of Shah Akbar the Second. The father had experienced the misfortunes inseparable from a powerless sceptre too severely to regret its resignation into hands able to wield it with vigour: the son, although no stranger to distress and peril, anticipated from the indulgence or indifference of his protectors, a greater share of real power than it was convenient or safe to permit him to exercise. His attempts to break through the limits prescribed to him were, for some time after his accession, frequent and persevering; but they were for the most part of little consideration, except as paving the way for pretensions of a more ambitious tendency, and they were checked without much trouble or the exhibition of severity.[1] On one

[1] A principal object of his majesty's ambition was the presentation of Khelats, or honorary dresses, to the princes of Hindustan, and, above all, to the Governor-General. As the acceptance of such a compliment is an admission of inferiority, it was of course declined. Having, however, obtained leave to send an agent to Calcutta to represent to the Government matters of public and private interest, Shah Akbar endeavoured to carry the point of the khelat by a little ingenuity. His envoy was instructed to present to Lord Minto an old cloak, which the king himself had worn, as a mark of personal regard: but he was to contrive to do this at a public audience, when the present would have assumed the character of an honorary distinction conferred upon the Governor-General by the King of Delhi. The device was easily seen through, and as easily frustrated: the cloak was thankfully accepted as a private gift, but the bearer was compelled to transmit it through the usual channel of

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subject alone it was necessary to act with energy; and the manifestation of power and will, which was then called for, terminated the aspirations of Akbar the Second to become a king in more than name.

The King of Delhi had several sons: of these, the eldest was considered to be entitled to the designation of heir-apparent, agreeably to the laws of succession upheld by the British Indian Government; but, influenced by his favourite queen, Akbar Shah strove pertinaciously to obtain the recognition of his third son, Mirza Jehangir, of whom she was the mother, in that capacity. Although willing to withhold from the eldest son the immediate assumption of the title which it considered as his birth-right, the Government of Bengal refused to gratify the wish of the king; and obliged him, on one occasion, to cancel and counteract honours and privileges which he had granted to Mirza Jehangir as indications of a purpose to raise him to the rank of heir-apparent.[1] Although obliged to give way for a season, the king, unable to resist female blandishments and tears, resumed his project; and the subject of debate might have long continued to estrange him from his European advisers, had not the rashness and presumption of the prince given occasion to the British Government to act decisively, and remove Mirza Jehangir from Delhi altogether.

Mirza Jehangir, having been empowered by the injudicious liberality of his mother to take into pay a body of armed retainers, occasioned so much discomfort and alarm within the palace by the turbulence which he encouraged and the excesses of which he partook, that his parents were at last convinced of the necessity of subjecting him to some controul, and the king was prevailed upon to allow the Company's Sipahis to mount guard at the

communication, through the office of the Persian secretary. Such were the strange vicissitudes of fortune, that the Great Mogul was reduced to the necessity of trying to trick the chief functionary of a trading company into the acceptance of the greatest honour in native estimation which it was in his power to bestow!

[1] These were, 1, the use of the Aftabi, a flat circular parasol, carried by an attendant, not over the head, but on the side of a person, or palankin, which is next the sun; 2, the Tapach, a state cushion; and, 3, the Nalki, open state palankin. They were conferred in full Durbar, with the customary solemnities. By desire of the Government, the Aftabi was discontinued, and the use of the other articles extended to all the princes, so as to deprive them of any specific significance.

palace gates. A guard was accordingly stationed at the outer gates, when the followers of Jehangir took up a menacing position at the inner gateway, and insisted that the Sipahis should be withdrawn. The British Resident, Mr. Seton, advancing to expostulate with them, was fired at and narrowly escaped being shot, as the ball struck the cap of a soldier who was close by his side. The Sipahis were then ordered to take forcible possession of the inner gates; and after a short conflict, in which some of the assailants were wounded, and several of their opponents were killed, the gates were carried, and the followers of the prince were dispersed. The prince gave himself up to the Resident, and was sent a state prisoner to Allahabad, where he resided until his death, abandoning all hopes of succession to a titular crown, and passing his days in indolence and indulgence.[1] The king gradually ceased to exhibit outwardly any concern for his fate, and abstained from all endeavours to interfere with the disposal of the throne, or to acquire a greater portion of authority than it was thought fit to intrust him with: this resignation was rewarded by an increase of his pension, which had been promised conditionally by Marquis Wellesley, and was granted by Lord Minto.[2]

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24th July.

[1] He was at first lodged in the fort of Allahabad, but was afterwards removed to a building that had been a Mohammedan mausoleum, part of the monument of Sultan Khosru, without the city. The author saw him here in 1820. He was allowed considerable personal liberty, and was treated with as much consideration as was compatible with his security. He seemed to be cheerful and reconciled to his situation, and was said to have both the means and the inclination to forget political disappointments in personal enjoyment. He was a man of small stature and delicate features, of a pleasing though very dark countenance, and of elegant manners. He wore no turban, nor any covering on his head, but let his long black hair, which showed symptoms of more than ordinary care bestowed upon it, hang full upon his shoulders. It was impossible not to feel some sympathy for his humiliation, although there was nothing in his character or conduct to inspire respect.

[2] The original pension was fixed at 76,500 rupees a month, to be provided for out of the revenues of certain lands in the district of Delhi set apart for that purpose; and a promise was made, that the allowance should be increased when the funds admitted of it. The extent of the increase was not specified. In 1809, the revenues of the assigned territory continued still short of the pension, but it was determined to increase the latter to one lakh of rupees per month, of which 7000 rupees were to be appropriated to the heir-apparent.—Governor-General's Minute, 17th June, 1809. Other augmentations have been since made, making the allowance, including stipends to members of the family both at Delhi and Benares, fifteen lakhs of rupees (150,000*l.*) per annum.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part 2. 362. His majesty has been long urgent for a farther increase, upon the plea that the revenues of the assigned lands have improved, but "it was never proposed either to limit the "stipends by the amount of the produce of the territory, or to augment them "to an extent equal to the revenue which the territory might eventually

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A prince, second only to the King of Delhi in Mohammedan estimation, and far superior to that sovereign in wealth and power, the Nawab of Oude, was connected with the British Government by a subsidiary alliance. The precise nature of the connexion will have been made known by the ample details and discussions relating to it inserted in the preceding pages. For all objects of exterior policy the Nawab was a nonentity, and even in his interior administration he was expected to refer questions of any moment to the consideration of the British Resident and to adopt no measures of importance without the concurrence of the Governor-General. The reigning Nawab, Sádat Ali Khan, was far from easy under the bonds which attached him to the British; but he had been raised by them to the throne, and, being of a timid and inactive character, could scarcely have maintained his dignity without the support of his allies. Even under their guardianship, he lived in constant dread of domestic intrigue, and was perpetually haunted by unfounded suspicions that his nearest relatives were plotting against his throne and his life.[1] His chief gratification was the accumulation of treasure; and the curtailment of his revenues, consequent upon the enforced alienation of a valuable portion of his territory in commutation of the subsidy, was the main-spring of his dissatisfaction with the relations in which he stood to the Government of Bengal. He felt aggrieved, also, by the immunity from transit duties claimed by trading boats on the Ganges where it formed the boundary of Oude under passes from the Company custom-offices on the opposite bank, and agreeably to a commercial treaty into which he had reluctantly entered. The interference

"yield: the obligation which the British Government had imposed on itself "was that of providing adequate means for the support of the king and his "household in a manner suitable to the condition in which he was placed, "while in policy it was inexpedient that the provision granted should exceed "an amount sufficient for that purpose."—Minute quoted by Captain Sutherland. The same authority states, that, if the civil and military charges upon what may be possibly meant by the assigned lands were deducted from their revenue, little would remain for the payment of the stipend of the King of Delhi. Sketches of the Relations between the British Government of India and Native States; by Captain J. Sutherland, Calcutta, 1833.

[1] His own brothers, Mirza Mehdi and Shahámat Ali, were accused by him of having instigated attempts to procure his assassination. The charges were investigated by the Resident under orders from the Government, and were proved to be void of any foundation. To appease the fears of the Nawab, the princes were obliged to leave Lucknow, and take up their residence at Patna in the Company's territories.

of the Resident was not unfrequently a source of mortification to him. So far had his discontent proceeded that he renewed to Sir G. Barlow the proposition he had made to Lord Wellesley, to transfer the management of his dominions to his eldest son and make a pilgrimage to Mecca, When, however, the acquiescence of the Government was expressed, the project was apparently abandoned, as the proposal was never repeated. In his personal expenditure Sádat Ali was meanly parsimonious, and the amount of the public revenue was more than adequate to the public disbursements. The landholders were nevertheless exposed to the systematic extortion of contractors, to whom the Nawab farmed the assessments, and whom he authorised to levy their demands by the most violent and oppressive means.[1] Their exactions were systematically resisted, and the Zemindars became habituated to refuse payment even of what was justly claimable, unless compelled by superior power. Their villages were not unusually fortified, and they resided in mud forts which were not easily captured by the unaided military of the Nawab. In this emergency it became necessary to have recourse to the subsidiary force, and the Company's battalions were employed to reduce refractory landholders and collect the revenue. As obvious objections to such a duty existed, the aid of the troops was always granted with reluctance; another subject of grievance to the Nawab, who considered himself entitled to command the services of a force which he virtually paid. The evil was not so serious in the early part of the reign of Sádat Ali as it subsequently became, and upon the whole, the province of Oude was in a peaceable and improving condition; while the character and situation of the reigning prince ensured his entire subservience to the political views and interests of the British Government.

Another native Mohammedan sovereign, Sekandar Jah, titular Nizam, Subahdar, or viceroy of the Dekhin, pos-

[1] The contractors rarely benefited by their bargains, as Sádat Ali was well versed in the art of squeezing the sponge when it had done its office. As soon as the contractors were thought to be sufficiently gorged, complaints against their oppression, which were never wanting, were readily listened to, and they were seized and imprisoned until they had poured into the Nawab's treasury the whole or greater portion of their spoils. Their incarceration depended upon their tenaciousness of the booty. In 1807, the Resident stated there were fourteen farmers of the revenue in prison in Lucknow, some of whom had been confined for years.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1806.

sessed of equally extensive territories, was also a subsidiary ally of the Company.[1] The alliance was more distasteful to him than to the Vizir; and his capricious and violent temper, and the frontier position of his country in contiguity to independent states, rendered the preservation of the political relations which had been established with him a subject of solicitude and apprehension. He had succeeded to the principality upon the demise of his father Nizam Ali, in 1803, without opposition, through the support of the British authorities; by whose interposition the menaced competition of one of his brothers, who enjoyed much more extensive popularity with the nobles and people of Hyderabad, was prevented. The sense of gratitude for this obligation was soon obliterated by the consciousness of loss of independence; and the ill-concealed discontent of the Nizam gave courage to many of his followers to organize a system of opposition to the British councils, and still further estrange the mind of their master from the connexion: they even contemplated its dissolution, and persuaded the Nizam, and perhaps credited it themselves, that it was practicable to form a combination with the Mahrattas by which the British might be humbled, and perhaps expelled from Hindustan. These suggestions gratified the enmity and flattered the pride of the Nizam; but he was too fondly addicted to low and sensual indulgence, too irresolute in purpose and contracted in intellect, to be capable of prosecuting a dangerous design with the steadiness, determination, and foresight indispensable to its success. Fortunately also for the ultimate preservation of his throne, his prime minister, Mir Alem, who had grown old in the service of the state, and had been an actor in many of the great events which had occurred in the Peninsula during the reign of the late Nizam,[2]

[1] By the treaty with the Nizam, dated 12th October, 1800, the subsidized force was finally fixed at eight battalions of Sipahis, or eight thousand firelocks, and two regiments of cavalry, or one thousand horse, with their complement of guns, European artillerymen, lascars, and pioneers. For the payment of this force the territories acquired by the Nizam under the treaty of Seringapatam, 13th March, 1792, and that of Mysore, 22nd June, 1799, were given back to the Company, with the exception of some districts north of the Tumbhadra river, for which Adoni and others to the south of it were exchanged: the annual revenues of the whole were estimated at twenty-six lakhs of Canterai pagodas, about 874,000*l.*—Collection of Treaties, p. 188.

[2] Mir Alem was first employed in 1789 on a mission to Lord Cornwallis, and afterwards accompanied the Nizam's army to Seringapatam, where he conducted the negociations for peace. In 1794 he was deputed to Poona, but

was well aware of the relative strength of the British and Mahratta powers, and accurately appreciated his sovereign's situation. He knew, in fact, that the government of Hyderabad subsisted only as long as it remained under British protection, and that, the moment such protection should be withdrawn, the principality would be defenceless against Mahratta ambition, and would, at no remote period, fall under their yoke; he therefore sedulously advocated British influence at the court of Hyderabad, and was in requital supported by that influence against the effects of his master's caprice and displeasure.

Notwithstanding the efforts of Mir Alem and of several of the most respectable members of the court of Hyderabad to preserve unimpaired the continued friendship of the British Government, the conduct of the Nizam so manifestly threatened its forfeiture and the dissolution of the alliance, that even Sir George Barlow deemed the occasion such as to justify avowed interference. Mir Alem was in danger of assassination, and obliged to seek shelter with the Resident: secret communications were opened with Sindhia and Holkar: all appointments of influence and trust were conferred upon individuals notoriously inimical to the British connexion, and considerable bodies of armed men were in course of assemblage at Hyderabad. It became a question whether the menaced separation should be anticipated, or prevented; whether the connexion should be spontaneously relinquished, or its continuation should be authoritatively perpetuated. The conclusion was, that it should be maintained at all hazards. "The alliance with Hyderabad," it was argued, could not be dissolved without subverting the foundations of the British power and ascendancy in the political scale of India, and without becoming the signal and instrument of the downfall of the remaining fabric of our political relations. If the subsidiary force were withdrawn, the territory alienated for its support would be required to be restored; and

failed in his negociation. In 1798 he negociated with the British Resident, the treaty with the Nizam, and commanded the army which joined the British troops in the capture of Seringapatam. Some time after his return he fell into disgrace, and was unemployed between 1800 and 1803. In 1804, upon the death of Azim ul Omra, the prime minister, and at the recommendation of the British Resident, he was appointed to that office. He died in the 56th year of his age.

1806.

the power and resources which the British Government had a right to demand for its own support and security would be placed in the hands of a hostile party, avowedly eager, not merely for the abolition of the alliance, but for the destruction of the British Indian Empire: the weapons of which we were now masters would be turned against us; universal agitation, alarm, distrust, and turbulence would ensue; and elements of a renewed combination of hostile states against us would acquire an uncontroulable latitude of action and efficient means of success."[1] Sir G. Barlow, therefore, concluded that the Nizam had no right to depart from the obligations of the connexion, and that they must be vigorously enforced. The political wisdom of the conclusion was undeniable, however at variance with the doctrine of non-interference, which even in regard to the Nizam had not long before been inculcated by the Bengal Government. The arguments upon which the resolution was formed are applicable to all similar relations, indicating the true character of subsidiary alliances as well as the difficulty and danger of their dissolution. The question of right has different aspects, according to the different positions of the contracting parties. The British Government might have the right, as it had the power, to enforce obligations which it considered essential to its own security and support; but the Nizam had an equal right to claim their abrogation, if he regarded them as non-essential to his security, repugnant to his feelings, derogatory to his character, and detrimental to the happiness and prosperity of his dominions. It was not a question of right, but of power; and, as the Subahdar of the Dekhin was no longer in a condition to assert his independence, he was under the necessity of submitting to whatever terms his European masters were pleased to impose.

The Nizam was indeed thoroughly alarmed by the tone which the Resident was authorised to assume. A ready source of intimidation always exists in the minds of native princes in the indeterminate laws of succession, and the readiness with which the ties of relationship are sacrified to the temptations of ambition. The Nizam, like the Nawab Vizir, had brothers of whom he stood in fear,

[1] Minute of the Governor-General.

and of whose promptitude to become the instruments of British vindictiveness no native courtier or politician could entertain a doubt. That he would be deposed in favour of his younger brother was the immediate suggestion of his own suspicions, and they were confirmed by the sympathising fears of his family and adherents. He therefore changed the tenor of his conduct, readily acquiesced in the conditions[1] to which his assent was required, promised to repose entire confidence in Mir Alem and in the Resident, and engaged to dismiss from their offices, whether of a public or personal nature, and banish from his capital, certain individuals known to be hostile to the British interest, and appoint to their duties persons in whom the Resident could confide. This last stipulation was not accomplished without the employment of military force for an object, and with results strikingly characteristic of the disorganised state of the native principalities, and which therefore it may be of use to describe in some detail.

The chief favourite and principal adviser of the Nizam was Raja Mahipat Ram, a Hindu, who was originally employed as Dewan, or man of business, by Monsieur Raymond the commander of the French brigades. In this situation he had formed an intimacy with the prince Sekandar Jah, and upon the dispersion of the French force was taken into his service and obtained his confidence. Upon the elevation of the prince to the throne, Mahipat Ram received the honorary title of Raja, and was appointed to the united civil and military command of the north-west or Berar Frontier. His public functions he discharged by deputy, and resided at Hyderabad, the intimate associate and secret counsellor of the prince. Aspiring to the supreme direction of public affairs, he became the opponent and enemy of the prime minister, and of those by whom he was upheld. His early con-

[1] They were, the dismissal from his presence and from office of persons hostile to the minister and the British alliance; the separation of the military from the civil command on the northern frontier, and the appointment to both duties of persons in the confidence of the Resident; admittance of the Resident to an audience whenever he requested it, without any conditions; due attentions to the just claims of the British Government; the communication of all petitions and statements of a public nature without reserve to the minister; and, should any difference with him arise, the question should be referred to the British Resident.—MS. Records.

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1808.

nexions, and the injury to his fortunes consequent upon the breaking up of Raymond's corps, had no doubt disposed him to cherish unfriendly feelings towards Mir Alem's English friends; and he may honestly have desired, however inconsiderately he may have proposed, to liberate his sovereign from dependence upon a foreign power. Whatever may have been his motives, he was known to be implacably hostile to the British alliance, and he was one of those whose removal from the court was inflexibly insisted on. He was also dismissed from his command, and ordered to withdraw to his personal Jagir. However unpalatable to the Nizam and to his favourite, Mahipat Ram, after some ineffectual endeavours to obtain a milder doom, was compelled to retire to his feudatory estates.

Raja Mahipat Ram was incapable of leading an inactive life, or abstaining from turbulence and intrigue. He collected a force of five thousand horse, whom he employed to dispossess some of his brother feudatories of their territories, and to levy contributions even upon the districts immediately subject to the officers of the Nizam; not, as there was good reason to suspect, without the connivance of his prince, who preferred the vexation and embarrassment of his minister to the peace of his subjects and the maintenance of his own authority. The remonstrances of the Resident compelled the Nizam at length to send a force against his vassal, but it was defeated; and Mr. Gordon, an officer who commanded one of his disciplined battalions, being wounded in the action and taken prisoner, was put to death after the engagement in the presence of the Raja. The Nizam's troops being either unable or unwilling to suppress the insurrection, it became necessary to adopt more vigorous measures; and a considerable portion of the subsidiary force,[1] under its commandant Lieutenant-Colonel Montresor, marched against the Raja at Shahpur, whilst other divisions moved from the north and the south to intercept him in the event of his attempting to retire into the adjacent Mahratta districts. Unable to face the force sent against him, Mahipat Ram retreated towards Berar with the utmost expedition, and was followed by Colonel Montresor with equal celerity.

22nd Feb. 1808.

[1] Five companies H.M. 33rd.; two battalions N.I.; two regiments N.C.; a brigade of artillery; and a body of the Nizam's troops.

The Raja contrived for three months to evade his pursuers, but with the loss of his guns, his baggage, and his infantry. His flight into Berar, where it was apprehended he would find numerous adherents, was prevented by the judicious movements of Colonel Montresor, and the advance of Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton with a division of the subsidiary force from the frontier of that province. Thus foiled in his purpose, Mahipat Ram directed his course to Kandesh. Turning to the west he crossed the Godaveri, Tapti, and Nerbudda rivers; and threw himself into the territory of Holkar, whither his pursuers did not consider themselves authorised to follow him. The detachment under Colonel Doveton was left to guard the frontier, and the main body returned to Hyderabad. Raja Mahipat Ram was no longer formidable: he was now a mere military adventurer at the head of a party of roving horse, willing to be retained by any foreign prince by the promise of pay and the prospect of plunder. He was accordingly engaged by Holkar; but the situation of that chief, his illness, and the troubles that distracted his court, rendered the engagement of little other value than the personal protection which it afforded the Raja.

It was still thought advisable, in order to obviate the recurrence of mischievous intrigues at Hyderabad to obtain possession of the person of Mahipat Ram, and applications to that effect were made to Holkar. In reply, the Mahratta declared that it was, and had always been, the Raja's intention to proceed to Calcutta and appeal to the Governor-General against Mir Alem and the Resident, to whose personal animosity he attributed his misfortunes; professing himself ready to retire from public life and settle at Benares, if the liberality of the British Government afforded him the means. This arrangement had been proposed before his insurrection, but he was now held to have forfeited any claim to favour; and a pension, although granted to his family, was refused to himself: his unconditional surrender was demanded, with which he declined to comply. There is no reason to suppose he was sincere in his professions, as at the same time he was writting to the Nizam, offerring, if his sanction was declared, to come to Hyderabad with fifty thousand horse, which he affirmed Holkar and Amir Khan were prepared

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1809.

to despatch to his assistance to enable him to shake off the English yoke.

It was not in the power, if it had ever been the practice, of Holkar, to observe punctuality in the payment of his soldiery; and the funds of Mahipat Ram, although assisted by secret contributions from the Nizam, soon fell short of the means of maintaining a corps of any strength. After repeated mutinies for arrears of pay, the principal part of his followers deserted him: with the remainder he attached himself to the party in Holkar's camp, which, after that chieftain's insanity aimed at the direction of affairs, under the guidance of Tulasí Bhai, his wife. The opposite faction, headed by a military leader named Dharma Koar, having acquired a temporary superiority, Mahipat Ram was ordered to quit the encampment. Delaying to obey the order, he was attacked by a party of Dharma Koar's troops, at a time when his own men were dispersed; and whilst he was remonstrating against the aggression, and professing his readiness to depart, he was shot in the tumult: his head was cut off, and cast like that of a common malefactor before the threshold of Holkar's tent. It was, however, given up to the entreaties of his friends, and burnt with the body; but his effects were confiscated, and the horses of his troopers were seized for the use of the state. Such was the fate of an individual whose influence had threatened to subvert the alliance between the Nizam and the British Government, and had endangered the tranquillity of India. He seems to have been a man of an active and enterprising character, whose chief error was embarking rashly in undertakings in which he had no possible chance of success.

The minister of the Nizam, Mir Alem, died on the 8th of January, 1809. A negotiation for the nomination of a successor ensued, which was not unattended with difficulties; the British Government professing to leave it to the Nizam, whilst stedfastly resolved to suffer no one unfriendly to its interests to exercise the administration, and the Nizam with equal insincerity pretending to defer to the wishes of the Bengal Government, whilst secretly striving to secure its acknowledgment of a favourite of his own. A compromise was at length effected. Monir ul Mulk, the choice of the Nawab, was appointed minister

under a written engagement to maintain the British connexion unimpaired; but, as he was incompetent to the duties of his office, the real administration was vested in the hands of Chandu Lal as his Peshkár or deputy, a Hindu of experience and talent, who had been employed by Mir Alem in a similar capacity, and who like him, was deeply impressed with the essential importance of the Resident's support, both to his own authority and to the integrity of the Nizam's dominions. The connexion with Hyderabad, after the brief interruption which has been described, was established on a firmer footing than before; and the growing habits of excess in which the Nizam indulged, as well as his natural timidity and indolence, enfeebled his own sentiments of aversion, and rendered them no longer objects of apprehension. 1805.

A subsidiary alliance[1] united the Peshwa also with the British Government of India, but the connexion was distinguished by some essential differences from those which had been formed with the Mohammedan princes: it was of more recent date and less stringent obligations: the Mahratta prince retained a much larger share of independence and power, and more consistently contemplated the opportunity of ridding himself of a controul which he equally felt to be intolerable, but which he had the policy to affect to submit to with cheerfulness and satisfaction.[2] Baji Rao had entered into the alliance in a moment of despair, when no other means were open to him of escaping from the violence of Holkar, but the treaty was scarcely concluded when he was busied in intrigues with the other Mahratta princes for its infraction. The unexpected close of the war with Sindhia and the Raja of Berar, disappointed his projects, the discomfiture of the confederates, showed him that it was vain to expect immediate release from his engagements and his next object was to 1805.

[1] By this, commonly called the Treaty of Bassein, dated 31st December, 1802, the Peshwa agreed to receive a permanent subsidiary force of not less than 6000 regular infantry, with the usual proportion of field-pieces and European artillerymen; for the regular payment of which, certain districts in the Dekhin were at first assigned, but were, as already noticed, commuted for others in Bundelkhand by a supplemental treaty, December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 233.

[2] For a time he appears to have imposed upon the Government of Bengal; as the satisfaction which he expressed was one of the arguments employed by Sir G. Barlow against the modifications of the treaty of Bassein, proposed by the Secret Committee.—Malcolm, Political History of India, i. 380.

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1807.

turn them to his advantage: there, also, he encountered various disappointments, and these contributed to enhance his discontent with the British Government, however veiled beneath the show of cordiality and good-humour. The Court of Poonah entertained heavy pecuniary claims upon the Gaekwar and the Nizam for arrears of tribute, or for payments stipulated by treaty:[1] these claims the British Government undertook to investigate and adjust, but the accounts were long and complicated, and the equity of the demand not unfrequently questionable. The investigation proceeded slowly, and adjustment was deferred until the patience of the Peshwa was exhausted, and he felt as a grievance that interposition which barred his attempting to realise at least a portion of his demands by a more summary process. Another subject of grievance was the decided refusal of the Government to allow the Peshwa to use the subsidiary force as an instrument for the establishment of an unprecedented controul over some of his feudatories, and for their forcible expulsion from their Jagirs: this was especially the case with regard to Parasuram Srinivás, the Pratinidhi or principal hereditary noble of the Mahratta state, between whom and Baji Rao an inveterate feud had for some time subsisted.[2] The Peshwa advanced also unfounded pecuniary claims upon portions of Bundelkhand not included in the cessions he had made to the British; and demanded arrears of Chouth, the Mahratta tribute, from the independent Rajas of the province, as well as from the rulers of Jhansi, Kalpi, and Ságar, which his relations with the British, that prevented him from engaging in hostilities or entering into negotiation with other princes without their participation, disabled him from asserting in the manner most agreeable to Mahratta policy. He likewise claimed a share of the contributions extorted by Holkar and Sindhia from

[1] The amount of the demand upon the Gaekwar was nearly three millions sterling; upon the Nizam about six hundred thousand pounds. As an instructive illustration of the nature of such claims, and the unfailing source of dispute which they furnished to the native states of India, the Peshwa's account with the Gaekwar is particularised in the Appendix. It is clear that such an account never could be settled, and that it provided a permanent plea of quarrel whenever the creditor thought himself strong enough to insist upon a partial payment, another name for a contribution; or whenever the debtor, in the same belief of his power, thought fit to demand an abatement of the claim. The ascendancy of an umpire whose award is not to be disputed has put an end to all such grounds of contention.

[2] History of the Mahrattas, iii. 341.

the princes of Rajputana; and attributing the difficulty of realising these demands to the non-appointment of such a representative in Hindustan as had been charged with the interests of the Peshwa anterior to the date of the British connexion, he was urgent with his allies to sanction the revival of the office of Sir-subha, or Peshwa's representative, in which character he proposed to send one of his principal officers into Bundelkhand. To this proposition an unqualified refusal was given, as it was obviously designed to replace the Peshwa in the position of titular head of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renew that system of combination which it had been the especial object of the treaty of Bassein to overturn. The nomination of an officer who should be acknowledged by Sindhia and Holkar as the Peshwa's delegate was also an infringement of the stipulation in the treatise with those princes, as well as with the Peshwa, by which internegotiation of a political tendency was prohibited. The British Government, therefore, required the Peshwa to desist from the appointment of a Sir-subha, offering at the same time to mediate between him and the chiefs of Bundelkhand for the recovery of his just demands. The firm opposition made by Sir G. Barlow to this insidious project, in which it was ascertained that both Sindhia and Holkar had secretly concurred, inflicted upon Baji Rao severe disappointment and mortification. He professed, indeed, to place entire confidence in the wisdom and friendship of his allies, but it was evident that little reliance on his sincerity could be entertained; nor were positive proofs wanting of his being concerned in negociations incompatible with the spirit and letter of his engagements to the British;[1] and it was obvious that his conviction of the

[1] The villages taken from Sindhia, and transferred to the Peshwa, after the war had been secretly suffered to remain in the possession of the former. The nomination of a Sir-subha, as mentioned in the text, was with the private concurrence of Sindhia and Holkar. When a quarrel had ensued between those two chiefs after the return of the latter to Hindustan, an envoy was sent by the Peshwa to mediate between them. As this was a palpable infraction of the treaty of Bassein, Baji Rao was called upon for an explanation. He at once disavowed his agent, and, in proof of his fidelity to his engagements, produced what were also evidences of his intercourse with the other chiefs, letters from Holkar and Sindhia declaratory of their desire to renew their subordination to the Poona Government. Baji Rao at the same time pretended a conviction that, although these proposals might have for their object the advantage of the writers, it was for his own advantage to adhere to the terms of the subsidiary alliance.—MS. Records; also Hist. of the Mahrattas, iii. 333.

BOOK I. CHAP. I.

impossibility of forming an effective combination against their power, alone deterred him from new intrigues calculated to disturb the existing relations and endanger the tranquillity of India. The other members of the Mahratta confederacy were not in a situation favourable to their co-operation in his design.

1803.

1802. The bonds of union with the Gaekwar or Mahratta ruler of Guzerat were of the most intimate description; and the maintenance of his authority, his very existence as a political power, depended entirely upon the assistence and support of his English allies. The contest for the occupation of Guzerat, adverted to in a former page, terminated in the acknowledgment of Fattih Sing.[1] Upon his death, in 1793, Govind Rao was recognised by the Government of Poona as Raja. He died in 1808, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Anand Rao, a prince of weak intellect and indolent disposition, who was incapable of conducting an efficient administration. A struggle for the management of affairs ensued. Kanhoji Rao, the eldest illegitimate son of Govind Rao, a bold and ambitious young man, at first secured to himself and his partisans all the principal offices of the state; but after a short time he was dispossessed of them by one to whom the authority could be more safely and beneficially entrusted, Raoji Appa, who had been the minister of Govind Rao, a man of ability, whose exercise of authority was not incompatible with the continuation of Anand Rao as titular sovereign. Kanhoji had recourse to Mulhar Rao, a cousin of his late father, who held an extensive Jagir under the Gaekwar, and was a chief of talent and enterprise. Raoji Appa, unable to oppose this combination, made urgent application to the Government of Bombay for the formation of a subsidiary alliance. The proposal was acceded to, and Major Walker, with a military detachment, was sent to his succour.[2]

[1] iii. 422.

[2] By the agreement entered into, the Gaekwar engaged to pay for the expenses of the military assistance granted to him, and for a permanent force to be furnished by the Company; and to cede in perpetuity the Pergunna of Chikli in the dependencies of Surat, with his share of the chouth or contribution levied on that city. These engagements were confirmed by a formal treaty in June, 1802. It was also provided that an assignment of territory should be made to the Company of the estimated annual revenue of 7,80,000 rupees, for the maintenance of 2000 native infantry; and, as the number was subsequently raised to 3000, with a company of European artillery, other lands were made over by a treaty dated in April, 1805, yielding with the former a total revenue of 11,70,000 rupees.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 565-594, and schedule A. p. 601.

1803.

Mulhar Rao and Kanhoji were defeated: the former declared his submission to the new order of things; but Kanhoji kept aloof, and for some time devastated the country at the head of a predatory body of horse. He was ultimately routed by a British division under Major Holmes, and driven out of Guzerat. Raoji Appa retained the functions of prime minister and virtual ruler undisturbed, and Major Walker was appointed Resident at Baroda, the capital of the Gaekwar.[1]

When tranquillity was re-established, and opportunity was afforded for an inquiry into the condition of the Gaekwar's affairs, it was found that they were so irretrievably involved, that it was indispensably necessary, if it were thought desirable to continue the connexion, to extend the assistance to be afforded beyond military support, and to prop the rapidly declining resources of the principality with the funds and credit of the British Government. The annual disbursements greatly exceeded the annual receipts of the public treasury;[2] the revenues were intercepted by appropriations and mortgages, the fruits of former improvidence; heavy debts, bearing a ruinous rate of interest, were owing to the bankers and moneyed men; and long arrears of pay were due to the troops, the discharge of which was a necessary preliminary to their dismissal, and consequent diminution of public expenditure. The additional burthen imposed upon the state by the subsidy to be paid to the British force was quite incapable of being sustained; and it was evident not only that the engagement could not be fulfilled, but that national insolvency, general confusion and distress, and the dissolution of the Gaekwar's power, were unavoidable, unless vigorous means were promptly employed to administer present relief and ensure future amelioration. Fortunately the Resident was endowed with more than ordinary abilities, industry, energy, and judgment; enjoyed the unreserved confidence of his own Government; and speedily commanded the same implicit credit with the Gaekwar, his minister, his chief officers, and the moneyed and commercial members of the community.[3]

[1] Hist. of the Mahr. iii. 216.

[2] The revenue of Guzerat was estimated at 50 lakhs of rupees per annum; the expenditure exceeded 82 lakhs.—MS. Rec.

[3] This is strikingly expressed in the counterpart of the treaty of 1805, written by the Gaekwar himself, anticipating the possibility of his falling into

BOOK VI. CHAP. I. 1803.

The first measure of reduced expenditure that was adopted, was, the discharge of the Gaekwar's troops, the need of whom was superseded by the subsidiary force; but for this purpose it was requisite to pay the arrears due to them, and the funds were to be raised. The British Government agreed to advance part of the sum required for this object, and to guarantee repayment of the remainder to opulent individuals, who, under that security, were willing to furnish what was requisite. The advances, in both cases, were to be liquidated out of assignments of territory, the revenues of which were to be collected and accounted for by the Company.[1] The money was supplied, but the reduction of the troops was not effected by pecuniary means alone.

The most efficient portion of the Gaekwar's army consisted of about seven thousand Arabs, a description of mercenaries whom it was formerly a frequent practice in the Peninsula to engage, and who bore a high reputation for fidelity and courage, but were equally characterized by turbulence and rapacity. These troops formed the garrison of Baroda, and were extremely averse to the loss of pay and privileges with which they were threatened.

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the hands of his rebellious subjects or mutinous troops. He enjoins that, "in such a situation, his subjects will pay no attention to his orders, but hear what Major Walker has to say, strictly following his instructions." And the document concludes with these provisions: "Conformably to Major Walker's suggestions and wishes, the articles contained in this declaration were written, and to them I have given my assent; but in the event of any evil-disposed persons attempting anything unfair or unreasonable against my person, my Dewan, Raoji Appaji, his son, his brother, nephew, or relations, and Madhu Rao Tantia Mazambar, or even should I myself, or my successors, commit anything improper or unjust, the English Government shall interfere, and see in either case that it is settled according to equity and reason. I have also required of Major Walker on the part of the Company to promise that my state and government shall be permanent, and shall descend to the lineal heirs of the Musnud, and that the Dewanship shall be preserved to Raoji Appaji. In the last place, I desire to form the most intimate connexion with the Company, and that all business with the Poona Durbar may be jointly managed by the English Resident and my Vakeel. Given at Baroda, 28th July 1802. (Signed) Anand Rao, Gaekwar; Sena-khás-khel, Shamshir Bahadur."—Coll. of Treaties, p. 569. These may have been the sentiments of the minister rather than of the Raja, but they were generally consistent with the conduct of Anand Rao.

[1] The amount required was 41,38,000 rupees (413,800*l.*), of which the British Government advanced 19,67,000 rupees (196,700*l.*): the rest was provided by different Sarafs or bankers at Baroda under the Company's Bhandari —a general assurance that they should be repaid, not an absolute surety for repayment. An annual territorial revenue of 12,95,000 rupees was appropriated to the liquidation of the principal, with interest at nine per cent. per annum, until the whole should be redeemed.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 601.

In order to evade their dismissal, they advanced the most extravagant demands, and, seizing upon the capital and person of the Gaekwar, refused to set him at liberty unless their claims were satisfied. Major Walker having endeavoured in vain to bring them to reasonable terms, Baroda was invested by the subsidiary force under Colonel Woodington, strengthened by a European regiment from Bombay. The Arabs defended themselves with spirit, and inflicted some loss on their assailants ;. but, after a siege of ten days, a practicable breach having been made in the walls, they capitulated, on the promise that all arrears justly due to them should be paid, and they engaged in that event to disband and leave the country.

This transaction, and the flight of Kanhoji, restored tranquillity to Guzerat, and enabled the minister and the Resident to proceed without interruption in their projects of reform. Raoji Appa died in January, 1803, and and was succeeded in his office of Dewan by his nephew Sitarám, who professed the same principles, and for a time pursued the same policy, as his uncle. The reduction of the expenditure proved, however, no easy task, as extravagance and dishonesty pervaded every department, and little reliance could be placed upon the co-operation of the servants of the state, who were themselves the chief plunderers and defaulters. Sitarám soon became weary of a duty so troublesome and unpopular, and lent himself to the prevailing practice of profusion ; so that the whole labour and odium fell upon the Resident. He was ably assisted by Gangadhar Sastri, an accountant in his employment, who acquired at a subsequent date a melancholy celebrity in the political history of the Peninsula, as we shall have occasion to relate. The Resident was also firmly supported by the bankers and public creditors, who had a deep personal interest in the success of his proceedings.

The avowed exercise of British controul over the internal administration of the Gaekwar, which commenced under the authority of Marquis Wellesley, was continued on the same footing by Sir G. Barlow, although an admitted departure from his policy of non-interference. "The peculiar situation," he observed, "of the affairs of the Gaekwar state, and the circumstances under which our

connexion with that state has been established, and has become in a manner interwoven with its internal concerns, distinguish our relations with Baroda from those which subsist with the other powers of India, although the general political relations and obligations are the same. The interference, therefore, which we are called upon to exercise, cannot be considered to constitute a deviation from those principles of policy which in our intercourse with other allies preclude our interference in the management of their internal concerns. It is evident that the alternative of our interference for the reform of the affairs of the Gaekwar is not merely the loss of the advantages to be derived from the efficacy of the alliance, but the positive dangers to which the certain ruin of the state would expose our most essential interests in that quarter of the Peninsula." These observations were undoubtedly just, but the spirit which they evince was eminently selfish, and no consideration of the benefit accruing to the Gaekwar was allowed to influence the maintenance of the connexion.

At the same time that the right and policy of interference were thus explicitly recognised, the economical timidity of the Bengal Government suspended the execution of a measure recommended by the Resident as essential to the realization of the resources of Guzerat,—the enforced levy of the tribute due to the Gaekwar by his tributaries in Kattiwar. The obvious necessity, however, of rendering this source of legitimate revenue productive, and the expectation that a judicious display of the British power might prevent serious opposition, overcame the reluctance of the Governor-General; and a military detachment under the command of the Resident undertook the performance of the Mulkgiri, or periodical collection of tribute by the march of troops through the province.

Although correctly applicable to one division only, that occupied by the Katti tribe, the term Kattiwar designates the whole of the peninsula of Guzerat. The country was distributed amongst various tribes, of whom the Rajputs and Kattis were the most remarkable: subject to a number of petty chieftains of various degrees of power, and possessing domains differing in extent and value; some-

times connected with their neighbours by affinity of descent, but all equally independent in their own lordships; exercising the privilege of private war, and paying little more than nominal obedience to the paramount sovereign; presenting, in many respects, a resemblance to the kingdoms of Europe during the worst periods of baronial anarchy. The province had been regarded as tributary successively to the Mohammedan Kings of Guzerat, to the Mogul, and to the Mahrattas; but the tribute was never spontaneously paid, and its collection was only to be effected by a military progress amongst the states. Nor was this method always attended by success. The army of the Peshwa, or of the Gaekwar, even when amounting to twenty thousand horse, was not unfrequently resisted. The Rajas shut themselves up in their forts or castles, and from their battlements mocked the movements of cavalry. The villages, fortified by mud walls, impenetrable hedges, and the martial spirit of the population, were equally inaccessible; and the invaders were obliged to content themselves with laying the open country waste. Nor were they suffered to carry off with impunity such plunder as they might have gathered; hordes of Katti and Rajput horse hovered round their advance and harassed their retreat, and the expedition not unusually terminated in disaster and disgrace. 180

The diminished power and impaired resources of the Gaekwar had for several years prevented even such attempts at military coercion, and tribute accordingly had ceased. The spirit that now animated the counsels of the Government, and the means at its disposal, no longer permitted the chiefs of Kattiwar to resist its rightful demands with impunity. Having therefore received the sanction of his superiors, Major Walker marched with a division of the subsidiary force to Gotu, in the district of Murvi, to which place the several chieftains had been previously directed to send their representatives: the greater number complied with the requisition: the right of the Gaekwar's Government to levy a tribute was universally admitted, but it was not until after many attempts at delay and evasion that a settlement was accomplished, and the chiefs consented to pay the amount regularly, without waiting for the Mulkgiri process of coercion. The Oct. 1807.

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sum of nine lakhs and a half of rupees was promised in perpetuity, and security was given for a term of ten years, renewable at its expiration. The security was characteristic. The sureties were persons boasting neither rank nor wealth, but who derived from the usages of the country inviolable sanctity, and were entitled to implicit trust. They were selected from the tribe of Chárans or Bháts, the hereditary bards, genealogists, and chroniclers of the principal Hindu races of the West of India, whose sacredness of person had been received as a substitute for law in a condition of society which, whilst it felt the necessity of social obligations, could submit to none of the human restraints by which they are maintained and enforced. Superstition supplied the defect. The Chárán, if his pledge was violated, murdered himself or some member of his family; and the retribution for blood was believed to fall upon the head of him by whose default he had been impelled to make the sacrifice. The dread of such a destiny was generally of power to deter the least scrupulous from the violation of an engagement so guaranteed.[1] In some instances, additional securities were entered into by chiefs and persons of influence; and the rights of the Gaekwar, then established in Kattiwar, have never since been the subject of any serious contest. At the same time, the chiefs and people of the principal sea-ports of the Peninsula, all of whom were in the habit of committing piratical depredations on native commerce, were called upon to renounce piracy, to re-

[1] The following illustration of this usage is narrated by Lieut. Macmurdo:—"In the year 1806, a Bhát of Veweingaum, named Kunna, had become security on the part of Dossajee, the present chieftain of Mallia in Muchoo-kanta, for a sum of money payable to the Gaekwar Government: the time specified for payment arrived, and Dossajee refused to fulfil his engagement. Government applied to the surety, who, after several fruitless attempts to persuade Dossajee to comply with his bond, returned to his house, and, after passing some time in prayer, assembled his family and desired his wife to prepare a daughter, about seven years of age, for *traga*. The innocent child, taught from her earliest infancy to reflect on the sacred character and divine origin of her family, and the necessity which existed for the sacrifice, required no compulsion to follow the path by which the honour of her caste was to be preserved. Having bathed, and dressed herself in her best clothes, she knelt with her head on her father's knee, and holding aside her long hair, she resigned herself without a struggle to the sword of this unnatural barbarian. The blood of a Bhat being sprinkled on the gate of the chieftain produced an instantaneous payment of the money: presents of land to the father, and a handsome mausoleum or *doree* to the daughter, marked the desire of the Rajput to avert the punishment supposed to await the spiller of a Chárán's blood."—Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, i. 281.

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linquish their claims to vessels wrecked on their coasts, to allow the free resort of merchant-ships from the territories of the Company or their allies, and to assent to the permanent residence of a commercial agent at their principal harbours. They generally acceded to these stipulations.[1]

The only active military operation which it became necessary to undertake, was designed to adjust a difference between two chiefs of some consideration, and to demonstrate the ability as well as the determination of the Government of Guzerat to compel obedience. A body of Makránis, or mercenaries, natives of Makran, in the service of the Raja of Purbandar, mutinying for arrears of pay, seized upon the fort of Kandorna, belonging to the Raja, and sold it to a rival chief, the Jam of Noanagar. This transaction occurred after the arrival of the Resident and Gaekwar's minister in the province, and was held to be contempt of the superior authority, as well as disregard of private rights. The Jam was desired to restore the fortress; and, as he refused to comply with the requisition, the detachment marched against the place: batteries were erected, and in the course of a day, two practicable breaches being effected, the troops were drawn out for the assault, when the garrison surrendered. Kandorna had formerly sustained successfully a siege of three months by the Gaekwar's army, and was looked upon by the people as impregnable. Its capture on the present occasion in so short a time, impressed the native chiefs with a deep conviction of the uselessness of opposition to the British arms, and produced a sensible effect upon the progress of the negotiations.

The expedition into Kattiwar was considered as affording a favourable opportunity for asserting authority of a different description, and vindicating the outraged claims of natural affection. The Jhareja Rajputs of the province, and of the neighbouring principality of Cutch, were notorious for the murder of their female infants. Preferring the death of a daughter to a matrimonial alliance with an

[1] The sea-ports were Dhingi, Bate, Dwaraka, Amramra, Positra, Jooria, and Noanagar on the north coast, and different parts of Junagerh on the south. For the stipulations with them severally, and with other of the Kattiwar principalities, see Coll. of Treaties, p. 602, &c.

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inferior race, and looking upon most races as inferior, precluded by custom from marrying her to a husband of her own tribe, the Jharejas believed it to be more humane to nip the flower in the bud, than to await the risk of its being blighted in maturer growth. A female child was almost invariably put to death as soon as born. The Government of Bombay had for some time past been anxious to eradicate this cruel and unnatural practice;[1] and Colonel Walker was instructed to endeavour to obtain from the chiefs, a declaration of its incompatibility with the Hindu religion as well as with the laws of humanity, and a promise that they would desist from its perpetration. The negotiation was a subject of some delicacy; but the Resident, by the weight of his character, and a judicious employment of the influence with which the situation and interests of the several chiefs invested him, overcame all difficulties, and carried the instructions of the Government into effect. An engagement was signed by all the principal chiefs for themselves and their fraternities, by which they pledged themselves to renounce the usage of killing their female children, to expel from their caste any person who should be guilty of the crime, and to submit to any penalties which the Gaekwar's Government and the British Resident should inflict for breach of the obligation.[2] For some time they seem to have adhered to the terms of the engagement, but the Resident and the Government were somewhat too sanguine in their belief that female infanticide was suppressed in Guzerat. It was not possible that the illusions of deep-rooted prejudice and long-established custom should instantly vanish before the voice of humanity and reason; and fear of punishment, the only agent of adequate power to work so sudden a change, could exercise but little controul where the detection of an offence committed in the impenetrable secresy of domestic privacy was obviously almost imprac-

[1] The head of the Bombay Government, Mr. Jonathan Duncan, had encountered, when Governor-General's agent at Benares, a similar custom among the Rajkumars, a Rajput tribe established in that province, and had succeeded in obtaining from them an engagement to abstain from the commission of the crime; this was in 1789.—Papers on Female Infanticide, printed by order of the House of Commons, 17th June, 1824, p. 22; the engagement is also printed, Ibid. p. 8.

[2] Report of his proceedings by Colonel Walker, 15th March, 1808.—Parl. Papers, 31.

ticable. Accordingly, at a long subsequent date, there were grounds for believing that the crime was almost as common as it had been before the interposition of the British Government.[1] The sentiments of that Government have, however, been sufficiently made known to insure its marked disfavour to any chief suspected of violating the spirit of the original contract; and a sense of individual interest, with improved principles of action, manners softened by the continuance of tranquillity, and extended intellectual cultivation, must ultimately effect the extinction of a practice which is not more inconsistent with reason than repugnant to natural instinct.[2]

The adjustment of the Kattiwar tribute tended materially to facilitate the improvement of the Gaekwar's finances, but their final settlement was retarded by the aversion which the new minister exhibited to the economical measures of the Resident, and the secret counteraction which he countenanced or practised. It became necessary, therefore, to re-model the administration. Sitarám was removed from the office of Dewan, the duties of which were assigned to his uncle, Baba Rao; whilst a general controuling and sanctioning authority was vested in Fatih Sing Gaekwar, the younger brother of the reigning prince, and heir to the throne. These ministers, holding their appointments by the tenure of the Resident's approbation, co-operated cordially with him, and results the most beneficial were speedily attained. In place of the seemingly hopeless condition of the public finances when the process of reform was commenced, when the expenditure nearly doubled the receipts, the revenue of the Gaekwar was raised in the course of six years to sixty-five lakhs of rupees, and his expences were reduced to fifty lakhs, leaving a surplus of fifteen lakhs applicable to the liquidation of his debts: perseverance in the same system for about a similar period was expected to ensure his liberation from pecuniary embarrassment, and the full command of all his resources.[3] The connexion which the Gaekwar

[1] In 1817, there were but sixty-three Jhareja females living in all Kattiwar, born subsequently to the engagement with Colonel Walker.—Parl. Papers, 110. In a village called Draffa, containing four hundred families, there was not a female child.—Ibid. 112.

[2] Note by Mr. Elphinstone when Governor of Bombay.—Ibid. 116.

[3] MS. Records.

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had formed with the British, had been attended therefore, with unequivocal benefit to that prince, and, at the period at which we have arrived, was distinguished above all the existing subsidiary alliances, by implicit confidence, intimate union, and mutual satisfaction.[1]

The other Mahratta states, although they had acceded to relations of amity, had declined a closer alliance and the engagement of subsidiary troops. The most friendly chief amongst them was the Raja of Berar. A British Resident was admitted at his court, and exercised considerable influence in his counsels. Some of his ministers also were, with his knowledge and concurrence, in the receipt of pensions from the Government of Bengal, as compensation for private losses suffered from the late war. The Raja was, however, not altogether contented with his allies. His dominions had been heavily mulcted for his share in the recent hostilities.[2] He had been compelled to cede part of Berar to the Nizam, and the province of Cuttack to the Company, and he contrasted the penalties that had been inflicted on him with the undeserved forbearance which the British Government had shown to Sindhia and Holkar, notwithstanding the more prominent part which they had taken in the operations of the war, and the more inveterate animosity which they had manifested. He claimed, therefore, at least equally favourable treatment, and a similar restoration of his dismembered territories; and in justification of his expectations he pleaded an implied promise of Lord Cornwallis, who, in a letter addressed to the Raja, had assured him of his "intention of compensating his losses to the utmost practicable extent consistent with equity and public faith." The letter was unquestionably authentic, and the tenor was sufficiently obvious, although the expressions were vague: a liberal interpretation of them would have replaced the Raja in possession of Cuttack, if not of Berar; but, as this would have been inconvenient, it was necessary to explain away the precipitate generosity of of the noble writer. It was argued with some plausibility

[1] Lieutenant-Colonel Walker left Baroda on account of ill-health in the beginning of 1809. He returned for a short time at the pressing solicitation of the Government of Bengal to superintend proceedings relating to the affairs of Cutch, but finally quitted India in 1810.

[2] By the treaty of Deogaum, 17th December, 1803.—Coll. of Treaties, 261.

that it would be inconsistent with equity and public faith to resume the lands ceded to the Nizam, and it was maintained with less show of reason that it would be equally incompatible with justice to the British Government of India to deprive it of Cuttack. Ragoji Bhonsla's notions of justice were somewhat at variance with those of the Governor-General, and he not unnaturally demurred to the decision of a judge who sat in judgment on his own cause, and pronounced sentence in his own favour. He was obliged to submit, but acquiesced unwillingly. To fulfil in some degree the purpose of restitution intimated by Lord Cornwallis, it was proposed to cede to the Raja a tract of little extent or value west of the Wardá river, and the more considerable district of Sambhalpur on the east of Berar. The Raja declined to accept the former: the latter became, after a season, an unwilling and unprofitable dependency of Nagpur. Its cession was scarcely compatible with a strict observance of the obligations contracted with the people of the province when it came into British possession.

The countries of Sambhalpur and Patna, forming an extensive tract, were, for the greater part, overrun with jungle; but they afforded support to a scanty population scattered about in detached villages, and subject to the authority of a number of petty Rajput chiefs, loosely connected by affinity or allegiance, but not unfrequently disunited and at variance. The Mahratta Rajas of Nagpur had availed themselves of the opportunity offered by the dissensions of the chiefs to interpose, and set up a claim of supremacy and exacted payment of tribute; but they had never been able to establish any recognised influence or authority. The principle of the Mulkgiri of Kattiwar was therefore here also in practice: a body of troops was sent every third year into the province, which plundered the villages and devastated the fields, until its retreat was purchased by the payment of the sum demanded. This system of extortion, and the cruelty and spoliation with which it was enforced, had rendered the Mahrattas detested alike by chiefs and people, and they cordially welcomed and assisted the British division, which, in the late war, was sent in their direction. On that occasion they had readily promised allegiance to the British Government,

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on condition that they should be permanently retained amongst its subjects. As, however, little advantage to the resources of the Company's dominions was to be expected from so poor a dependancy, the pledge given to its inhabitants was disregarded, and it was resolved to consign them again to their Mahratta oppressors. With a show of attention to its engagements, the British Government, at the same time that it announced to the chiefs its determination to relinquish its occupation of the country, pretended to ask their consent to the transfer; offering to grant to those who might prefer the abandonment of their homes to submission to the Mahrattas, waste lands in the adjacent province of Cuttack.

The determination of the British Government to abandon them filled the people of Sambhalpur and Patna with consternation, and they protested against the measure in the most earnest and affecting terms.[1] Their remonstrances were unavailing; and, after some negotiation, they were prevailed upon to promise acceptance of the offer of compensation elsewhere, and agreed to quit the country within a given period, for the settlement which was proposed to them in Cuttack. When the time assigned for their emigration arrived, natural attachment to their native soil and the homes of their forefathers overcame their hatred and dread of the Mahrattas, and they refused to move, declaring it to be their resolution to remain upon their paternal lands, and defend them as they best might from the grasp of the spoiler. Advantage was immediately taken of their change of purpose: their tergiversation was held to exonerate the Bengal Government from the obligations of perpetual protection or equivalent compensation, and the recusants were abandoned to their fate.[2] One chief alone, Jujar Sing of Rai-

[1] A notion prevailed amongst the people that the province was ceded by the British Government in consequence of financial embarrassments. The head men of the villages thereupon assembled, waited upon Captain Roughsedge the commissioner, and offered on the part of their respective communities to make a free gift to him of half, or, if that were insufficient, of a still larger proportion of their property of every description, if the sacrifice would prevent their being abandoned.—MS. Records.

[2] It is stated in a work which is in general of good authority, the Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. p. 312, "that Sambhalpur and Patna were restored to the Raja of Berar by General Wellesley, in ignorance of the intention of the Bengal Government to keep them as tributary dependencies; that many attempts were made to induce the Raja to forego the concession, and accept an equivalent; and that it was only upon finding him adhere per-

gerh, allowed his allies no such pretext to shuffle off their responsibility: he had consistently refused to be a party to the agreement to leave the country, and declared himself resolved rather to suffer any extremities, leaving to the British Government the odium of a breach of faith. They were, therefore, obliged to except Raigerh from the cessions to Nagpur, but they accompanied the exception with strict injunctions to the Raja to avoid giving offence to the Government of Berar, on pain of forfeiting his claim to British support. A Mahratta force was sent against the other Rajas, which, with some trouble, and more by treachery than force of arms reduced them to obedience.[1] At a subsequent era, and under a different system of policy, Sambhalpur was finally re-annexed to the Presidency of Bengal.

Although deeply disappointed and annoyed by the refusal of the Bengal Government to understand the letter of Lord Cornwallis in the sense in which he interpreted it, the Raja of Nagpur was not in a position to resent its conduct or dispense with its friendship. He was pressed for large pecuniary payments by Sindhia and by Holkar: the latter threatened to exact the discharge of his demands at the head of an army, and the threat was subsequently

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tinaciously to the promised restoration, that the Government consented at last to relinquish the provinces; at the same time, in order to reconcile the people to the proceeding, they were told, that, should events again bring them under British rule, they should become permanently subject to it." The statement does not seem to be correct. In the treaty of Deognum, the 10th article confirms all treaties made by the British Government with the feudatories of the Raja; and the stipulation applies especially to the agreements with the Rajas of Sambhalpur and Patna, in which they had conditioned that they should remain permanently under British authority. Their districts were ceded to Nagpur by Sir G. Barlow in August, 1806, by a formal engagement, in the preamble of which it is stated that the Governor-General agrees to restore all the territory of Sambhalpur and Patna which was ceded by the Raja to the Company. It is clear, therefore, that up to the date of this restoration the provinces had been held by the Company; and no claim to them by the Raja, founded on a promise by General Wellesley, could have been preferred or recognised.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 261, 300.

[1] The fort of Sambhalpur was at the time of the cession in the hands of the Rani, the Raja being detained a prisoner at Nagpur. Finding himself unable to carry the place by force, the Mahratta general pledged his Government in the most solemn manner to release the Raja and acknowledge his authority, on the Rani consenting to a moderate tribute. Having thus thrown her off her guard, he took advantage of her confidence, in the course of the negociations that followed, to surprise the fort before any defence could be offered. The Rani fled with a few followers; and having with great difficulty, and after much fatigue and suffering, escaped into the British territory: protection, and a small monthly pension, were granted her. She was one of those who at first entertained the proposal to emigrate into Cuttack, but who shrunk from its accomplishment.—MS. Records.

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carried into act by Holkar's colleague, Amir Khan. Instigated also by other Mahratta princes and the Nawab of Bhopal, with whom the Court of Nagpur was at enmity, and impelled by their own habits of plunder, the confederated marauding bands known by the designation of Pindaris committed constant depredations on the frontiers of Berar, and on more than one occasion pillaged the country even in the vicinity of the capital. Ragoji Bhonsla and his ministers were well aware that his only security against the aggressions of his countrymen was the British alliance, and they were careful, therefore, to maintain it unimpaired. The connexion added to the strength and reputation of the British Government, as it was obvious to all the native states, that the most ancient and respectable branch of the Mahratta confederacy was indebted for all the political consideration which it retained, to the friendly relations established between it and the British power, unincumbered by a subsidiary treaty, and not incompatible with its independence.

Of all the Mahratta princes engaged in hostilities with the British, Dowlat Rao Sindhia had suffered the severest military and political inflictions. The organised battalions which had rendered him irresistible to the native powers, and formidable to his European adversary, had been almost annihilated;[1] and, although much of the territory conquered from him on the west of the Jumna had been restored, he had been deprived of extensive tracts in Hindustan, and of all the reputation and authority he derived from the guardianship of the Emperor of Delhi. He was precluded by positive engagements, as well as by his fear of the consequences of their infringement, from seeking to re-establish his ascendancy in the Mahratta confederation; and the sole object of his now humbled policy was to obtain money, on various pretexts, from the British Government, and from the neighbouring states.

[1] The regular infantry brigades in Sindhia's service at the beginning of the war consisted of seventy-two battalions, forming a disciplined force of 43,000 men in a highly respectable state of efficiency, with a large proportion of field artillery.—Malcolm's Central India, i. 138. After the war they were reduced to two brigades, under the commands severally of a Frenchman named Baptiste, and an Armenian of the name of Jacob; their discipline and organisation were greatly impaired.—Letters from a Mahratta camp. There were other bodies of troops under native leaders, but they were of a still more imperfect and irregular description. — Prinsep, Transactions in India, i. 26.

The equivocal behaviour of Sindhia in the interval that elapsed between the treaty formed with him in 1803, and that with Holkar in 1805, virtually annulled the existing engagements, and rendered their renewal necessary. A new treaty was accordingly entered into with him, by which some of the stipulations of that of Sirji Anjangaum were abrogated, others confirmed.[1] The intercourse that ensued in the period immediately following had principally for its object the fulfilment of the stipulations then provided: it did little credit to either of the contracting parties, turning mainly upon matters of pecuniary interest, in which it was the aim of the Mahratta to get as much, and of the Governor-General to give as little, as possible. The disputes were characteristic.

The treaty of Sirji Anjangaum permitted Sindhia to hold within the British possessions certain districts granted him in Jagir by the King of Delhi; and it secured to members of his family, and to some of his chief officers, compensation for lands held by them in the Doab before the war, either by a grant of similar Jagirs or of equivalent pensions, provided that the whole amount of revenue so alienated did not exceed the annual sum of seventeen lakhs of rupees. By the final treaty, Sindhia agreed to relinquish, from the 1st of January, 1805, pensions to the amount of fifteen lakhs of rupees a year. The Jagirs to individuals were continued, not merely as compensation for loss, but avowedly as bribes to purchase their voices for peace; or, as it was officially expressed, "to secure the support of influential officers in the councils of Sindhia, whose interests being affected by a war, they would oppose its occurrence." The same engagement contracted for a pension to the Maharaja himself of four lakhs of rupees a year, and a Jagir of two lakhs to his wife, and of one to his daughter. The Jagirs were eventually commuted to

[1] In the engagement now concluded, no notice was taken of the subsidiary treaty to which Sindhia had acceded in 1804. It might, therefore, be considered as virtually cancelled. It was in fact altogether nugatory. The force to be furnished by the British Government was not to be paid by the Raja, nor was it to be stationed in his territory. The arrangement amounted to no more than an agreement to furnish Sindhia with a body of troops whenever he should require them, if the purpose for which he required them was approved of by the Government of Bengal. It was very little probable that the latter would often give their sanction to Sindhia's military policy, and as little likely therefore that he would apply for troops. He never did make the application, and the treaty was a nullity.

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pensions, which lapsed with the death of the pensioners. These grants and commutations were the subjects of long and sometimes angry discussion.

Another contested item was the balance of an account between Sindhia and the Company, in which the former claimed arrears of pension, and of revenue collections for two years prior to 1805; which the latter admitted to a limited extent, but met with a counter-claim for the public and private property plundered from the British Residency in 1804, and for moneys advanced and charges of collection. The sum claimed by Sindhia was nearly twenty-four lakhs of rupees; that demanded by the Company, nearly twenty-seven lakhs. They agreed, however, to forego a portion of their claim, and admitted a balance in favour of Sindhia of 63,000 rupees (6,300*l.*), an amount which was vastly inferior to his expectations and his necessities: for the relief of the latter he was therefore obliged to look to other quarters.

The quarrels of the Rajput princes, which will presently be more particularly adverted to, offered an ample field for the gratification of Mahratta rapacity, of which the Mahratta princes in Malwa were not slow to reap the harvest. The exhaustion of Sindhia's resources, and the impossibility of raising a revenue commensurate with his expenditure from his wasted and depopulated territories, crippled his movements, and disabled him from appropriating his full share of the spoil. His troops, still too numerous for his means, were repeatedly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay, and had degenerated into a lawless horde of plunderers, who, in the realisation of their demands, made little difference between the country of friend or foe, and pillaged the districts of their own master and his allies as remorselessly as those of his enemies. The only prospect of providing them with an equivalent for pay, and of maintaining amongst them some degree of subordination, existed in the levy of contributions from the neighbouring princes; and from time to time considerable sums were exacted from the Rana of Udaypur, and the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, as arrears of tribute due under former engagements to the Mahrattas, or as the price of plighted military service, which was at best but imperfectly rendered. But Holkar and Amir Khan had taken the disputes of

the Rajputs under their management, and Sindhia was unwilling or unable to interfere with effect. After a feeble attempt at interposition, he was contented to allow some of his principal officers to take occasional part in the contest, whilst he directed his attention more especially to the prosecution of designs against the independence of Bhopal.

The principality of Bhopal presented the singularity of a petty Mohammedan power in the very heart of the Hindu states. It was founded at the close of the seventeenth century by Dost Mohammed, an Afghan adventurer in the service of the Emperor of Delhi, who, from being the superintendent of the small district of Bersia, in Malwa, raised himself, by that mixture of courage, activity, treachery, and political cruelty, which is not uncommon in the character of his countrymen, and which in the latter days of the Mogul empire was the usual title to temporary elevation, to the command of a territory of some extent, and the appellation of Nawab of Bhopal. His direct line continued through his three successors. The two last of these devoted their lives to religious meditation and prayer, and left the conduct of public affairs to their ministers, men of various characters and fortunes; whose administration often excited, and sometimes justified, the opposition and violence of the turbulent nobles and officers of the court. At this period, the Dewan or minister of the Nawab was his kinsman, Vizir Mohammed, whose father had been slain in an unsuccessful insurrection, and whose youth had been spent in exile and predatory warfare: placed, after many vicissitudes, at the head of affairs, he brought to their administration the qualities of activity, courage, and prudence, which promised to restore the declining prosperity and reputation of Bhopal. He was not suffered to carry his projects to maturity. The son of the Nawab, Ghous Mohammed, jealous of his ascendancy, and apprehensive of his ambition, invited the Raja of Berar, and Dowlat Rao Sindhia, to invade the principality, in order to secure his succession to the throne. The invitation was readily accepted. The capital, Islam-nagar, was captured by the latter; and the city and fort of Bhopal were occupied by Sadik Ali, the general of the former. Little hope remained that the state would recover from the pressure of such a formidable combination.

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In this state of things, the old Nawab, Haiyat Mohammed, died. He was succeeded by his son, who, finding that his allies purposed the dismemberment of his territory, reconciled himself to Vizir Mohammed, and continued him in the office of Dewan, trusting to his talents for the extrication of his country from the grasp of his enemies. His expectations were not disappointed. Vizir Mohammed conciliated Sindhia, by promising to discharge the tribute which Ghous Mohammed had engaged to pay; and, with the assistance of the Pindaris, he repelled the forces of Berar. The ruin of his country was arrested for the time; but Vizir Mohammed was well aware of the inadequacy of his means to cope with such powerful adversaries, and, anticipating the repetition of their efforts for his destruction, endeavoured to interest the British Government in his favour. The system of policy then adopted, rendered his application ineffectual, and he was left to his own resources until a more auspicious period arrived, when the debt contracted to the Nawab of Bhopal, Haiyat Mohammed, for the assistance which he gave to General Goddard, and by which alone the British detachment was enabled to march unopposed from the Nerbudda to Surat, was repaid by the seasonable protection afforded to his descendant.

The counsels of Sindhia were likewise distracted by the conflicting views of his principal officers and advisers, and the struggles that prevailed amongst them for the management of his affairs. Ambaji Inglia, after having been confined, tortured, and plundered, as has been described, was restored to favour, and became the leader of a party opposed to the former ministers. In order to strengthen his influence, he invited Sirji Rao Ghatka, whom the British Government had banished by express stipulation from Sindhia's presence to return to camp; and although the measure furnished his adversaries with a plea for alarming the prince, and inducing him once more to imprison and pillage Ambaji, yet, when the interdict was withdrawn by those who had pronounced it, and the Government of Calcutta no longer entertained an undignified apprehension of the intrigues of an individual, Sirji Rao resumed his place at Sindhia's durbar, and conducted, conjointly with Ambaji, the duties of the admini-

stration. Neither of them long survived the recovery of their authority. Ambaji Inglia died early in 1809. Sirji Rao Ghatka was killed in an affray in the course of the same year.[1] Dowlat Rao, after Ambaji's death, seized on his fortress of Gwalior, and for the greater part of his life continued encamped in its vicinity, until his camp grew to be a considerable town, which is still the capital of his descendants. No other change ensued: the same pecuniary embarrassments continued to be felt, and the same means of relieving them to be employed: the fruits of robbery and spoliation were dissipated by the wasteful and unprincipled system under which they were gathered, and the hordes of licensed banditti which were let loose upon the surrounding states were a source of weakness, not of strength, to the prince whom they nominally served. The British Government, unable to rid itself of former impressions, continued to treat Dowlat Rao Sindhia with a guarded and timid policy for some time after his friendship had ceased to be an object of conciliation, or his enmity of fear.

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The power and resources of Jeswant Rao Holkar were in like manner for some time estimated rather by the mischief which he had inflicted, than any which he retained the ability to commit. The unmerited liberality which

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[1] The importance attached to this individual by his special exclusion from Sindhia's presence as an article of treaty, gives interest to the following details of his death, derived from an authority on the spot:—"Sirji Rao had gone to the durbar and was earnestly pressing Sindhia to accede to some of his proposals; to which the Maharaja as usual returned evasive and unsatisfactory replies, and ordered his equipage to be got ready to go to an elephant-fight. As he was about to depart, Sirji Rao repeated his remonstrances, and at length had the temerity to seize the skirt of his robe and endeavoured to detain him forcibly in his seat. Some of the Huzuriyas (personal attendants) present, incensed at such an insult, thrust him back; and Sindhia escaped from the tent, giving an order to secure the minister's person. Sirji Rao drew his sword and resisted the execution of the order: a violent scuffle ensued, in which some individuals of both parties were killed, and several wounded. At length Sirji Rao effected his retreat to his own tent, but was followed by the enraged party from the Deüri, headed by Anand Rao and Manaji Phankra, two distant relations of the Maharaja's family. In one minute the ropes of the tent in which the unfortunate minister had taken refuge were cut, and he himself dragged from beneath it; and in the next he fell dead in the public streets, pierced with a dozen wounds inflicted by his pitiless enemies. Sindhia is said to have given orders, when he heard of the scuffle, to spare his father-in-law's life, and from the known lenity of his disposition it is probable he did so. His pursuers either wilfully or ignorantly mistook these orders, and in all probability rejoiced at an opportunity of getting rid of a man who was an object of hatred to themselves, of dislike to their master, of terror to the whole army, and apprehension to every court in India."—Letters from a Mahratta Camp, by Captain Broughton, commanding the Resident's escort, 1809, p. 223.

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the British Government had evinced towards him had replaced him in the actual or prospective possession of an extensive and valuable territory,[1] and its selfish disregard of inconvenient obligations consigned to his rapacity the chieftains of Rajputana, particularly the Rajas of Bundi and Jaypur.[2] The motives of this uncalled for generosity were unintelligible to the native princes, and to Holkar himself; and both ascribed it to dread of his military talents, and incapability of providing longer for the exigencies of war. The necessary consequence of this notion was, the inflation of Holkar's ambition with the hope that he should soon be able to reunite under happier auspices the disjointed members of the Mahratta confederacy, and exact a severe retribution for the mutilation which they had suffered. So far was he from acknowledging the extent of the leniency which had been shown him, that he immediately preferred, in insulting language, new and unreasonable claims; demanding the cession of additional lands in the Dekhin, and of eighteen districts in Hindustan, and the grant of Jagirs for his family and adherents.[3] Protracting his march southwards as long as he could find any one whom he might plunder, he levied contributions on his way from the petty chiefs whom the British Government professed to protect, or to regard as allies;[4] and he made no secret of his purpose to punish

[1] The treaty with Holkar of December, 1805, restored to him the possessions of the Holkar family in Mewar, Malwa, Harauti, and the Dekhin.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 294.

[2] A declaratory article, added to the treaty by Sir George Barlow, abrogated the second article, by which Holkar had renounced all right to Tonk-Rampura and the districts north of the Bundi Hills. The abrogation was interpreted by him as a virtual withdrawal of the protection granted to the Bundi Raja. By the eighth article of the treaty, Holkar relinquished all claims of every description upon the British Government and its allies amongst whom the Raja of Jaypur considered himself included: his claim was not admitted, as is subsequently noticed in the text.

[3] In one of his first letters he declared peremptorily that the districts which he claimed in Hindustan must be restored to him, and he insisted that others should be assigned to Amir Khan. The Bengal Government sheltered its dignity under the plea of an erroneous translation of his expressions having been made by Colonel Malcolm, through whom the letter had been transmitted, but apparently with little reason; and there was no question as to the general tone of the epistle. The Governor-General determined to take no offence, ascribing Holkar's language "to the unbridled violence of his temper." The application was answered by Lord Lake, with an intimation that its repetition might lead to a renewal of hostilities; and, although this intimation did not silence Holkar's pretensions, it induced him to urge them in more decent phraseology.—MS. Records.

[4] On his way through Hariana, which had been given to Abdul Samad Khan, as a reward for his services in the war, Holkar levied contributions

the Bundi Raja expressly for the aid which he had given during the war to the British. He had scarcely returned to his own domains when he addressed letters, or dispatched emissaries, to the other Mahratta princes, urging them to renew their ancient connexions, and prepare for another conflict with their common foe.[1] They were suffering, however, too severely from their recent discomfiture to venture precipitately upon so dangerous an enterprise; and, whatever the opinion which they might at first have been disposed to entertain of Holkar's courage and conduct, it was speedily effaced by his outrageous behaviour and eventual derangement.

The first object of Holkar's policy after his return to Malwa, was, the maintenance of a military force far beyond his own unaided resources. The plunder of his neighbours offered the only means of filling his treasury; and the quarrels of the Rajput princes unhappily afforded to him, even in a greater degree than to Sindhia, an opening for pecuniary exactions. On his return from the Punjab, Holkar halted for about a month in the Jaypur territory; and, whilst his army laid waste its fields, he received eighteen lakhs of rupees from the Raja, as the price of his withholding his aid from the Raja of Jodhpur, with whom the Raja of Jaypur was at strife, and who, by giving shelter to Holkar's family when the Mahratta fled from Lord Lake, had established some claim to his gratitude. The money extorted from Jaypur precluded him from giving personal assistance to Jodhpur, but he evaded the strict fulfilment of the bargain by permitting his chief leader and intimate associate, Amir Khan, to carry his mercenary bands to whichever of the contending Rajas should bid most largely for their services. Holkar then occupied himself with the castigation of the Raja of Bundi, exacting from him heavy contributions, and with enforcing demands of a similar nature from Zalim Sing, regent of Kota. He then withdrew to Rampura-Bampura, where his health rapidly gave way to habitual intoxication and

on the villages, and laid waste the lands. The Khan applied for military succour: this was refused; but in consideration of the recent date of the grant, and the impossibility of his having had time to organise his resources, pecuniary compensation for his losses was awarded to him.—MS. Records.

[1] Sindhia, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Nagpur severally communicated these letters to the Residents at their courts.—MS. Records.

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unrestrained indulgence, the effects of which were exacerbated by the compunctious visitings of conscience.

The animosity borne by the Peshwa to Holkar, augmented his dissatisfaction with the favourable terms granted to that chief; and he strongly objected to the treaty which the British Government had concluded, that it conferred upon him rights and possessions to which he had no claim. In truth, Jeswant Rao Holkar had become the head of his house, partly by accident, partly by his own exertions. Tukaji Holkar, his predecessor, left two legitimate sons, Kasi Rao and Malhar Rao. His third son, Jeswant Rao, was his son by a concubine. Kasi Rao, the eldest son, was deformed in body and infirm in mind, and his unfitness for the administration of affairs induced the chief officers of the state to give the preference to his younger brother Malhar Rao. Sindhia took part with Kasi Rao; and, in the contest that ensued, Malhar Rao was killed, and Jeswant Rao, who had upheld his cause, was obliged to seek safety in flight. After encountering many vicissitudes, Jeswant Rao, by a course of successful predatory devastation, in which he was deeply indebted to the companionship of Amir Khan, found himself strong enough to drive Sindhia's troops out of the territories of the Holkar family, and establish himself in their government in the name and on behalf of their lawful prince, Kandi Rao, the infant son of the murdered Malhar Rao, who was at the time in Sindhia's hands, as well as Kasi Rao, his uncle. The latter was allowed his liberty, and gave himself up to Jeswant Rao; and, when the war with the British Government was projected, Sindhia, in order to secure Holkar's co-operation, resigned to him the charge of the boy Kandi Rao. At the time of Holkar's return from the Punjab, Kasi Rao was living peaceably at Nimaur, under the charge of Jeswant Rao's Gooroo, or spiritual guide, Chimna Bhao: his nephew, Kandi Rao, had accompanied him on his march.

A body of Mohammedan horse in the service of Jeswant Rao having mutinied for arrears of pay, his nephew was delivered to them as a pledge for the promised liquidation of their demands. As the promises made to the mutineers were slow of accomplishment, it occurred to them to intimidate Holkar into more prompt compliance by proclaim-

ing Kandi Rao the lawful Raja, and threatening to depose Jeswant Rao as usurper.[1] The danger was imminent; the money was raised; the mutinous soldiers were paid and dismissed: they dispersed to their homes without any concern for the fate of the unhappy youth whom they had used as their instrument of intimidation, and abandoned him to those jealous apprehensions which they seem to have first excited. In a week Kandi Rao was no longer an object of fear. It was given out that he had died suddenly; but it was the universal belief that he had been poisoned, if not by the orders, at least with the acquiescence of Holkar.[2]

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To this crime succeeded an event which in current belief was of an equally atrocious character—the death of Kasi Rao. The accounts of this transaction vary in some of the details, although they correspond in the outline. Kasi Rao resided in a stronghold in the province of Nimaur, of which the governor was Chimna Bhao, the Gooroo of Holkar, and known to be his ready counsellor and agent in every deed of infamy and guilt. An insurrection under some military leaders had broken out in the adjoining district of Kandesh, and one of their parties attacked Chimna Bhao with a view to obtain possession of the person of Kasi Rao, and place him at their head. To disappoint their design, and prevent Kasi Rao from falling into their hands, Chimna Bhao caused him to be put to death. There does not appear to be any conclusive evidence that Holkar himself had suggested a pretended attack upon his minister as a pretext for the murder of his brother, or any reason to infer that the act was not solely attributable to the unpremeditated and reckless cruelty of Chimna Bhao.[3] The imputation of being accessory to the

[1] Malcolm's Central India, i. 242. According to Amir Khan's account of the affair, this plan of enforcing payment was adopted by his recommendation, not without a suspicion on Holkar's part that the whole was a device of Amir Khan to obtain an adjustment of his own claims.—Mem. of Amir Khan, 290.

[2] Central India, i. 244. Amir Khan asserts unhesitatingly that Holkar caused poison to be administered to his nephew, and so destroyed him; Mem. 307.

[3] According to Malcolm, on the authority of Bangash Khan, one of the insurgent Patan leaders, a party under his confederate, Dadan Khan, attempted the release of Kasi Rao, who was confined at Kargond, in Nimaur; to prevent which, Chimna Bhao had him murdered in the thicket some distance from the fort. According to the evidence of a Sipahi, in the service of Chimna Bhao, present at the murder, Kasi Rao was killed in Bijaygerh, a

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deed was however fixed upon Holkar by common consent, and popular belief regarded his insanity as a just retribution for the murder of a nephew and a brother. He became subject to fits of mental derangement shortly after the death of Kasi Rao: they alternated with intervals of reason for about a twelvemonth, when they subsided into an unintermitted state of moody fatuity, which after a duration of three years terminated in death.

The affairs of Holkar's dominions were conducted during his incapacity by his favourite mistress Tulasi Bhai and her minister Balaram Set; but their hands were too feeble to maintain a steady curb upon the disorderly troops and their aspiring captains, and the country speedily became the scene of plunder and confusion. The party in Kandesh under Dadan Khan and other Patan leaders acquired a formidable consistency after the murder of Kasi Rao. They placed at their head Mahipat Rao Holkar, first cousin of Jeswant Rao, and proclaimed him sovereign. The troops sent against them either joined their ranks or were defeated; and they had a fair prospect of success, when, unfortunately for their cause, they extended their depredations into the territories of Poona and Hyderabad, and imposed upon the British Government the duty of protecting its

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fort also in Nimaur, from which Dadan Khan had attempted to carry him off. The despatch from the Resident with Sindhia, reporting the transaction, agrees in making Bijaygerh the seat of the prince's detention; but states that, orders having been sent to bring him for greater security to Holkar's camp, Chimna Bhao was escorting him on the way, when he was attacked at night by Dadan Khan's men, and, in the affray that followed, Kasi Rao was accidentally shot. Amir Khan's story materially differs from the foregoing. He says, that the Bhils of Kandesh, being in insurrection, had got hold of the wife of Kasi Rao, and, she being pregnant, they declared that if the child were a boy they would make him Raja; that Chimna Bhao, being sent to quell the disturbance, took Kasi Rao along with him from Galna, where he had been detained; that on the march he set some of his own people to make a sham attack by night upon his camp, and, in the confusion thus occasioned, he pretended great alarm lest Kasi Rao should fall into the hands of the Bhils, and, to prevent it, ordered him to be put to death; the whole being in truth the device of Holkar. Although it is true that the Bhils were in a state of insurgency at this period, yet the policy of opposing a rival to Holkar was much more likely to have occurred to the Patans, and it was no doubt to guard against their availing themselves of the name of Kasi Rao that he was murdered by some such contrivance as is imputed to Chimna Bhao. Holkar denied that he had given orders to put his brother to death, and, ascribing it to accident, publicly expressed himself glad that it had occurred at a distance, as it might otherwise have injured his reputation. The varieties of the story afford a striking proof of the difficulty of coming at the circumstances of a fact even upon contemporary testimony. Mr. Prinsep hesitates to affix a date to this transaction; from the official correspondence it appears to have taken place about the middle of February, 1808.—Central India, i. 244; Mem. of Amir Khan, 313; MS. Records.

allies. The subsidiary forces of both states took the field. Colonel Wallace marched from Poona with one division, and Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton from Jálna with another. By a rapid cavalry movement of one hundred miles in forty-eight hours, Colonel Doveton came unexpectedly upon the insurgents whilst besieging Amalner, a fort belonging to the Nizam. Most of their horse, and part of their foot, were destroyed. The shattered remains took refuge amongst the hills north of Kandesh: they were vigorously followed thither by Colonel Wallace; and the leaders were seized and delivered to him by the Bhils, the inhabitants of the forests with which the hills are clothed. The Patan chiefs were conducted prisoners to Poona: Mahipat Rao escaped, but, separated from his military associates, he soon fell into obscurity and occasioned no further trouble.[1]

A different destiny awaited another of Holkar's Mohammedan captains, who, by a singular combination of enterprise, craft and good-luck, rose from the condition of a soldier of fortune to the recognised rank of an independent prince. Amir Khan was by descent an Afghan, whose grandfather had emigrated from Buner, and settled in Rohilkhand. From his earliest youth he had led the life of a soldier; seeking service, sometimes with a few followers, sometimes with a larger troop, in the armies of the various princes and leaders, who in the last days of the Mogul empire were ever ready to enlist adherents. For a considerable time his fortunes were precarious, and he was not unfrequently in want even of a meal; but he gradually became a captain of some note, and took a conspicuous share in different military and political transactions, of which Malwa and the valley of the Nerbudda were the principal field. He lent good aid to Vizir Mohammed in the defence of Bhopal; but the resources of that chief being exhausted, he listened to proposals from Holkar, and united himself thenceforth steadily to his interests. Holkar was then making his escape from Nagpur, where he had been detained by the Raja; and had no greater following than a rabble of two or three hundred men, ill-armed, undisciplined, and living by plunder. The junction of Amir Khan with a force respectable in numbers and

[1] MS. Records; Central India, i. 284.

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equipment turned the tide of his fortunes, enabled him to possess himself of the territories of his family, and placed him in a position formidable to Sindhia, to the Peshwa, and the English. Amir Khan shared in his prosperity, and did not desert him in adversity. He accompanied Jeswant Rao, as we have seen, in his flight to the Punjab, and returned with him to Malwa. Although professing allegiance to Holkar, and acting in his name, Amir Khan retained the independent command of his own troops, and held himself at liberty to provide for their support by contributions levied at his pleasure from the princes in whose dissensions he found it profitable to interfere. After Holkar's insanity, he interposed occasionally in the disputes that occurred at court, but large bribes secured his general support of Balaram Set and the Bhai. The necessity of raising funds for the payment of his soldiers after he had drained the coffers of the Rajputs impelled him, shortly after the date at which we have arrived, to turn his steps in the direction of Berar, and brought him, as we shall subsequently have occasion to notice, once more into collision with the Government of British India.[1]

Such was the utter prostration of the Mahratta confederacy upon the close of the war: the Peshwa, chafing secretly under the fetters to which he had rashly submitted, but impotent to break them, and affecting to wear them with cheerfulness; the Gaekwar, saved from insolvency and ruin by the tutelage of his allies; the Raja of Berar, unable without the same assistance to protect his country from Pindari pillage and Afghan arrogance; Sindhia, humbly begging a paltry pittance from the power he had lately encountered with almost equal arms; and Holkar, intoxicated and insane, with his country devastated by his own rebellious soldiery, and his court disgraced by the turbulence and profligacy of factious competitors for the authority which he was no longer in a condition to exercise. Yet, notwithstanding this abject state of the two last-named chieftains, the Bengal Government persisted in its purpose of conciliating their good-will, by leaving them

[1] Notices of the career of Amir Khan are to be found in Malcolm's Central India, Prinsep's Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, &c.; but the most authentic account is a kind of autobiography, or Memoirs of Nawab Mohammed Amir Khan, composed in Persian from his own dictation by Munshi Basáwan Lal, translated by H. T. Prinsep, Calcutta, 1832.

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unquestioned licence to prey upon their still more feeble and disunited neighbours, the princes of Rajputana.

That portion of Hindustan which extends from the districts bordering on the west bank of the Jumna to the desert that skirts the eastern borders of the Indus, and which lies between the Punjab on the north, and Malwa and Guzerat on the south, is collectively known as Rajawara or Rajasthan, as being in an especial degree inhabited by tribes allied by community of origin, institutions, and character, and claiming as Rajputs, or "sons of kings," to represent the military and regal caste of the primitive Hindus. The country was distributed, at the period in question, amongst a number of princes, some of whom were of comparatively little political importance, from the limited extent of their territory; whilst others, although ruling over more spacious tracts, were equally unimportant, from the sterility of the soil, and the scantiness of the population. Among these, three princes were acknowledged to be pre-eminent in rank and power, the Rana of Udaypur, the Raja of Jodhpur, and the Raja of Jaypur, so entitled from their respective capitals; but, more correctly speaking, the rulers of Mewar, Marwar, and Dhundhár, the names of their several principalities.

The Rana of Udaypur reigned over a rugged but not wholly sterile territory on the north-west of Malwa. He pretended to a direct descent from Ráma, the mythohistorical monarch of Ayodhya, or Oude, through his son Lava, who migrated to the west. The Ranas of Udaypur are therefore regarded as members of the Suryavansa, or Solar dynasty of the Hindus; but, as Rajputs, they belong to the Sisodya branch of the Gahilote tribe. They are admitted to precedency over all other Rajput princes, who accept from their hands, upon succeeding to their principalities, an ornament worn upon the forehead, in confirmation of their accession.[1] From the time of the

[1] Colonel Tod remarks, that, whilst the genealogies of many of the Rajput princes are questioned, the Hindu tribes yield unanimous suffrage to the ruler of Mewar as the legitimate heir of the throne of Rama, and style him Hindua-Suraj, the Sun of the Hindus. He subsequently, however, adverts to the curious tradition mentioned by Abulfazl; Ayin Akbari, ii. 8, and repeated in fuller detail by Wilford, Asiatic Researches, ix. 233, of the descent of the Ranas of Udaypur from Naoshirwan, king of Persia, through his son Naoshirzad. He is said to have rebelled against his father, and, being defeated, to have fled into Hindustan, whence he returned to Persia with an army of

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Mohammedan invasion of India, the Ranas of Udaypur were constantly engaged in warfare with the kings of Delhi, and repeatedly sustained fearful reverses. Driven from their capital, Chitore, they transferred their residence more to the west, where Udaya Raja built a city, named after him Uday-pur, towards the end of the sixteen century; and in the strong country in its vicinity they maintained their independance.

Separated from Mewar by the Aravali Mountains on the north-west, lies the principality of Marwar, the capital of which is Jodhpur: great part of this country is a sandy desert, but it contains some fertile tracts, especially on its southern boundaries. The Raja of Jodhpur is a member of the Rahtore tribe of Rajputs, and traces his descent from the family that reigned over Kanoj at the period of the Mohammedan conquest; on which occasion two sons of the last prince, Jayadeva, fled to the west, and settled in the almost unpeopled districts of Marwar. From the elder brother descended the reigning dynasty; one of whom, Jodha, was the founder of Jodhpur in A.D. 1459: the younger is claimed as their ancestor by the chief Thakurs, or feudal nobles of the state. The Rahtores of Marwar, like the Gahilotes of Mewar, suffered many vicissitudes in their encounters with the Mohammedans; but, in the reign of Akbar and his two successors, their Rajas submitted to be treated as servants of the Mogul empire, holding high offices both civil and military, and becoming connected with the imperial house by giving their daughters in marriage to the Emperor or his sons. The bigotry of Aurangzeb forced them to take up arms in defence of their religion; and in a war of thirty years' continuance, although frequently defeated in the field, their spirit was unbroken, and their principality unsubdued. After the death of

Indians: he was again defeated, and was slain in battle, but his issue remained in India, and from them the Ranas descended. Another legend traces the family to Maha-bhánu, daughter of Yezdegird, the last monarch of Persia.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 233. Tod thinks it not improbable that there may have been a connexion between the Persian and Indian families. The late discovery in the west of India of coins of the general character of those of the Sassanian kings, and blending Indian and Persian portraits and inscriptions, establishes the fact that some of those princes exercised authority directly or through Indian feudatories on the confines of Hindustan, and render it possible that some such intercourse as that which subsequently united the royal house of Timur with the Rajput princes may have subsisted, and given rise to the tradition.—Ariana Antiqua, p. 400.

Aurangzeb, their friendly intercourse with Delhi was resumed, and they were seen taking a prominent part in the disorders that ensued. The decline of the empire freed them from all semblance of vassalage, but their own dissensions and crimes were more fatal to their power and reputation than their subservience to the Emperor.

The country of Dhundhár, or from its capital, Jaypur, lies on the north and east of Mewar and Marwar, extending towards the Jumna. It is the territory of the Kachwáha Rajputs, who consider themselves to be the posterity of Kusa, another son of Rama. The origin of the principality dates no earlier than the tenth century, and its capital was built only in the beginning of the eighteenth.

From its eastern position, the principality lay exposed to the attacks of the Patán sovereigns of Delhi; but it was not until the accession of the house of Timur that its Rajas became feudatories of the empire. From the reign of Baber they acknowledged the supremacy of the Mogul, and were distinguished amongst the principal officers and nobles of his camp and court. They were early connected also with the imperial house by marriage, several maidens of the race becoming the brides of the Mohammedan princes.[1] Raja Jaysing, the founder of Jaypur, was actively concerned in all the stormy transactions of the disastrous period which followed the death of Aurangzeb; until observing the irretrievable ruin of the empire, and the irresistible progress of the Mahrattas, he made terms with the latter, and withdrew from the politics of Hindustan, to the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the improvement of his country. He died in 1743. After his death, Dhundhár became a prey to intestine divisions and Mahratta spoliation.

At the close of the war with the Mahrattas, Rana Bhím Sing was reigning at Udaypur; Mán Sing was Raja of Jodhpur; and Jagat Sing, of Jaypur. Neither of them possessed the qualifications which the times demanded; the patriotic sentiments which should have suppressed

[1] Bhagwan Das is said to have been the first Rajput who submitted to an alliance with a Mohammedan family: his daughter was married to the son of Akbar, Prince Selim, afterwards the Emperor Jehangir. Mán Sing, nephew of Bhagwan Das, was a great favourite with Akbar: and was successively viceroy of Bengal, Bahar, the Dekhin, and Cabul.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 353.

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selfish feelings and leagued them with their fellows, the judgment capable of estimating their own true interests, or the courage and energy necessary to maintain their independance. Listening alone to the dictates of personal enmity, they paralysed by their dissensions the valour of their subjects, and aided and abetted the foreign robber in the work of mutual destruction. The cause of quarrel by which they were at this time exasperated against one another was peculiarly characteristic of the race, and to be paralleled only in the poetical traditions of distant ages.

Krishna Kumari, the daughter of Bhím Sing, Rana of Udaypur, was a maiden of reputed beauty and of undoubted rank, and was consequently an object of desire to the other Rajput princes. Whilst yet a child, the Raja of Jodhpur, named also Bhím Sing, had made overtures for her hand; but the alliance was prevented by his death. She was then solicited in marriage by Jagat Sing of Jaypur, and his proposals were accepted by the Rana. An escort of three thousand troops was sent to Udaypur to convey the princess of Jaypur for the solemnization of the nuptials, when the negotiations were interrupted by the rival pretensions of Mán Sing, the Raja of Jodhpur. He demanded the princess as the affianced bride of his predecessor, and declared that her marriage into any other family would bring indelible disgrace upon him and his tribe. Mán Sing is said to have been instigated to the assertion of his claims by one of his chief Thakurs, Sawai Sing, who, for purposes of his own, sought to involve his liege lord in hostilities with the surrounding states.

Bhím Sing, the preceding Raja of Jodhpur, left at his death his widow pregnant; and it was a condition of Mán Sing's accession, that, if the child should prove to be a boy, he should assign to the infant prince that portion of the royal domains which were regarded as the appanage of the heir apparent. A boy was born; but, fearing to intrust him to the care of the Raja, the mother kept his birth secret, and the infant was sent privily to Pokarna, the castle of Sawai Sing, where he was concealed. At the expiration of two years his protector, finding the chief feudatories of Jodhpur greatly discontented by the preference given by the Raja to certain of his favourites,

communicated to them the birth and existence of the prince, and secured their concurrence in the vindication of his claims. They repaired accordingly in a body to the Raja, and demanded the fulfilment of his engagement. Mán Sing, with some reason, required evidence of the genuineness of the pretended heir; but the Rani when appealed to, fearing, it was affirmed, for her own safety, denied that she had given him birth. The chiefs were silenced, but not satisfied; and Sawai Sing awaited a more favourable season for advancing the pretensions of the youth whose cause he had espoused. It was with this view that he urged Mán Sing to demand the hand of the princess of Udaypur, anticipating the series of difficulty and danger in which he would be consequently involved. The anticipation was speedily realized. The party sent to Udaypur by Jagat Sing was attacked and routed; and the Rana was compelled to retract his assent, and affiance his daughter to Mán Sing. His rival was furious at the disappointment and the insult; and a war broke out between the two Rajas, which was equally destructive to all the Rajput principalities.

From the time when the first Baji Rao established the ascendancy of the Mahratta power in Central India, the princes of Rajputana had been forced to pay the Chouth, the fourth part of their annual net revenue, or a sum arbitrarily estimated equivalent to a fourth, as a fixed tribute. The payment was at first made to the Government of Poona; but, as the authority of Sindhia and Holkar came to supersede that of the Peshwa, they claimed it as their right. The indefinite scale by which the tribute was measured, and the relative ability of the parties to enforce or resist the demand, rendered the actual amount payable undetermined; and it was no part of Mahratta policy to admit of a composition, as the vagueness of the sum afforded them a convenient plea for unlimited exaction. There was consequently a constant arrear due by the Rajput states, and a constant pretext for the desolating incursions of the Mahratta troops. In the division of the spoil, the Jaypur tribute was appropriated by Holkar; that of Udaypur and Jodhpur by Sindhia: but they had also conflicting pretensions each to a portion of the plunder of the other. The

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Peshwa had likewise his claims to a share, but his alliance with the British debarred him from their compulsory enforcement.

1807. The Raja of Jodhpur lost no time in influencing the Mahratta chiefs to befriend his cause. Sindhia was already at variance with his rival, the Jaypur Raja having refused to pay some of his extortionate demands; and Holkar was indebted to him for protection which he had given to the family of that chieftain during his campaigns in Hindustan. The Raja of Jaypur disregarded the combination, in reliance upon the British Government, with which he entered into alliance;[1] and which, in the treaty of peace with Holkar, as concluded by Lord Lake, had cancelled the Mahratta's claims upon its allies, and dispossessed him of all territory north of the Bundi Hills. The declaratory article of Sir G. Barlow, as already noticed, annulled these stipulations, and virtually excluded the Raja of Jaypur from the benefits of the alliance upon which he had depended; and it was not to be wondered at that he should have remonstrated strongly

1804. against his desertion. His abandonment was wholly indefensible. It was not to be controverted that a treaty had been contracted with him, by which the enemies of one of the contracting parties were to be considered as the enemies of both; and the Raja, in the event of a dispute with any other prince, was entitled to British mediation and aid. When he required the fulfilment of the stipulations, he was told that "no treaty existed; it had been virtually abrogated by the non-performance of his part of the compact. He had recalled his troops from Monson's detachment during its retreat; he had not sent his forces to join the British army when it moved northwards, but despatched them to Udaypur; and had not only failed to cut off Holkar's supplies, but allowed him to march through the Jaypur territory. He had no longer, therefore, anything to expect from the British Government." The Raja denied the justice of the charges adduced against him. He affirmed that his troops had separated from Colonel Monson with that officer's consent, and by the orders of Lord Lake; that although his

[1] The treaty is dated 12 Dec.; 1803; the date of its ratification by the Raja is left blank.—Coll. of Treaties, p. 253.

forces were on their march to Udaypur, yet as soon as their services were required, they suspended their march, and joined the Bombay army under General Jones, and that General Jones and Lord Lake had both furnished him with their written acknowledgments of the promptitude and efficacy of his co-operation. Lord Lake had also given him strong assurance of the stability of the alliance. He represented, that, if the British Government had been dissatisfied with his conduct at any particular time, it should at that time have expressed its displeasure, and at once have declared the alliance annulled. To have continued to employ the services of the Raja until they were no longer needed, and reserved all expression of dissatisfaction until it could be used as a pretext for getting quit of an inconvenient obligation, was both disingenuous and dishonourable; to desert an old friend because the tide was setting against him, was ungenerous and unjust; and the powers of India could not but regard the conduct of the Government of Bengal as a departure from that good faith which it had hitherto been its pride to preserve inviolate. The argument was incontrovertibly in the Raja's favour: the Government had continued to exact and receive from him services to which he was bound by treaty after the commission of those acts which they subsequently held to have virtually annulled it. Admitting that the Raja had broken his engagement, the Government, by accepting his aid as if no such breach had occurred, virtually admitted its non-occurrence, and recognised the engagement as still subsisting. It was, however, the inflexible policy of the Governor-General to abstain from interference, and the remonstrances and reasonings of the Raja of Jaypur were unavailing.[1] He

[1] The remonstrances of the Raja were strongly supported by Lord Lake, as noticed in a preceding volume. The Court of Directors also, although they did not enjoin the renewal of the alliance, disapproved of its dissolution, conceiving its justice extremely questionable; "as although the Raja had failed in the performance of his engagements during the war with Holkar, yet he had furnished assistance towards its conclusion at the instance of Lord Lake, and under an expectation held out by his Lordship that the protection of the British Government would be continued to him; and they thought it necessary to enjoin the Government of India to take care, in all its transactions with the native princes, to preserve its character for fidelity to its allies from falling into disrepute, and to evince a strict regard, in the prosecution of its political views, to the principles of justice and generosity." The sincerity of these expressions would have been less liable to question if the policy which they condemned had been countermanded.—Malcolm's Political Hist. of India, i. 390.

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was consigned to the equally inexorable policy of the Mahrattas; and the first-fruits of his desertion were the plunder of his country by the disorderly bands of Holkar as they returned from the Punjab, and the payment to their leader of twenty lakhs of rupees as the price of his withholding assistance from the Raja of Jodhpur.[1]

In the war that followed, Holkar so far adhered to the bargain he had made as to refrain from joining in person either of the rival Rajas. It did not, however, prevent him from permitting Amir Khan to enlist his mercenaries in their quarrel.[2] The Patán entered into the service of Jagat Sing: the Raja of Jaypur was also joined by Sawai Sing and the nobles of Jodhpur who supported the claims of the posthumous son of their last Raja, and Mán Sing was deserted at the moment of encountering his enemies by almost all his principal chiefs. He was compelled to fly, and seek refuge in the citadel of Jodhpur; while the confederates overran and ravaged the rest of the country. They then laid siege to the capital: but it suited not the policy of Amir Khan to suffer the Raja's extermination; and taking, or affecting to take, umbrage at want of punctuality in the payment of his troops by the Raja of Jaypur, he abandoned Jagat Sing, accepted money and promises from Mán Sing,[3] and, marching into the country of Jaypur, commenced a course of depredation which speedily compelled the Raja to break up the siege of Jodhpur, and hasten to the defence of his own dominions.

[1] Holkar's Vakeels expressed their master's acknowledgments to Lord Lake for the abrogation of the treaty with Jaypur as a personal favour intended to conciliate him. The act was viewed in the same light by the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur.—MS. Records.

[2] The Amir and Holkar got up a pretended disagreement as an excuse for the uncontrouled proceedings of the former at the latter's suggestion: according to his own story, he makes Holkar say, "You must now separate from me in public as in quarrel, so that our enemies and the world in general may see that your continuing to raise troops is a source of dissatisfaction and displeasure to me, and not done with my concurrence or sanction. We may still understand one another in case of occasion arising for us to rejoin our forces." When the Amir took formal leave in open Durbar, harsh words passed between him and the Maharaj, and so to the time when the Amir mounted his palki, as in high displeasure. The Maharaj, running on foot some paces alongside, took hold of the feet of it, and made a show of endeavouring to soothe and appease the Amir. The Amir, however, pretended not to listen, but returned to his army;" p. 309.

[3] The terms of his compact with Mán Sing were, according to Amir Khan's statement, that he should pay four lakhs and fifty thousand rupees (£45,000) per mensem, besides taking a brigade into permanent service; and should further give the Amir a Jagir of four lakhs for kitchen expenses, and confer Jagirs also on his principal officers; p. 324.

A double game was in like manner played by Sindhia. In the first instance he befriended the suit of the Jodhpur Raja, and contributed to the defeat of the troops sent to escort the princess to Jaypur;[1] but, having received payment of considerable sums affirmed to be due to him from the Rana, he professed to remain neutral in the contest. His principal captains were, however, allowed to side with either of the competitors. They ranged themselves under the banners of Amir Khan, and assisted to ravage Jodhpur until the harvest was gleaned; when Ambaji Inglia renewed his connexion with Mán Sing, and Bapu Sindhia and Baptiste extended their marauding expeditions to the districts on the west of the Jumna, with which the British Government had purposed to recompense the attachment of its adherents.

The services of Amir Khan were not confined to the relief of Jodhpur from the presence of a victorious army, or to the retaliation of the havock which it had committed. He engaged to rid Mán Sing of an enemy more formidable than his rival Raja, and put an end to the internal divisions that in a still greater degree endangered his security, by the murder of Sawai Sing, and the extinction of the faction of which he was the head. Simulating a quarrel with Mán Sing, Amir Khan quitted him in seeming anger, and marched to Nagore, where Sawai Sing and the pretender had fortified themselves. Here he induced the Rahtore chief to believe that he might be bought over to their cause; and the advantages resulting from his alliance blinded the Rajput to the peril of unguarded intercourse with so perfidious a confederate. With the assumption of entire confidence, Amir Khan visited Sawai Sing, and gave him the most solemn assurances of his sincerity; suspicion was completely disarmed, the visit

[1] Tod has two apparently contradictory accounts of this transaction. In one place he states that Sindhia was encamped in the territory of Udaypur in the course of enforcing pecuniary demands upon the Rana; and that, having at the same time been denied a contribution from Jaypur, he insisted upon the dismissal of the Jaypur embassy. Upon the Rana's refusal he advanced with his brigades, defeated the troops of Udaypur joined by the Jaypur detachment, which he dispersed; and, encamping near Udaypur, compelled the Rana to submit to his conditions.—Annals of Rajasthan, i. 461. In another place he says, Mán Sing assembled three thousand horse, and, joining to them the mercenary bands of Heera Sing then on the frontier of Mewar, he intercepted the nuptial gifts of Amber; ii. 142. The first account is probably the more correct, as Tod was in Sindhia's camp; or it may be possible to reconcile the two.

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was returned, and the Rajput was received in the tent of Amir Khan, with every demonstration of respect and cordiality. Inventing a plausible excuse for a short absence, Amir Khan withdrew; the cords of one side of the tent were immediately let loose, and, whilst all within it were entangled beneath its folds, an indiscriminate fire of musketry and grape was poured upon them; Sawai Sing, his friends and attendants, those of Amir Khan himself, the dancing girls and musicians, all who had been present at the interview, were alike the victims of this murderous device. The death of his rebellious feudatory put an end to the dangers and fears of the Raja of Jodhpur.[1] Nagore was plundered, but Dhokal Sing effected his escape, and found a protector in the Raja of Bikaner; until a superior force besieged the Raja in his capital, and compelled him to withdraw his protection, and pay a heavy fine for his hospitality. The young prince then fled to the British territories and there remained in security.

The state of affairs in Holkar's camp having called Amir Khan thither, the Rajput princes were relieved awhile from his exactions. Jaypur enjoyed but a brief respite, as Sindiah presently demanded compensation for the services rendered by his troops; services which he had pretended not to sanction, and which, in truth, they had never discharged. The claim was not admitted; upon which he led his army across the Chumbal, and sat down before Dhuni, which he fruitlessly besieged. Foiled in this object, he listened to proposals from the Raja, and agreed to accept seventeen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat, having inflicted upon the country damage to an infinitely larger amount.

Although the Rana of Udaypur had taken no part in the war, and had therefore given less occasion than his neighbours, to any pretext for Mahratta extortion, he was obliged to drain his treasures in order to purchase the forbearance of both Sindhia and Amir Khan. The exhaus-

[1] According to Tod, the price of the crime was ten lakhs of rupees, and the two towns of Mundhiawar and Kuchilavas, each yielding an annual revenue of 30,000 rupees; ii. 150. Amir Khan states the sum at thirty-five lakhs of rupees, of which half was paid at the time. The conditions formerly agreed upon were renewed, with additional specifications; and Jagirs were promised to his son, his father-in-law, and others of his principal leaders. The Amir tells the story himself without any attempt at extenuation, and seems to regard it as an honourable exploit; pp. 347, 360.

tion of his resources was, however, less painful to him than the degradation which he felt in being obliged to treat them as equals, and the total want of deference which upstart adventurers and military robbers paid to his exalted rank and ancient descent. In his distress, he applied earnestly for the intervention of the British Government, and offered the cession of one half of his territory, if it would protect the other half from Mahratta spoliation. The same interposition was solicited by another Rajput prince, Zalim Sing of Kota, who, although he had wisely kept aloof from the contest between the rival Rajas, had nevertheless been repeatedly mulcted by Amir Khan and Sindhia; and the contending princes of Jaypur and Jodhpur, made a similar urgent appeal to the Government of Bengal, pledging themselves to abide by its mediation, and to submit to any conditions it should please to impose. They depended upon its interference as an obligation which it was bound to fulfil, as inheriting the paramount sovereignty of Hindustan. The dignity and power of the imperial court of Delhi had been appropriated by the Governor-General and the Council of Calcutta; and, along with the authority, the duties which the Emperors were accustomed to discharge, had devolved upon them. The weaker states of India, they argued, had a natural right to look up to the British Government for protection against the ambition and rapacity of the stronger; and they denied that there was any valid excuse for its questioning the right, when it was fully capable of exercising the power. The Mahrattas, who were at that moment spreading terror and desolation from the Setlej to the Nerbudda, were wholly incompetent to offer any opposition to the arms and authority of the Company; and the Governor-General had only to speak the word, and universal tranquillity would be restored. The policy of this course, they maintained, was equally obvious with its justice and humanity; for the British territories would derive security and prosperity from the suppression of disorders, which excluded their population from all amicable intercourse with the surrounding countries, and kept their own frontiers in perpetual disquietude and alarm. To these representations the principle of non-interference was inflexibly opposed; and Central India was allowed to

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fall into a condition of anarchy and ruin, which was accelerated rather than arrested by the removal of the innocent cause to which its present misery was ascribed.[1]

When all hope of the protection of the British Government was resigned, the Rana of Udaypur was driven to the unpalatable measure of retaining the services of Amir Khan: a fourth of his revenues was assigned to the Mohammedan leader, as the hire of one of his brigades to be employed in collecting the revenues and guarding the frontiers of Mewar.[2] The influence thus obtained by Amir Khan in the counsels of Udaypur, afforded an occasion for a new display of his recklessness of human life, and added another victim to the many whom he had unscrupulously sacrificed to his interest or his policy. He instigated the Rana to put his daughter to death. He also hinted, that, as the ally and friend of Mán Sing, he should, if he found an opportunity, carry her off by force and deliver her to the Raja; and he promised, if the Rana followed his advice, to assist him in recovering possession of a district in the hands of Mán Sing, which he coveted. The natural reluctance of the father was overcome by the blended motives of policy, fear, and hope, and poison was administered to the princess.[3]

[1] So far was adherence to this policy carried, that when the Raja of Macheri, at the solicitation of the Rani of Jaypur, sent a party of horse to escort the women and children of the Raja to a place of safety in his country, he was enjoined by the Resident at Delhi, under the orders of the Government, to forego his purpose and recall his troops; and was told that any interposition whatever would be regarded as a breach of the alliance under which he claimed British protection, September, 1807.—MS. Records.

[2] The Amir relates this arrangement with great self-complacency, remarking that the Rana and he exchanged turbans in pledge of friendship; p. 399. It must have cost the "the son of the Sun" many a bitter pang before he could stoop to such an interchange of marks of equality and fraternity with a Mohammedan trooper.

[3] Amir Khan relates this transaction without any reserve. According to his account, the Rana, after reflecting on his recommendation, said, "If you will pledge yourself to get for me Khali-rao, from Raja Mán Sing, I will in that case contrive to get rid of my daughter after you shall have gone, using such means as shall create as little odium as possible." The Amir agreed to the condition; and the Rana, after his departure, caused poison to be mixed with his daughter's food, and so administered it to her. It happened that what she took was not sufficient to effect the purpose, and the princess guessed the object of her father; whereupon she sent him a message, that, as it was a matter that concerned the good of the Raja and the honour of his family, and it appeared that her living longer was inconsistent with these in her father's opinion, there was no occasion for him to have gone secretly to work, for that she was prepared to die by her own act. Accordingly, having bathed, and dressed herself in new and gay attire, she drank off the poison, and so gave up her precious life, earning the perpetual praise and admiration of mankind.—Mem. 399. According to Malcolm and Tod, the death of the

The transactions in which the three principal Rajput states were involved with the Mahrattas for some years subsequently to the restoration of peace between the latter and the English, have been described at some length, not only on account of their importance in the general history of Hindustan, but of their connexion with subsequent events, by which they were brought within the pale of that protection which they now solicited in vain. A brief notice will suffice for the remaining chiefs of the Rajput tribes.

The Raja of Bikaner, Surat Sing, was a member of the family which reigned over Marwar. His ineffective support of the pretender, Dhokal Sing, has been mentioned. After payment of the stipulated contribution he was left unmolested, the desert surface of his country offering little temptation to the marauder. The same circumstance, and the remoteness of its situation, protected the neighbouring state of Jesselmer, lying north-west of Marwar, and inhabited chiefly by the Bhatti tribe of Rajputs. Although secluded from the aggressions of the Mahrattas, domestic quarrels did their work as well.

In an angle formed between Jaypur and Malwa, the province of Hárávati, so called from its principal occupants the Hára Rajputs, was divided between Kota and Bundi. Kota was under the management of Zalim Sing, nominally minister, but exercising the authority of Raja; his sovereign being content to lead a life of ease and exemption from responsibility. By a remarkable association of craft, prudence and resolution, Zalim Sing, although obliged to pay tribute and occasional extraordinary contributions, contrived to remain on friendly terms with the Mahratta leaders, and to preserve his country from their ravages: he had also established a character for firm and faithful adherence to his engagements; and to his honour and integrity the chiefs of every nation and tribe were accustomed to intrust their families and their wealth.[1] The

princess, although suggested by Amir Khan, was pressed on the reluctant Rana by one of the Rajput nobles, Ajit Sing, whose memory on that account is execrated throughout Rajasthan. They both agree in the cheerful submission of the princess to the will of her father, and the grief of her mother, who died shortly afterwards.—Central India, i. 339; Annals of Rajasthan, i. 463.

[1] Ambaji Inglia and Amir Khan both placed their families in the safe keeping of Zalim Sing; and the former deposited at Kota his treasures, which were of considerable amount.—Central India, i. 493.

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state of Bundi, which, in the reign of Akbar was one of the most considerable Rajput principalities, had been reduced to narrow limits by a series of misfortunes and the enmity of Jaypur. In consequence of the latter, a former Raja had been dispossessed of his patrimony; but he had been reinstated by Malhar Rao Holkar, and had thence become a tributary of the Mahratta. His grandson, the ruling Raja at the time of Colonel Monson's retreat, had given the British detachment a free passage through his territories, and afforded every assistance within his means. Those whom he had befriended, abandoned him to the resentment which his conduct had provoked in their behalf; and for several years he was exposed to every species of insult and extortion, from the vindictive policy of Sindhia and Holkar.[1]

The only other Rajput principality of any consideration was that of Macheri, between the Jumna and Jaypur. Originally a feudatory of Jaypur, the Raja had taken advantage of the enfeebled condition of his liege lord, and had early in the Mahratta war placed his independance under the shield of British protection.[2] The engagement was concluded during the administration of Lord Wellesley, in conformity to his policy of interposing a chain of independent native princes between the Jumna and the Mahrattas. As this was contrary to the views of his successors, they would have thought it fortunate if the Rajas of Macheri and Bhurtpore, who were similarly circumstanced, could have been induced to seek the dissolution of the alliance: they were obliged to admit, however, that, as the engagements had been contracted, it would be inconsistent with the credit of the Government to refrain from granting them protection against the menaced aggressions of Holkar. Notwithstanding reiterated assurances to this effect, the Raja of Macheri, alarmed by the abandonment of Jaypur, continued to apprehend a like desertion, until the obvious change in the counsels of Calcutta dissipated his fears.

It is equally unnecessary to enter at any length upon

[1] Annals of Rajasthan, i. 501; Duff's Mahrattas, iii. 281, 311.

[2] Coll. of Treaties, 251. The treaty was a general engagement of defensive alliance: troops were to be sent to the aid of the Raja when required, after failure of mediation between him and any prince with whom he might be at enmity. No subsidy or tribute was imposed.

the condition of the Ját princes of Hindustan. Professing to descend from the illustrious tribe of Yadu, the Játs on the Jumna had been transformed, by the necessity of self-defence, from a race of pacific agriculturists, into a nation of soldiers and conquerors. Forced into martial distinction by the distractions of Hindustan which followed the reign of Aurangzeb, they continued, under a succession of warlike chieftains, to take a prominent and profitable part in all the troubles which ensued, until the establishment of the authority of Sindhia at Delhi. In this interval their leaders acquired extensive and valuable possessions; and, although their power had been diminished by the superior resources of the Mahrattas, the representative of the original ruling family still retained a country of some extent, guarded by strong-holds, one of which was for many years a monument of British discomfiture. The Raja of Bhurtpore had become subsequently an ally of the British Government, and readily had recourse to its aid in moments of peril.[1] The successful defence of his fortress had, however, impressed him strongly with a mistaken estimate of his own importance, and in his intercourse with the protecting state he displayed equal arrogance and distrust.

The only other prince of this tribe, the Rana of Gohud, was descended from a Ját leader who rose to distinction in the time of the first Baji Rao, in the Peshwa's service. After the defeat of the Mahrattas at the battle of Paniput, he set himself up as independent ruler of the districts which had been intrusted to his charge; and his successor was allowed to retain them on condition of paying tribute to the Peshwa. The chiefs of Gohud were both by tribe and by position the enemies of the Mahrattas; and in this spirit the Rana, during the administration of Warren Hastings, joined the British, and rendered useful service to the detachment under Colonel Camac. After the peace he was left to his own unassisted means of defence, and these were insufficient to save him from the resentment of Madhoji Sindhia. His territory was invaded; the fort of Gwalior, which, after its capture from Sindhia by the British had been given to the Rana, was re-taken; and the

[1] For an account of the Játs, see Tod's Rajasthan, ii. 370; also a sketch of their history, Calcutta Quarterly Magazine, March, 1826.

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Rana was compelled to surrender himself a prisoner, upon a verbal assurance of personal immunity. In the late war with the Mahrattas, Ambaji Inglia, who governed Gohud on the part of Dowlat Rao Sindhia, went over to his enemies; and, as the reward of his desertion, a portion of the territory was guaranteed to him by treaty, whilst the Rana was replaced in the occupation of the remainder.[1] The policy of Sir G. Barlow, and his anxiety to conciliate Sindhia, led him to annul the treaty with the Rana of Gohud, upon the plea that he had not fulfilled its conditions, and that the agreement was therefore virtually cancelled. The territory was in consequence restored to Sindhia, and compensation was made to the Rana by the cession to him of Dholpur, which Sindhia had given up.[2] The stipulations of the treaty had pledged the Rana to efforts beyond his means; and his failure, as it proceeded from no defection on his part, was not a sufficient excuse for the violation of positive engagements. At the same time, it was evident that the British Government had formed an erroneous conception of the rights and power of the Rana of Gohud, and that Sindhia had good reason to complain of an arrangement which had converted a dependent of his government into an independent prince. The Rana himself, although not placed in the position which was at first designed for him, had no little cause for self-gratulation in his transformation from the condition of a prisoner and a fugitive, to that of a prince reigning in absolute sovereignty, under the security of British protection, over a portion of those domains the whole of which were held by his ancestors only through the sufferance of a Mahratta chieftain, subject to his exactions and liable to his resumption.[3]

[1] Ambaji was allowed to retain territory yielding a revenue of nine lakhs of rupees a-year. The portion assigned to the Rana was estimated at twenty-six lakhs.—Coll. of Treaties, pp. 256, 258.

[2] Second treaty with Kirat Sing, Rana of Gohud, 1806.—Coll. of Treaties, 298.

[3] The conduct of Sir G. Barlow in regard to the Rana of Gohud has been vindicated by high authority. In the debate on the India Budget in the House of Commons, 10th July, 1806, Sir Arthur Wellesley is reported to have asserted that Lord Wellesley had himself taken into consideration the expediency of restoring to Sindhia the territory of Gohud and the fort of Gwalior, and that the cession was not sooner made was owing to a want of confidence in the steadiness and consistency of Sindhia's counsels. Sir A. Wellesley states also that it had always been his opinion that Gohud and Gwalior ought to be restored to Sindhia. "Upon the whole," he concludes, "the committee

Although seceders in some respects from the orthodox religion of the Hindus, the Sikhs retain so many essential articles of the Brahmanical faith, that they may be justly classed among the Hindu races. In the original institution, the Sikhs were a religious community, who, in consonance with the benevolent objects of their founder, Nanak Shah, a native of the Punjab, proposed to abolish the distinctions of caste, and to combine Hindus and Mohammedans in a form of theistical devotion, derived from the blended abstractions of Sufyism and the Vedanta, and adapted to popular currency by the dissemination of the tenets which it inculcated, in hymns and songs composed in the vernacular dialects. These still constitute the scriptural authority, the Grantha, *the book* of the Sikhs. The doctrines and the influence of the teachers gave a common faith to the hardy and intrepid population of the upper part of the Punjab, and merged whatever distinctive appellations they previously possessed in the new general designation of "Sikhs," or "disciples," which thenceforth became their national denomination. As their numbers increased, they attracted the notice of the Mohammedan rulers, and were subjected to the ordeal of persecution. They had recourse to arms: under a succession of military leaders, the sword became inseparably associated in their creed with the book; and their ranks were recruited by fugitives from political disorder and fiscal oppression, who readily adopted a faith which made but trifling demands upon their belief, and differed in few material points from that which they professed. Community of danger became the bond of both a religious and a social organization, and a nation grew out of a sect. As the birth-place of their founder Nanak, and of the teacher who in a still greater degree gave to the Sikhs their characteristic peculiarities, Guru Govind Sing, was the Punjab, it was there that they congregated and became organised, in spite of the efforts of the viceroys of Lahore for their suppression, until they had become masters of the whole of the country from the Setlej to the Indus.

will observe, that I consider Sir G. Barlow's treaty with Sindhia to have been consistent with the spirit of that which I was the instrument of concluding at the close of the year 1803; and that the late Governor-General, Lord Wellesley, intended to have carried into execution that part of its stipulations which refers to Gwalior and Gohud."—Hansard's Parl. Deb.

BOOK I. CHAP. I. 1807.

The circumstances under which the Sikhs achieved their independance were unfavourable to the consolidation of their power. In their hostilities with the Mohammedans they acted without plan and without an acknowledged head, and adopted a desultory system of warfare, in which different leaders collected their relations and friends, and unexpectedly fell upon their enemies and laid waste the country. As the means of opposing their incursions declined, they were emboldened to undertake operations of greater importance requiring concert and combination; and, for this purpose, the different Sirdars assembled occasionally at a public diet usually held at Amritsar, the site of their principal shrine. When the Afghans supplanted the Moguls in the government of the Punjab, the Sikhs experienced some severe reverses from the military skill and activity of Ahmed Shah; but after his death they were at liberty to establish themselves as a political confederacy in the countries which they now occupy. The districts were divided amongst different associations termed Misals, implying assemblies of equals under chiefs of their own selection. The chief was to lead in war, and arbitrate in peace: he was treated with deference by the other Sirdars, but they recognised no obligation to obey his commands. Towards the end of the last century twelve principal Misals were formed, varying considerably in the extent of territory which they governed, and in the number of horse which they could bring into the field.[1]

In the course of time the inherent defects of a military federation of this description began to be manifested, and individual ambition and ability to assume that ascendancy which they were calculated to attain. Amongt the least considerable of the Misals was that of Surat-Chak, so called from the lands which the progenitors of the chief, Charat Sing, had originally cultivated. Charat Sing commenced a career of aggrandisement at the expense of his neighbours, which his son Maha Sing pursued with still greater success. The son of the latter, Ranjit Sing, had, however, surpassed both; and by a singular combination

[1] An interesting account of the Sikh federation will be found in the "Origin of the Sikh power in the Punjab," compiled by Mr. Prinsep chiefly from the report of Captain William Murray, Political Agent at Ambala; Calcutta, 1834.

of courage and cunning, he had brought most of the chiefs on the west of the Setlej under his controul. The chiefs on the east of that river, whose possessions were contiguous to the province of Delhi, professed, after the close of the Mahratta war, an undefined allegiance to the British Government; and some uncertainty with regard to the protection with which it was repaid compelled Ranjit Sing to proceed with caution in his project of extending his supremacy across the Setlej. That he was disappointed in his projects was attributable to the altered policy of the British Government upon the accession of Lord Minto to the office of Governor-General.[1]

From the review that has been thus taken of the political circumstances of India during the administration of Sir G. Barlow, it is evident that the supremacy of the British power was virtually established, although matters were not yet sufficiently ripe for its open avowal. Some unnecessary forbearance was no doubt exhibited, and some degree of blame deservedly incurred for apprehensions needlessly entertained, and engagements unjustifiably violated; but it may be questioned if the policy of the Government did not, however undesignedly, promote the consummation which it was intended to avoid. It would have been easy, and it would have been generous, to have interposed in defence of the Rajput princes and rescued them from Mahratta rapacity; but, had the tranquillity of Hindustan been restored by a further expenditure of the resources of Bengal, the latter would have required a longer period for the renovation of its exhausted vigour, whilst the former would have been earlier placed in a condition to provoke and defy its resentment. The continued contests of the native princes operated favourably for the extension of British ascendancy; they disposed the weaker to welcome the approach of foreign protection, and they disabled the stronger from offering effective opposition. On the other hand, the suspension of military operations of any magnitude for several years afforded the British Government opportunity to accumulate and

[1] A description of the religious tenets of the Sikhs will be found in the Asiatic Researches, vol. xvii.; and a more general account of their origin and history is published in the eleventh volume of the same collection, by Sir John Malcolm. Mr. Prinsep's work, just referred to, describes their later progress and the rise of Ranjit Sing.

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improve its resources, and, when again compelled to employ them, to put forth its energies with a might which made resistance to it hopeless, and elevated it to an eminence from which it directed without dispute the destinies of Hindustan.

CHAPTER II.

Sir George Barlow, Governor-General.— State of the Finances.— Retrenchments.— Supplies.— Judicial and Revenue Arrangements for Cuttack, the Doab, and Bundelkhand.—Revenue Settlements in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces.—Separation of Judicial and Revenue Functions at Madras.— Murder of Europeans at Vellore.— Arrival of the Dragoons.— Fort retaken.— Military Inquiry.— Disposal of the Prisoners.—Causes and Circumstances of the Mutiny.—Its Origin in religious Panic occasioned by Military Orders.— Similar Alarms at Hyderabad, Walajabad, and Nandidrúg allayed or suppressed.— Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock recalled.—Ultimate Decision of the Court of Directors.

WHEN the provisional assumption of the government of India by Sir George Barlow, consequent upon the death of Marquis Cornwallis, was known in England, the Court of Directors determined to nominate him permanently Governor-General, and the nomination was acquiesced in by the Board of Controul. The principles of the policy which he pursued towards the native states have been sufficiently explained, and their consequences exhibited in the preceding pages. The other transactions of his administration were for the most part of inferior interest, though scarcely of minor importance.

The first cares of the new Governor-General were engaged by the state of the public finances, which had been seriously deranged by the expenses of the war. The charges had for some years past exceeded the revenues by a considerable amount, and the deficit had been supplied by loans contracted at a high rate of interest,[1] or by the

[1] A loan was opened in January, 1805, at 10 per cent., by which sicca rupees 2,12,47,000 (2,124,700*l.*) were raised.

application of the Company's commercial remittances to territorial disbursements. Heavy demands still remained for liquidation; the pay of the troops was seven and eight months in arrear; large sums were due on account of pensions to native chiefs and princes, and funds to meet these claims were for some time deficient.[1]

The restoration of tranquillity admitted of economical retrenchments in the principal article of public expenditure, the charges of the military department, and in nothing more than the dismissal of the irregular troops which had been taken into the British service during the war: these were disbanded, in several cases with injudicious haste; and Jagirs were assigned to some of their leaders in commutation of pay or pension. A present inconvenience was thus in a great measure obviated, but the newly acquired districts were burthened with establishments which even in the present day in some degree diminish the revenue that might else be raised from them. Extensive reductions of the regular forces were at the same time effected.

The economical principles which guided the proceedings of the government of Bengal, were equally impressed upon the attention of the subordinate Governments, and the importance attached to the object by Sir G. Barlow, is fully shown by the language in which his views were communicated to Bombay and Madras. He reminded the supreme authorities at both Presidencies that, "the finances of the Company having been involved in extraordinary difficulties by the consequences of the late war, it had become the solemn duty of the different Indian Governments to establish a system of the most rigid economy through every branch of their civil and military expenditure;" and he therefore enjoined them "to abrogate all such charges as were not indispensable to the good government and security of the provinces under their controul. The extraordinary demands upon the public resources had arisen," he observed, "almost exclusively from the enhanced charges of the military departments; but the circumstances of India were now propitious

[1] The demands payable by the Bengal Government amounted in May, 1806, to ninety lakhs of rupees, to meet which not above forty lakhs were available.

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to their retrenchment, as no danger was to be apprehended from French aggression, and the condition of the native states not in alliance with the Company precluded all apprehension of their possessing the means of making any impression upon the British power for a long course of years: that independently of this prospect of future tranquillity, derived from the preponderating power of the latter, the treaties which had been contracted with Sindhia and other princes had been drawn up with a view to remove all grounds of difference, and to conciliate them by concessions which would render it their interest to preserve the relations of amity so established inviolate." The Governor-General suggested various specifications of retrenchment, and concluded by confidently hoping that in a short time the reductions from those sources would relieve all pressure upon the finances, and restore depreciated public credit, leaving a surplus to pay off the public debt and provide the Company's commercial investment.

This last consideration, the provision of the investment of goods for sale in England, was, in fact, the main-spring of Sir G. Barlow's policy, as it was of that of the Company. It was the pressure upon their commercial credit and resources which the latter were most anxious to relieve; and, as their instructions to that effect found an obedient agent in the Governor-General, the necessary result was the sacrifice of all comprehensive political views to present commercial exigencies. The financial embarrassments of the Indian Governments were merely of a temporary nature: the return of peace necessarily reduced much of the immediate charge; and the revenues were rapidly increasing, from the valuable accessions of territory acquired during the war, and the certainty of their improvement under a regular and efficient system of administration. Nor was there any cause for alarm in the state of public credit, as, although it had been thought necessary to offer a high rate of interest, ten per cent. per annum, on a loan contracted in the early part of 1805, the rate was not unprecedented or unusual; and in the course of 1806 a loan was opened at eight per cent. per annum, with such entire success, as in the course of a few years to absorb all pre-

ceding and more burthensome obligations.[1] The rate then negotiated commenced a series of reductions of the interest of the public debt, which has for some years past nearly equalised the interest paid in India with that which commonly prevails in the kingdoms of continental Europe.[2]

The exertions made by Sir George Barlow for the diminution of the public expenditure were not in vain; and by the end of April 1807, the close of the Indian official year, shortly after which he relinquished his office to his successor, he had reduced the excess of annual charge to less than a half of its amount in 1805, and had matured a system of economy, which, in the first years of Lord Minto's administration, transformed the deficit into a surplus.[3]

[1] Sicca rupees 26,65,00,000, or about 30,000,000*l*., were transferred and subscribed to this loan between 1805-6 and 1810-11, when it chiefly merged into a loan at no higher a rate than 6 per cent.

[2] The rates of interest now borne by the public debt of India are 4 and 5 per cent.

[3] The statements appended to the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, printed in May, 1810, present the following comparative view of the relative revenues and charges of India from 1804-5 to 1807-8.

	Revenue.	*Charge.*	*Excess of Charge.*
1804-5	£14,949,395	£16,487,346	£1,537,951
1805-6	15,403,409	17,672,017	2,268,608
1806-7	14,535,729	17,688,061	3,152,322
1897-8	15,669,905	15,979,027	309,122

By a statement in the author's possession, compiled in the office of the accountant-general in Calcutta, the returns of the three first years in Sicca Rupees are as follows:

	Revenue.	*Charge.*	*Excess of Charge.*
1804-5	S.R.13,06,49,241	S.R.15,76,18,750	S.R.2,69,69,509
1805-6	,, 13,58,28,952	,, 16,44,88,747	,, 2,86,49,795
1806-7	,, 12,97,16,627	,, 13,99,23,581	,, 1,02,06,904

and in the fourth year,

			Surplus Revenue.
1807-8	,, 13,87,59,682	,, 13,77,19,952	,, 10,39,730

which surplus, calculating the rupee at 2*s*., which is something less than its intrinsic value, is equal to 103,973*l*. These particulars agree with the statement given by Mr. Tucker; of which he remarks, that, as they were prepared from official and authentic documents, they may be received with confidence. —Review of the Financial Situation of the East India Company, by H. St. George Tucker, p. 13. One source of difference in the two statements is the difference of exchange valuation. The old accounts of the East India Company were converted from Indian into English money at 2*s*. per current rupee (116 of which were equal to 100 Siccas) for Bengal, 8*s*. per pagoda for Madras, and 2*s*. 3*d*. per Bombay rupee: a valuation which, however correct according to the state of the exchange, was far above the intrinsic value of the coins; the current rupee at par being worth only 1*s*. 9*d*. ·177, the pagoda 7*s*. 6*d*. ·386, and the Bombay rupee 2*s*. ·008.—Report of Select Committee on the Finances of the East India Company, August 1832, App. No. 20. In the above comparison of receipts and disbursements, the rate being the same on both does not very materially affect the result; but the excess conveys an exaggerated view of their amount to the extent of about one-seventh of the aggregate sums. Now, although the exchange value of the Indian cur-

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In order to provide for the most urgent and immediate demands, funds were raised by a loan in 1805-6; by which, in the course of that and the following year, about four millions sterling were supplied to the treasury: the deficit which remained was met by remittances from Europe which, during the three years from 1804-5 to 1806-7, exceeded by two millions sterling the supplies realised in England from the proceeds of the Company's trade.

Besides the measures adopted for the removal of financial difficulties the Indian Governments were occupied during the interval between the departure of Marquis Wellesley and the arrival of Lord Minto in extending and consolidating the revenue and judicial arrangements in various districts newly taken under their authority. Upon the annexation of the province of Cuttack to the presidency of Bengal, commissioners were appointed to effect a settlement of the revenue with the landholders; and, in September 1804, the latter were apprised that at the expiration of a twelvemonth a fixed assessment would be levied upon their lands, upon a just and moderate consideration of the receipts of former years. This announcement was confirmed by a regulation of the Government;[1] and the same enactment recognised the principle of substituting a quit-rent for a land assessment in respect to certain petty Rajas and Zemindars residing in the mountains and thickets of Orissa. All other sources of revenue which had existed under the Mahratta Government were abolished, with the exception of an excise upon spirituous liquors, and a capitation-tax upon pilgrims to the temple of Jagan-

rencies might be properly taken as the standard for their conversion into English money in regard to all receipts and disbursements, whether commercial or territorial, occurring in England, yet such a standard was wholly inapplicable to revenues and charges beginning and ending in India itself. The intrinsic value of the currencies, as compared with that of the British coinage, was in such case the least variable and most correct measure. The statements in Sicca Rupees, converted into Sterling at 2*s.* the rupee, would therefore be preferable, as nearer the truth; but their use is inconvenient, as affording results different from those given in the Parliamentary and India House accounts, the authorities most readily available: these will therefore generally be followed. In the present case, besides the difference of valuation, there is a discrepancy in the relative statements which is not easily accounted for. The annual accounts must have been made up either on different principles, or for somewhat different intervals. The aggregate of the four years, adopting the conversion of the sicca into the current rupee, offer a near though not close approximation; the Parliamentary accounts making it 7,268,003*l.*, the Calcutta statements sicca rupees 6,47,86,478 (equal to current rupees 7,51,52,314, and, at 2*s.* the current rupee, to 7,515,231*l.*

[1] Bengal Regulations. Reg. xii. 1805.

nath. The latter was the subject of a further enactment[1] in the following year, by which the amount of the tax, the mode of levying it, and other circumstances connected with it, were defined, with a view to protect the pilgrims from the unwarranted exactions of the officers of the Government or of the temple, and to maintain order and security in the town of Jagannath-pur and its dependencies. At the same time, provision was made for the administration of justice in civil causes by the institution of a provincial court,[2] and a revision was effected of the system of police which had been previously in force in Cuttack. The duties of the police during the Mahratta Government had been intrusted to a body of armed men, termed Paiks, or footmen; who were commanded by their own Sirdars or chiefs, and occupied lands exempt from rent, in payment of their services. They were subject to the general controul of the landholders within whose domains they were located, and the landholders were responsible to the Government for the prevention of disorders and robberies within the limits of their respective estates.[3] This system was unchanged; but, in order to fix upon the landholders a better defined authority and more distinct responsibility, they were formally invested with the title and powers of Darogas, or head-officers of police, under the general superintendence of the magistrate of the province.

The introduction of the Company's judicial and revenue regulations in the territories lastly acquired in the Doab and in Bundelkhand had been accomplished by previous enactments.[4] Those affecting the revenue were based upon the principle of an ultimate settlement in perpetuity in the Upper provinces as well as in Bengal, but postponing its conclusion to the expiration of certain definite periods. Two successive settlements were to be made for a term of three years each, and a third was to be concluded for a period of four years. On the close of each of the

[1] Reg. iv. 1806.

[2] Reg. xiv. 1805. A striking instance is afforded by one of the clauses of this regulation of the high value of money under the Mahratta Government, and its anticipated reduction under the British. In all disputes concerning obligations bearing interest which originated before October, 1803, the court was authorised to recognise the following rates: on sums not exceeding 100 rupees, 30 per cent. per annum; on larger sums, 24 per cent. per annum. Subsequently to the date specified, the rate of interest was restricted to 12 per cent. per annum.

[3] Reg. iv. 1804.

[4] Regs. xxv. 1803; v. viii. ix. 1805.

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two first periods, the assessment was to be revised and augmented according to the progressive improvement which it was anticipated would have taken place in the value of landed property; and at the end of the three terms, forming an aggregate of ten years, it was proposed to conclude a perpetual settlement for all such lands as might be in a sufficiently improved state of cultivation to warrant the measure, on such terms as the Government should deem fair and equitable. This last stipulation, strictly interpreted, rendered the pledge of little worth; for it reserved to the Government the determination not only of the final rate of assessment, but of the condition of the lands to be assessed. A still more important modification of the original enactment was, however, introduced by Sir George Barlow. On the termination of the first triennial period of the settlement of the Ceded provinces, he added a clause to its renewal, which Lord Wellesley either overlooked or considered superfluous; and enacted, that the proposed settlement of the revenue in perpetuity in the Ceded and Conquered provinces should depend upon the confirmation of the Court of Directors.[1] Their confirmation was never conceded.

The principal legislative enactment at Fort St. George had for its object the discontinuance of the judicial powers theretofore given to the collectors of the revenue in the districts which had not been permanently assessed. Distinct courts of civil judicature were established in the several Zillas, and the separation of the judicial from the revenue department was completed in the territories of the Madras Presidency as well as in those of Bengal.[2] At the same time, the Supreme Court of Appeal was remodelled. It had hitherto been constituted of the Governor and Members of Council, a board already fully occupied. In their stead three Judges were appointed to the special duty of hearing appeals from the courts below, in addition

[1] "The Governor-General in Council hereby notifies to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the Jumma which may be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement immediately ensuing the present settlement shall remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars shall now be willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement shall receive the sanction of the Court of Directors."—Reg. x. 1807. Sect. v.

[2] Reg. ii. 1806.

to a Member of Council not being Governor of Madras, who was to act as Chief Judge.[1] No enactment of any interest was promulgated during this period at Bombay.

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In the midst of their pacific occupations, the Governments of India were startled by the occurrence of an event unprecedented in the annals of British India, and inspiring fears for the solidity and permanence of the empire,—the massacre of the European officers and soldiers in the garrison of Vellore by the native regiments on duty along with them. This happened on the morning of the 10th of July, 1806.[2]

The fortress of Vellore, situated eighty-eight miles west from Madras, had been chosen, for the convenience of its position and the strength of its defences, as a safe residence for the family of Tippoo Sultan, which consisted of twelve sons and six daughters. The six elder sons were married, and had children; four of the daughters also were married, and the marriage of the fifth was in course of solemnisation when the mutiny broke out. Their families, with their connexions and followers, formed an assemblage of several hundred persons, all living in the former palace of the Nawabs of the Carnatic, within the fort. The princes had been treated with a degree of distinction and liberality better suited to their former dignity than their fallen fortunes. They were under no other personal restraint than the attendance of a guard when they moved out, and prohibition against going out of the fort without the written authority of the commandant of the garrison and the paymaster of their stipends. Their allowances not only provided amply for their wants, but enabled them to support some show of state, and to collect around them a swarm of needy adventurers and vagrant mendicants, the willing instruments of mischief and eager fomenters of discontent.[3] The general charge of the princes and payment of their

[1] Reg. iii. 1807.

[2] The chief authorities for the following narrative and observations are, the MS. Correspondence of the Madras Government; Papers printed for Parliament in 1813; a Memorial addressed to the Court of Directors, and afterwards printed in 1810, by Lord William Bentinck; and Sir J. Cradock's Address to the Court, printed in the Asiatic Annual Register for 1807.

[3] The four elder princes were allowed 50,000 rupees a-year each; the three next, 25,000 rupees; the two younger, 8,400 rupees; and the remaining three, 6000 each. There were above 3000 natives of Mysore in the fort and adjoining Petta or town, and above 500 Mohammedan Fakirs. The whole population of the town was about 8000.

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pensions were consigned to Lieutenant-Colonel Marriott. No other officer was allowed to enter the palace without permission of the princes, and no European sentinel did duty within its precincts. The native sentries were posted only at the outer doors of the several dwellings. Colonel Marriott discharged also the duties of superintendant of police for the fort and the adjacent town of Vellore, the population of which had largely increased. The garrison of the fort consisted of four companies of his Majesty's 69th regiment, six companies of the first battalion of the 1st regiment of Native Infantry, and the 2nd battalion of the 23rd. The Europeans were about three hundred and seventy in number, the natives fifteen hundred. The whole were commanded by Colonel Fancourt, the colonel of the 69th. Spacious barracks were severally appropriated to the use of the European and native troops. The officers occupied separate, and, for the most part, detached houses.

About three o'clock in the morning of the 10th of July, the tranquillity of repose was broken by the sudden discharge of fire-arms, and the sound was speedily repeated in various directions. The Sipahis had been assembled silently in their quarters under arms by their native officers, and led to unexpected assaults upon the European posts. The few English sentinels on duty at the main-guard and the powder magazine were shot or bayoneted almost before they were aware of their danger, and the possession of the magazine secured to the insurgents the sole supply of ammunition. Their chief body beset the European barracks, firing through the open doors and windows volley after volley, and repelling every attempt of its inmates to sally forth, by a murderous discharge of musketry, and the fire of a field-piece which they had planted opposite to the doorway. As soon as these attacks commenced, detachments were stationed to watch the dwellings of the officers, with instructions to fire upon any one who should come forth: and, in pursuance of the order, Colonel Fancourt, as he descended from his house, received a wound which proved fatal; and Lieutenant-Colonel M'Kerras, commanding the 23rd, was shot as he was hastening to the parade. After the barracks were surrounded, parties of the native soldiers forced their way

into the houses of the Europeans, and put to death with unsparing ferocity all whom they could discover. Thirteen officers were killed, besides several European conductors of ordnance. In the barracks, eighty-two privates were killed, and ninety-one were wounded. The mutineers did not venture to enter the building, where they would have had to encounter the bayonets of the soldiers, but contented themselves with pouring their fire into the apartments; in which the men, unable for want of ammunition to return it, screened themselves against its effects as well as they were able by the beds and furniture. Early in the morning, a few officers, who had collected in one of the dwellings and had successfully defended themselves, made their way to the barracks, and, placing themselves at the head of the survivors, forced a passage through the mutineers and ascended the ramparts, where they took post in a cavalier. Hence they reached the magazine, but were disappointed in their expectation of supplying themselves with powder, and were obliged to return to the ramparts, where they found cover above the main gateway and in a bastion at the south-east angle of the fort. In these movements they were exposed to a continued fire, by which all the officers were disabled and many of the men were killed; yet they maintained their ground with steadfast courage, and repeatedly drove back their assailants at the point of the bayonet.

During the whole of these transactions an active communication was kept up between the mutineers and the palace, and many of the servants and followers of the princes were conspicuously active in the scenes of bloodshed and plunder which followed the first success. By some of these a flag, which had once belonged to Tippoo and bore his insignia,[1] was brought out of the palace and hoisted on the flagstaff amidst the acclamations of the multitude; but it was speedily pulled down by the men of the 69th as they passed the flagstaff in their way from the barracks to the ramparts. The indications of regularity and conduct which marked the first proceedings of the insurgents soon disappeared; subordination was speedily at an end; the Sipahis and followers of the palace dispersed in quest of plunder; and many who had

[1] A sun in the centre, with tiger stripes on a green field.

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been reluctant participators in the mutiny, who began to fear its consequences, or who sought to secure the booty they had obtained, availed themselves of the confusion to leave the fort. No arrangements had been made to hold the fortress, or to withdraw to any other position, when the alarm was given that retribution was at hand.

Arcot, the ancient capital of the Carnatic, and the scene of Clive's celebrated defence, was about nine miles distant from Vellore. It was a military station; and, among the troops cantoned there, was the 19th regiment of dragoons under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie. Information of the insurrection reached Arcot by six in the morning; and a squadron of the 19th, with a strong troop of the 7th Native Cavalry, with Colonel Gillespie at their head, was immediately on the road to Vellore, the galloper guns and remainder of the cavalry being ordered to follow without delay. By eight o'clock the first party was before the gates of the fortress: the outer two were open, a third was closed; but it was here that a few of the 69th had effected a lodgment, and some of the men, lowered by their comrades from the wall, opened the gate to the cavalry. There was still a fourth gateway, which was shut, and this was commanded by the mutineers so completely that it was necessary to wait for the guns to blow it open: they arrived about ten. Upon their approach, Colonel Gillespie caused himself to be drawn up to the rampart, where he put himself at the head of the party which had maintained the position, and descended from the post to charge the insurgents, at the same moment that the gate was blown open and the dragoons rushed into the fort. No resolute resistance was offered: after a feeble and straggling fire, the insurgents scattered in all directions, and were cut down by the cavalry, or bayoneted by the men of the 69th. Between three and four hundred were slain, many were taken, the rest escaped by dropping from the walls. In the course of ten minutes, the fort was again in the possession of the British troops, and an unsparing but not undeserved punishment had been inflicted on a great number of the mutineers. There still remained a multitude whose degree of participation in the mutiny and consequent destiny it was necessary to determine, and it

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was also of importance to discover the causes of so alarming on outbreak.

The number of the prisoners was speedily increased by the apprehension of the fugitives in various parts of the country by the police or by the villagers, and by the spontaneous surrender of many who either were, or wished to be thought, innocent. Some of the latter were allowed to resume their military duties, but there were still above six hundred Sipahis detained in confinement at Trichanopaly and Vellore. A military tribunal had been in the first instance instituted for their trial, by which several of those whose guilt was substantiated were condemned to death.[1] The criminality of the rest was referred to a special commission, upon whose proceedings the Government long hesitated to pronounce a final sentence. Although little doubt could be entertained that most of the Sipahis, whether in confinement or at large, were deeply implicated in the mutiny, yet it was impossible to procure satisfactory evidence of individual guilt, and it was incompatible with justice to condemn the whole upon probable imputation. To restore them to their military functions, was to insure impunity to insurrection; to set them at liberty and dismiss them, was to disperse over the country a number of desperate and dangerous men, whose example and instigations might lead to greater mischief. To transport the whole to Penang or the Cape, would be expensive and inconvenient, even if it were just. The opinions of the Governor and the Commander-in-chief were at variance; the former advocating the more lenient, the latter the severer course. The former eventually prevailed. The officers and men who were absent at the time of the mutiny, or who had given proofs of their fidelity on the occasion of its occurrence, remained on the strength of the army: the rest were discharged for ever from the service, with the grant to the officers of small pensions for their support, and the numbers of the regiments were erased from the army list.[2] The

[1] Three native officers and fourteen non-commissioned officers and privates were executed by sentence of a native court-martial.—General Orders by the Government, Fort St. George, 14th January, 1807.

[2] Two new regiments were formed in their place, the 24th and 25th, to which the European officers of the 1st and 23rd regiments, and such native officers and men as were not discharged, were respectively transferred.—General Orders, 14th January, 1807.

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disposal of the prisoners remained undecided until the arrival of Lord Minto at Madras on his way to Bengal. It was then resolved that a final investigation should take place, and, with the exception of those against whom proof of plunder and murder could be adduced, and who were to be punished accordingly, the whole should be gradually enlarged, being dismissed from the service and declared incapable of being again enlisted. As by this time the agitation had subsided and the confidence of the native troops was restored, the decision was carried into effect without difficulty, and without being followed by any perceptible mischief. The ascertainment of the causes of the mutiny, and of the principal circumstances attending it, was equally a subject of prolonged deliberation and productive of conflicting opinions.

Although the storm had burst so suddenly upon the victims of its fury, indications of its approach had not been wanting; and careful and intelligent observation might have anticipated its violence and guarded against its consequences. It was known early in May that deep and dangerous discontent pervaded the troops in garrison, upon the subject of orders regarding their dress and accoutrements, and rigorous measures were resorted to for its suppression. They had the usual effects of ill-judged severity. They stifled the utterance but aggravated the feelings, and embittered dissatisfaction by forcing it to assume the mask of acquiescence. Secret associations were formed, not only to resist the obnoxious orders, but to brave the penalty which insubordination incurred, by contracting guilt of a still deeper dye; and the native officers and men were gradually drawn into a conspiracy to murder all the Europeans in the fort, and elevate one of the sons of Tippoo to the sovereignty from which his father had been hurled by foreigners and infidels. Notwithstanding the oath of secrecy by which silence was imposed on all who were enrolled amongst the conspirators, intimations of the plot transpired sufficient at least to have put the objects of it on their guard. Not only were dark rumours of an approaching tumult current in the fort and Petta, but in the latter a Mohammedan Fakir repeatedly proclaimed in the Bazar the impending destruction of the Europeans. Little regard was paid to his

denunciations, as they were uttered with a wildness of manner and vagueness of language which inspired doubts of his sanity. Information still more positive was equally disregarded. At midnight, on the 17th of June, a Sipahi of the 1st regiment, named Mustafa Beg, had come to Colonel Forbes, the commander of the corps, and communicated to him that a plot was concerted to murder the European part of the garrison. The agitation which the man exhibited, and the imperfectly understood purport of his statements, induced the Colonel not only to doubt the authenticity of his testimony, but to refer its investigation to a committee of native officers, who, being all more or less implicated in the conspiracy, reported of course that Mustafa Beg was unworthy of credence, and demanded his confinement as the punishment of his calumnious aspersions. He was accordingly placed under arrest, and so remained until the mutiny and murder which he had in vain announced had taken place.[1] The utter neglect of these intimations, and their vagueness and infrequency, might seem extraordinary, if there were not reason to believe that there prevailed at the time a more than even the usual estrangement between the European officers and the native troops, which is too often engendered by the contemptuous indifference entertained by the former for the feelings and opinions of the latter, and by their imperfect acquaintance with the native languages. Had there been any cordiality between the European officers and the native garrison,—had any of them deserved the confidence and attachment of his men, it is not to be credited that only a single individual should have been found faithful among the many who were privy to the conspiracy, and that Mustafa Beg should have stood alone in his communications. Had there not also been some want of vigilance on the part of the officers of the garrison, it is difficult to conceive that they

[1] Mustafa Beg escaped during the tumult, but returned to the fort a few days afterwards, and was rewarded for his conduct by a pecuniary donation of 2000 pagodas and a Subahdar's pension.—G. O. Madras, 7th Aug. 1806. A European woman, who had resided some years in Vellore, also apprised Colonel Fancourt that secret meetings were held by the Sipahis in the Petta, at which seditious language was held. No attention was paid to her testimony, as her character was disreputable.—MS. Proceedings of Court of Inquiry.

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could have been so wholly unprepared for such a widely extended and desperate insurrection.[1]

The causes of this alarming occurrence necessarily engaged the attention of the public both in India and in Europe, and an acrimonious controversy ensued which can scarcely be said even yet to be at rest. Not that there was any sufficient reason for difference of opinion. To an impartial judgment the real cause was liable to no misconception; but its admission involved inferences which were pressed by one party beyond their due limits, and of which the grounds were therefore denied altogether by the other. The question of converting the natives of India to the Christian religion was supposed to depend for its solution upon the origin of the massacre at Vellore. By those who were unfriendly to missionary efforts, as well as those who were apprehensive of their effects upon native feeling, the transaction was appealed to as decisive

[1] Shortly before this transaction, Sir John Cradock, the Commander-in-Chief, addressed a letter to the adjutant-general for circulation to the army, in which he stated his regret to find that it was the prevailing practice of the service, to withhold from the native commissioned officers that respect and intercourse to which their situation and common opinion entitled them. The Court of Directors also remark, "We have too much reason to apprehend, that, to the neglect and disrespect manifested to the native officers by the European officers, the disposition to foment and conceal the disaffection of the men is principally to be attributed." They also observe, "It has been represented to us that the deficiency in the knowledge of the languages of the country prevalent amongst the officers of the army may have operated as another cause of the absence of confidence between the European officers and the native troops. We are aware of the injurious effects which this ignorance on the part of the European officers is likely to produce, and which we are informed prevails to a great extent." They proceed to suggest a plan for remedying the defect, but it has never yet been carried into operation. A general order of the Commander-in-chief, issued in August, 1806, announced that he would not recommend, nor would the Government approve of, any officer for a staff appointment who did not possess "means of distinct communication with the native army." A knowledge of Hindustani had previously been required from cadets as a condition of promotion, and from all officers as a qualification for the post of adjutant. Adverting to the disregard of Mustafa Beg's information, the Court observe, "We fear that Colonel Forbes's conduct upon that occasion proceeded from the same laxity of system, which, there is reason to suppose, prevailed at Vellore for a considerable period before the unfortunate mine was sprung."—Letter to Fort St. George, 29th May, 1807, printed for the House of Commons, 13th April, 1813. That the discipline of the garrison was relaxed, is proved by the evidence before the Committee as to a neglect of military duty on the very night of the mutiny; the punctual fulfilment of which might have detected something unusual amongst the native soldiery, and perhaps prevented the mischief. The European officer commanding the main-guard being summoned to go the rounds at midnight, declared himself indisposed, and directed the Subahdar to take his place. The Subahdar, in imitation of his superior, pleaded the same excuse, and delegated the duty to the Jemadar, who was one of the chief leaders of the conspiracy. His report was, of course, that all was well at the very hour when the mutineers were arming for the attack.—Proceedings of Committee of Inquiry; MS. Records.

of the reasonableness of their fears, and as justifying their opposition. No better reply could be devised by the friends and supporters of missions, than a denial that the Vellore mutiny had any connexion with the propagation of Christianity,—a denial in which they were undoubtedly wide of the truth.[1] The essential and main spring of the mutiny was religious principle, although its occurrence was influenced in the manner and season of its development by incidental and local excitement.

Towards the end of 1805, the new Commander-in-Chief at Madras, Sir John Cradock, had been led to adopt the project of reducing the regulations of the army to a systematic code. The article of dress, a favourite subject of consideration with military men, at least in time of peace, received all the attention which its importance demanded; and various regulations were drawn up regarding the regimentals and accoutrements of the native soldiery, with the avowed purpose of assimilating their appearance to that of the European troops. With this intention, the Sipahis were forbidden to appear on parade with ear-rings, or the coloured marks upon the forehead or facé significant of sectarial distinctions; and they were commanded to shave their beards and trim their mustachios according to a standard model. The issue of these orders was suspended in a few instances by the prudence of commanding officers of corps; but they were generally known by the men, and almost universally interpreted to imply a design on the part of the Government to compel the native troops to assume the practices, and

[1] The Reverend Dr. Buchanan thus writes to the Government of Bengal: 'I understand that the massacre of Vellore has been unaccountably adduced as some sanction to the principle opposing the progress of the Christian religion in Bengal. I had opportunities of judging of the causes of that event, which were peculiar. I was in the vicinity of the place at the time. I travelled for two months immediately afterwards in the province adjacent with the sanction of the Government, and I heard the evidence of Christians, Mohammedans, and Hindus, on the subject. That the insurrection at Vellore had no connexion with the Christian religion, directly or indirectly, immediately or remotely, is a truth which is capable of demonstration."—Letter from the Reverend C. Buchanan to the Governor-General, 7th Nov., 1807; Parliamentary Papers relating to Missionaries, &c., 14th April, 1813. Dr. Buchanan undoubtedly believed in what he asserted so roundly, but he was strangely misinformed. The most zealous and able defenders of the cause, Lord Teignmouth in his Considerations on the Duty of diffusing Christianity in India, and Mr. Wilberforce in his speeches in 1813, afterwards published by himself, do not go to the same length: they only deny that the Vellore mutiny was connected with any unusual extension or activity of missionary proceedings.

eventually the religion, of Europeans.[1] Other innovations in their dress and accoutrements, such as a particular undress jacket, black leather stocks, and a turnscrew, which some susceptible minds identified with a cross,[2] had previously occasioned wide-spread dissatisfaction; and the last drop of the cup was poured forth when a new pattern for a turban was devised, which in the apprehension of the Sipahis resembled a hat.[3] This confirmed their fears, and insubordination was the result.

The first overt exhibition of the spirit thus generated, took place in the second battalion of the 4th regiment of Madras infantry, quartered in Vellore, early in May. The grenadier company refused to make up the turban, stating their repugnance to it honestly, and at first respectfully and with calmness. Their representations were received by the commanding officer of the regiment with extreme intemperance, and his violence[4] provoked some disorderly

[1] It was commonly said by the Sipahis, "We shall next be compelled to eat and drink with the outcast and infidel English, to give them our daughters in marriage, to become one people, and follow one faith."

[2] It appears that Sir J. Cradock was not responsible for the two former; they were certainly, however, in use.—Lord W. Bentinck's memorial, p. 51.

[3] It is not easy for persons unacquainted with the East to understand why so harmless a head-dress as a hat should have excited such horror; but, in the estimation of the natives, the hat is identified with the wearer, and, of itself, denotes a European and a Christian. The term Topi-wala, or hat-man, is a term that is commonly used for both. To substitute a hat for the equally national characteristic head-dress, the turban, was therefore considered to be a change of deeply significant import.

[4] According to the official report, the captain of the grenadier company of the second battalion of the 4th regiment informed the lieutenant-colonel commanding the corps, that several of his men had waited upon him and expressed strong objections to the new head-dress on the part of the whole company. The colonel called the men before him and questioned them regarding their repugnance; when they stated firmly, though respectfully, that they were well aware of the consequences of disobedience, but that they could not consent to wear the new turban, as it would disgrace them for ever in the eyes of their countrymen. Some of the superior officers expressed themselves prepared to waive their objections; but, as the non-commissioned officers and privates persisted in their refusal, the former were immediately reduced to the ranks, and the latter placed in arrest. In the evening, when the battalion was mustered for parade, the men attended without their side-arms and refused to put them on: on which, the colonel deprived even the superior officers of their swords, and dismissed the battalion; some of the men of which, as they dispersed, called aloud, "Dhurtt! dhurtt!" meaning "Away! away!" but with a somewhat uncivil import. Upon the occurrence being reported to Colonel Fancourt, the commandant of the garrison, he went to the barracks and expostulated with the men; but they unanimously refused to wear the turban, affirming that it was really a hat. Colonel Fancourt took no further steps in the business, beyond ordering their swords to be restored to the native commissioned officers. Some further excitement was manifested on the following day, but, as observed by the Court of Directors in their letter to Fort St. George, above cited, it was so obviously provoked by the injudicious conduct of the commanding officer that they would not have been surprised if a mutiny had immediately followed, attended with all the fatal consequences arising from the offended prejudice occasioned by so capricious and wanton an exertion of authority.—Parliamentary Papers.

and unmilitary conduct; in consequence of which nineteen grenadiers were arrested, and sent to Madras for trial, by order of the Commander-in-chief, who announced his resolution to have the turbans made up and worn, and insisted on prompt and unhesitating obedience. Of the prisoners sent to the Presidency, two were sentenced by a native court-martial to receive nine hundred lashes each, and seventeen to receive five hundred lashes each. The sentence was carried into execution in the two first instances;[1] in the others it was remitted, in consequence of the professed contrition of the culprits. The award showed that there was no hope of redress from temperate representation; especially as the Governor in Council took up the subject in the same unquestioning spirit as the Commander-in-chief, and published his determination to enforce the order, and to employ all possible means of suppressing any act of insubordination. This was the radical error of the whole proceeding: it proved to the native troops that they could expect no countenance from their European officers, no consideration for their feelings from the Commander-in-chief or the Government, and corroborated the suspicion that the latter was inflexibly bent upon the abolition of the distinctions of tribe and caste, and the compulsory introduction of an outward conformity at least to the practices of Christians.

In vindication of the course pursued by the Government, it was maintained that there were no reasonable grounds of objection to the turban; that it had been made up without hesitation in some corps; and that two respectable natives, a Mohammedan Syed and a Hindu Brahman, had given evidence that there was nothing in its construction that was incompatible with their religious faith. This was no more than true; but although particular influences might in some cases have overcome the objection felt by the troops, and, as is not at all unusual among the natives of India, a few individuals of acknowledged respectability might have been more free from prejudice than their inferiors, yet it was undeniable that a very strong and widely propagated repugnance to the turban did exist in

[1] Lord W. Bentinck says, the two ringleaders only received punishment.—Memorial, p. 3. See also Madras General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, 2nd July, 1806.

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the army, and it would have been more just and generous in the Government, as well as more politic, to have refrained from rating the shape of a cap at a higher value than the affections of the soldiery.

With regard to the order abolishing marks of caste on parade, and enjoining a particular cut of the beard and mustachios, it was urged in defence of the Commander-in-chief, that although not a part of the express military code, yet it had been introduced very generally in practice before the code was drawn up, and that similar prohibitions and injunctions had long been in force in several regiments. This also was no doubt true, but it evinced great ignorance of the native character, to infer that a positive and universally applicable order to that effect might therefore be promulgated with impunity. The commanding officer of a Sipahi battalion who has acquired the confidence of his men can do much, even in opposition to their inclinations, without exciting that dissatisfaction which may be engendered by a formal order of the Commander-in-chief; and it can scarcely be considered peculiar to the natives of India, although in an especial degree to be predicated of them, that prejudices, which soften and dissolve before gentle and judicious influence, commonly harden into intractable rigidity when abruptly and harshly denounced. The practice of particular regiments, therefore, afforded no safe principle for universal legislation; and the inference displayed little acquaintance with the character or sentiments of the native army.[1]

That the prejudices thus shocked, and the feelings thus exasperated, should have produced their fatal effects at Vellore, was no doubt attributable to an additional stimulus applied by the presence of the family of Tippoo Sultan. The followers and attendants of the princes, naturally ill-disposed towards the British Government, availed themselves of the opportunity afforded by the prevailing discontent, and contributed by all means in their power to confirm the impression which the Sipahis entertained of the ulterior objects of the innovations commanded; taunting them with the badges of Christianity which had

[1] So much of the order as related to sectarial marks and ear-rings was, in truth, not Sir J. Cradock's. It was circulated by his predecessor, Major-General Sir J. Campbell, 11th January, 1805, shortly before Sir J. Cradock's arrival.

been imposed upon them in the turnscrew and the turban, and calling upon them to die rather than apostatise from their faith. It was established by the evidence before the court and commission of inquiry, that some of the confidential servants of one of the princes, Moiz-ad-din, had been present at the secret meetings which had preceded the mutiny, and had brought or pretended to bring, messages from the palace encouraging the mutineers; promising also, that, if the native troops would master the Europeans and hold the fort for eight days, they would be joined by other regiments, and by many of the principal Poligars, with whose aid the Mohammedan kingdom of Mysore would be re-established. The influence exercised by these instigations was the more immediate, from the circumstance that the first regiment of native infantry, which consisted principally of Musselmans, had been raised chiefly in Mysore, and many of the officers and men had served in the armies of Hyder and Tippoo. Former associations, therefore, as well as community of country and of creed, rendered them in a peculiar degree accessible to the persuasions of designing men, and hurried them into the perpetration of atrocities which the injury offered, to their prejudices might not of itself have impelled them to commit. The source of the evil was still, however, the spirit which had been raised by the severity and inconsiderateness of the English authorities. Mischievous hands may have applied a torch, but no explosion would have ensued had not the material of conflagration been previously accumulated.*

That the mutiny of Vellore was of a purely political character, and arose out of a conspiracy to replace a Mohammedan dynasty on the throne of Mysore,—an opinion that was strenuously advocated by those who wished to shut their eyes against the evidence of its religious connexion,—was wholly incapable of demonstration. Even with regard to the sons of Tippoo themselves, no proof could be elicited that they had been concerned in the conspiracy. There was no evidence that the communications made to the conspirators in their name had proceeded from them, and it was clearly established that prior to the mutiny they had never held personal intercourse with any of the insurgents. Although it appeared that during the

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tumult some of the Sipahis received refreshments at the houses of two of the princes, Mohi-ad-din and Moiz-ad-din, and that the Mysore flag was brought from the residence of the latter, yet it was also in evidence that they had shrunk from the clamorous invitations of the crowd to come forth and place themselves at their head, and that they had carefully abstained from every word and deed which might implicate them in the riot. No suspicion whatever attached to the elder members of the family; the younger were of too tender an age to be cognizant of such a project; and the utmost criminality that could be charged against some of the intermediate members of the fraternity was the possibility of their being aware of the agitation of a plot against the European part of the garrison, and their omission to give notice of it to the only European officer with whom they were allowed to communicate, Colonel Marriott. Attachment to the Company was not to be expected from them, but there was little to apprehend from their animosity. Their own characters and habits were a sufficient security for their harmlessness. They were bitter enemies to each other,[1] and were uniformly destitute of activity, enterprise, and courage. They had neither the spirit to conceive, nor the daring to execute, a project that demanded both; and, whatever may have been their own wishes or the participation of their adherents, there is ample reason to conclude that the sons of Tippoo were not personally the originators or instigators of the mutiny. As, however, their presence was calculated to keep alive the hopes of their adherents, and furnish a rallying point to the disaffected, they were removed from the Madras Presidency to that of Bengal, and placed under easy surveillance in the vicinity of Calcutta.[2]

[1] It was believed in the palace, that, on one occasion, Moiz-ad-din had attempted to poison the eldest of his brothers.

[2] They were removed from Vellore, on the 28th of August, 1806, amidst an immense concourse of spectators, who manifested no sympathy in their fate, nor was it apparently any object of anxiety to themselves. They arrived at the Sand-heads on the 12th September, where the second, Abd-ul-Khalik, died: the rest were placed in suitable residences near Calcutta, under official surveillance, but no personal restraint. Moiz-ad-din, against whom circumstances were most unfavourable, was kept for some time in confinement, but was eventually liberated. Some of the brothers, and a multitude of descendants, still survive. One of the brothers, Jami-ad-din Hyder, who at the time of the Vellore mutiny was about ten years of age, spent some years in England, and died here in 1842.

Still more untenable were the opinions of those who beheld in the transaction the evidence of a general plot among the Mohammedans of the Dekhin to restore the sovereignty of Islam and expel the unbelievers; yet the Government of Madras was at first inclined to adopt this view, and declared its impression that a widely diffused confederacy had been formed to subvert the British power and raise that of the Mohammedans upon its downfall. The calm and sound judgment of Sir George Barlow saw the business in its true colours, and questioned the reality of any extensive or secret combination of the natives, and Lord William Bentinck retracted his opinion. It was nevertheless persisted in by Sir John Cradock and several officers of the Madras Army, although no conclusive proofs were ever adduced, and probabilities were decidedly against them.[1] Of whom was such a confederacy to be composed? The Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin were not likely to feel any great sympathy for the descendants of a military adventurer whom, while living, they had despised, even while they feared him. The principal of them, the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Nizam, could not have entered into such an association without its coming to the knowledge of the English authorities; and no grounds, even for suspicion against them, were ever detected. It was still less probable that the Hindu Rajas and Poligars would engage in a scheme, the success of which must have brought back the days of Moslem bigotry, intolerance and persecution. In short, all the evidence examined tended to show, beyond the possibility of cavil, that there had been no intercourse whatever between the family of Tippoo and

[1] Much stress was laid upon information received from a native Subahdar of cavalry, who had been long in the service of the Company, and professed devoted allegiance to the Government; but all that was fairly deducible from his communications was, that the disaffection of the troops was more extensive than had been imagined. All the causes of this disaffection he declared it was difficult to state, but he expressed his belief that it arose principally from the intrigues of Tippoo's family and their adherents: he stated that a number of persons formerly in the Sultan's service, or their relations, were now serving in the native regiments, and that agents and friends of the family were employed all over the country in instigating discontent. That the Company's regiments had enlisted many of Tippoo's soldiers was well known, and that they and the Mohammedans generally were dissatisfied with the change of masters was highly probable; but there was no evidence of any agency set on foot by Tippoo's sons, and the discontent of the Hindu part of the army, much the most numerous, could scarcely be ascribable to intrigues in favour of a Mohammedan dynasty. The Subahdar's information was merely individual belief, unsupported by evidence of facts.—MS. Records; Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 103.

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any chief or princes out of the fort; and, although some of the mutineers talked vaguely of the support that was expected from one or two insignificant Poligars, yet neither messenger nor letter had ever been interchanged, and no warrant had been given by them for such a misuse of their names. A conspiracy of the Mohammedan princes was a mere shadow, created by an alarmist imagination, or by a wish to shift the responsibility from the real cause, the military orders, to one wholly visionary.

But positive proof that the mutiny originated in no political combination was afforded by occurrences in other quarters. The feelings that instigated the mutiny at Vellore were likewise entertained by the subsidiary force at Hyderabad, and consequences equally serious were apprehended. There, however, the Resident, Captain Sydenham, and Colonel Montresor, the commandant, had timely notice of the agitation that prevailed amongst the troops, and justly appreciated the cause. They took upon themselves the responsibility of disobeying the general orders of the Commander-in-chief, and published a cantonment order in which the Sipahis were told that they were wholly mistaken in supposing that any measures enjoined by the supreme authority could be intended in the smallest degree to infringe upon what the Government held so sacred as their religion; but that, as they had so misconceived the object of the order, the commanding officer of the subsidiary force had no doubt that the Commander-in-chief would countermand the obnoxious regulation, and in the meantime he directed the making up of the new turbans to be suspended. The effect of this judicious procedure was immediate, and calm and confidence at once revived among the troops. In the investigation which succeeded, it was found that some of the disaffected nobles of the court of Hyderabad had taken advantage of the existing discontent to foment the irritation, and that one or two of the native officers had so far listened to their own fears and the counsels of pernicious advisers as to declare that they were ready to put the Europeans to death rather than become Christians. No other communion with Vellore could be traced than that of similar

desperation, originating simultaneously from similar apprehensions.[1]

At Wallajabad, again, a like disposition was discovered, arising from a like cause. The order for the new turban was issued early in June, and was received with expressions of dissatisfaction. These were silenced for a while by the trial and dismissal of one of the ring-leaders; but, at the end of July, reports of a design of the men to murder their European officers excited the alarm of the latter.[2] The 1st battalion of the 23rd regiment of native infantry was marched out of the cantonments until the arrival of a party of dragoons from Arcot, when the corps was disarmed and all the native officers were put under arrest. The men submitted quietly to all that was required of them, and the investigation that took place showed that there had been great exaggeration in the tales which had inspired the panic; and although some of the native officers and a few men of bad character had been active in aggravating the irritation caused by the general order, yet the majority of the men were innocent of any intention to commit violence. The dismissal of the incendiaries, and the revocation of the offensive orders, restored tranquillity, and no further indications of disaffection were displayed.

It was not to be expected that a ferment so violent, and a catastrophe so dreadful, should at once have passed over and been forgotten; and, accordingly, some months elapsed before confidence and security were restored. The Sipahis were slow to credit the sincerity of the Government, and, still suspecting its having entertained sinister designs, attributed their frustration to the mutiny at Vellore; they therefore looked upon those who had fallen in the recapture of the fortress as martyrs for their faith, and in some places secretly solemnised their funeral

[1] Rumours the most extraordinary and incredible spread amongst the troops at this station; it was reported that the Europeans had a design to massacre the natives, that a hundred bodies without heads were lying on the banks of the Musa river, and that the Europeans had built a church which the heads of these decapitated trunks had been required to sanctify. There were other stories in circulation equally monstrous.

[2] Their discontent had been first manifested about the 24th July, in consequence of long drills and generally harsh or inconsiderate treatment. On one occasion, after a drill from sunrise till seven, they were kept in the barracks till twelve cleaning their arms and accoutrements. On being dismissed, some angry and menacing exclamations were uttered.

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obsequies. This was the case at Nandidrúg, where part of the 18th N. I., a regiment raised in Mysore, was stationed; and, consequent upon the excitement thus occasioned, some wild and mischievous excesses were in contemplation: timely precautions prevented their commission, and, upon the discharge of some of those most deeply implicated, the rest expressed their contrition, and the agitation subsided. In truth, much of the excitement that prevailed during the latter months of 1806 was the work of the officers themselves: passing from one extreme to the other, they exchanged the supineness of security for the restlessness of suspicion, credulously listened to every whisper of insurrection, trembled at every idle tale of intended tumult and massacre, and kept both themselves and their men in a constant fever of aimless apprehension. The tranquillising operation of time, the repeated injunctions of both the local Government and that of Bengal to the officers to abstain from all manifestations of distrust, and the strongest assurances published to the troops that the British Government would ever respect their religious creeds, gradually allayed anxiety and re-established trust.[1]

Upon considering, therefore, the utter improbability of any combined co-operation of the Mohammedan princes of the Dekhin with the sons of Tippoo, the absence of all proof of its existence, the extension of the discontent to places where no political influence in their favour could have been exerted, the prevalence of disaffection among the Hindus as well as the Mohammedans, and, finally admitting the entire adequacy of the cause to the effect, there can be no reason to seek for any other origin of the mutiny than dread of religious change inspired by the military orders. Here, however, in fairness to the question of the conversion of the natives of India to Christianity, the nature of the panic which spread amongst the Sipahis requires to be candidly appreciated. It is a great error to suppose that the people of India are so sensitive upon the subject of their religion, either Hindu or Mohammedan, as to suffer no approach of controversy, or to

[1] "The panic wore away, the Sepoys forgot their fears of an attack upon their religion, and the officers no longer slept with pistols under their pillows."—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, p. 40. For the Government proclamation, see Appendix.

encounter adverse opinions with no other arguments than insurrection and murder. On the contrary, great latitude of belief and practice has always prevailed amongst them, and especially among the troops, in whose ranks will be found seceders of various denominations from the orthodox systems. It was not, therefore, the dissemination of Christian doctrines that excited the angry apprehensions of the Sipahis on the melancholy occasion which has called for these observations, nor does it appear that any unusual activity in the propagation of those doctrines was exercised by Christian missionaries at the period of its occurrence. It was not conversion which the troops dreaded, it was compulsion; it was not the reasoning or the persuasion of the missionary which they feared, but the arbitrary interposition of authority. They believed, of course erroneously, that the Government was about to compel them to become Christians, and they resisted compulsory conversion by violence and bloodshed.[1] The lesson is one of great seriousness, and should never be lost sight of as long as the relative position of the British Government and its Indian subjects remains unaltered. It is not enough that the authority of the ruling power should never interpose in matters of religious belief, it should carefully avoid furnishing grounds of suspicion that it intends to interfere.

A subject of minor importance, but one that was agitated with no less vehemence, divided the chief civil and military functionaries at Madras; each endeavouring to get rid of the responsibility of having issued the obnoxious orders. Sir John Cradock urged in his defence

[1] The opinion that the Government had some such project in view was not confined to the Sipahis. Mir Alem, the veteran minister of the Nizam, and, as has been seen, the staunch friend of the English, expressed his surprise that the British Government should think it just or safe to compel the troops to wear the semblance of Christians; and a like astonishment was manifested by the ministers of Nagpur.—Letters from the Residents; MS. Records. Of the universality of the feeling, there is also published an impartial testimony. Purnia, the Dewan of Mysore, gave it as his opinion that the Hindus were more alarmed and dissatisfied than the Mohammedans.—Lord W. Bentinck's Memorial, 45. And Sir Thomas Munro writes: "However strange it may appear to Europeans, I know that the general opinion of the most intelligent natives in this part of the country is, that it was intended to make the Sepoys Christians."—Letter to Lord W. Bentinck, 11th August, 1806. This letter also shows, that, in a part of the Peninsula where the adherents of the family of Hyder were most numerous, there were no reasons for believing that any intrigues had been at work in their favour.—Life of Sir T. Munro, 1. 363.

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that he had acted by the advice of his official military counsellors, the Adjutant-General and Deputy Quarter-Master-General, officers of experience and well acquainted with the temper and character of the native troops, who had seen nothing unusual or exceptionable in the proposed arrangements; and that, before the orders were embodied in the code, they had been submitted to the Governor in Council, and had received his sanction. To this Lord W. Bentinck replied, that it could not be expected that he or the members of Council were to read and comment upon every article of a voluminous code of military regulations compiled under the instructions of the Commander-in-chief, and for which he was responsible; that accordingly they sanctioned the regulations as a matter of form, examining those only which were designated as novel, and passing over those to which their attention was not directed as innovations upon established practice. In this manner they were not aware of the order regarding the marks of sect, and the trimming of the mustachios; although they did notice and authorise the alteration of the turbans. The Governor of Madras seems to make light of the latter, and attaches most importance to the former; but certainly the shape of the turbans was the most immediate cause of the dissatisfaction of the soldiers, and Lord William Bentinck was as decidedly bent upon insisting on its adoption as was Sir John Cradock. Not only had he declared his determination to enforce obedience to the order, on occasion of the dislike expressed to it in May by the second battalion of the 4th; but late in June, when the Commander-in-chief began to apprehend evil consequences from the measure, and solicited the advice and authority of the Governor in Council, in order to be relieved from the anxiety and embarrassment under which he laboured, in consequence of information he had received from several moderate and discreet officers, of the almost universal objection which prevailed against the new turban; his willingness to rescind the order was overruled: the Government repeated their conviction that the pattern of the turban did not militate against any religious prejudice, and declared that they could not assent to give way to clamour arising from unfounded prejudice. It was proposed to substitute for the rescission of the order a

proclamation, which, while it announced the determination of the authorities to enforce obedience, disclaimed all purpose of religious interference; but in the mean time information of a different tenor from the preceding having reached Sir J. Cradock, he was led to believe that the dissatisfaction had subsided, and that the proclamation was unnecessary. It would have been, no doubt, of little avail, as it expressed the obstinacy of the authorities in persisting in the offensive innovation; but the inaccuracy of the intelligence which suspended its publication was presently afterwards demonstrated by actual occurrences, and a proclamation of a different purport was put forth. The reference of the Commander-in-chief, and the manner in which it was received, are decisive of the degree of responsibility which attaches to the local Government; and however injudicious may have been the conduct of Sir John Cradock in originating measures pregnant with such serious mischief, and however averse he may have been to acknowledge his error, the course pursued by Lord William Bentinck evinced an equal blindness to the consequences of the act, a still greater degree of inflexibility in its enforcement, and a similar ignorance and disregard of the feelings and prejudices of the native army. The spirit by which both functionaries were animated was the same—military absolutism,—a principle which, however just and necessary in the abstract, requires to be applied to practice with caution and judgment, and not without due consideration for the circumstances which may call for its exercise, the feelings which it may embitter, or the consequences which it may provoke.[1] Herein consisted the error of both Sir J. Cradock and Lord W. Bentinck, that they excluded every other view but that of military

[1] That the same unbending rigour of discipline which may be necessary in the management of European soldiers, is not needed, or is injurious as applied to natives, we have had the testimony of competent judges: one of the latest, and not the least worthy of credit, says: "We are apt to fall into the error of measuring everything according to the standard of European discipline, forgetting the different characters of the native and the Englishman. There is an Asiatic sensitiveness and propriety in the conduct of the Sepoy, which renders the roughness and severity with which we treat English soldiers offensive and unnecessary towards him."—Relations of the British Government and Native States, by J. Sutherland, Captain 3rd Bombay Cavalry, p. 10. It seems extraordinary, that, after so many years' experience, the character of the native army should be imperfectly understood; but recent events have shown that it is not even yet accurately appreciated by the Indian Government.

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subordination.[1] The Court of Directors considered their conduct equally unsatisfactory: they were accordingly recalled; and although at a subsequent period, and upon a calmer review of the transaction, they acquitted Lord W. Bentinck and Sir John Cradock of a wanton or needless violation of the religious usages of the natives, yet they retained their opinion that those officers had been defective in not examining with greater caution and care into the real sentiments and dispositions of the Sipahis before they proceeded to enforce the orders for the turban. The decision seems to be fully justified by a dispassionate survey of the transaction. A careful and considerate investigation of the objections to the turban, which were advanced by the Sipahis in May, would in all likelihood have prevented the mutiny of July.

It will now be convenient to advert to the proceedings which during this period took place in Great Britain relating to the administration of the affairs of the Indian empire.

CHAPTER III.

Proceedings in England.—Refusal of the Directors to concur in the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale as Governor-General.— Sir George Barlow recalled by the King's Sign-manual.—Discussions in Parliament and with the Board of Controul.— Lord Minto appointed Governor-General.— Proceedings in the House of Commons.— Impeachment of Lord Wellesley by Mr. Paull.— Papers moved for.— Charges relating to the Nawab of

[1] On receiving advice of the repugnance of the 4th regiment, Sir J. Cradock wrote to Colonel Fancourt to direct that those men whom the colonel had placed in confinement should be sent to Madras for trial, and that the non-commissioned officers of the 4th who had declined to wear the turban, and the commissioned officers, should immediately make it up and wear it, on pain of dismission from the service. The officer commanding the 19th dragoons was ordered to march, if required by Colonel Fancourt, to Vellore, to assist in enforcing obedience. The Commander-in-chief would not admit of hesitation to the orders he had given.—Letter from the Commander-in-chief, 7th May; Memorial of Lord W. Bentinck, p. 92. Lord W. Bentinck justly observes of this letter, that military command never was expressed in higher or more imperious language. His own was something like it. "The opposition which has been experienced in the late change of turbans is destitute of any foundation in the law or usage of the Mohammedan or Hindu religion, and any persons who may persevere in that opposition cannot, in consequence, fail to be subjected to the severest penalties of military discipline."—G. O. by Government, 4th July; Memorial, p. 94.

Oude.—Nawab of Furruckabad.—Zemindar of Susnee and others.—Proceedings interrupted by Dissolution of Parliament.—Renewed by Lord Folkestone.—Impeachment abandoned.—Condemnatory Resolutions negatived.—Merits of the Oude Question.—Motion for an Inquiry into the Assumption of the Carnatic negatived.—Censure of Lord Wellesley's Policy by the Court of Proprietors.—Appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons.—Diminished Import Trade of the Company.

THE embarrassed state of the finances of the East India Company, attributed to the ambition and extravagance of Marquis Wellesley, and the countenance which he had shown to the extension of the private trade, and consequent encroachment on the Company's commercial privileges, had excited a strong feeling of hostility to that nobleman's administration in the Court of Directors, which awakened a corresponding sentiment in the majority of the proprietary body. Weakened in political influence by the secession of many of his adherents, disheartened by the gloomy aspect of affairs in Europe, and broken in physical strength, Mr. Pitt was not inclined to support the measures of Lord Wellesley in opposition to the views which were entertained at the India House; and although he resisted, through the Board of Controul, the expression of the Court's disapprobation, yet he had consented to give it full effect by the appointment of Lord Cornwallis, a nobleman of different character and principles. The death of that nobleman threatened to frustrate the purposes of his nomination; but the zeal with which his intentions were carried out by Sir G. Barlow, upon his assuming the government, forcibly recommended to the Court his continuance as Governor-General. They were at first allowed to hope that their wish would be complied with: but they were speedily disappointed, under circumstances which, as involving questions of some importance, merit to be detailed.

Information of the death of Marquis Cornwallis arrived in England at the end of January, 1806, upon the eve of the total change of ministers which followed the demise of Mr. Pitt. A proposal to pay a public tribute of respect to the memory of Lord Cornwallis was one of the last

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measures of the retiring administration: it was readily acceded to by their opponents, and it was resolved that his statue should be erected in St. Paul's cathedral.[1] The East India Company voted a grant to his heir of 40,000*l*. The appointment of a successor devolved on the new ministers, amongst whom Lord Minto was charged with the superintendence of Indian affairs as President of the Board of Controul; and by him a communication was made on the 14th of February to the Court of Directors, conveying his impression of the importance, in the actual state of affairs in India, of investing Sir G. Barlow without delay with the fullest powers, and recommending that he should be at once formally appointed Governor-General of India. The recommendation was immediately complied with, and the commission was made out and signed on the 25th of February. It was therefore with no small degree of astonishment that only ten days afterwards, on the 7th of March, the Court was apprised that ministers had determined to supersede Sir G. Barlow in favour of the Earl of Lauderdale. It was in vain that the Directors remonstrated against so abrupt a change of determination, and urged the advantages of adhering to the original arrangement; until, finding that their remonstrances and arguments were ineffectual, they positively refused to cancel the appointment. The ministry retaliated by a warrant under the King's sign-manual recalling Sir G. Barlow; and the Court was finally compelled to agree to a compromise, by which the Earl of Lauderdale ostensibly declined the acceptance of the office, and Lord Minto was nominated Governor-General.

The difference which had thus arisen between the Directors and the Ministers afforded to the parliamentary adversaries of the latter a reasonable pretext for animadversions upon their conduct; and, in the House of Lords, Viscount Melville moved for copies of the correspondence which had taken place between the Court of Directors and the Board of Controul.[2] The course pursued by the Administration was vindicated by Lord Grenville, and the motion was negatived without a division.

In the correspondence with the Board, as well as in the

[1] Hansard's Parliamentary Debates, 3rd February, 1806.
[2] Parl. Debates, 8th July, 1806.

debate in the House of Lords, it was manifest that there were two main points of difference between the contending parties; one of a private, one of a public nature. No exceptions to the Earl of Lauderdale were openly advanced by the Court; but, besides the preference of the individual in the instance of Sir G. Barlow, there is no doubt that the Earl of Lauderdale's known opinions in favour of free trade and popular government rendered him unacceptable to many of the members of the Direction.[1] On the other hand, although Ministers were profuse in their professions of the high sense which they entertained of the merits of Sir G. Barlow, yet his line of policy was not in accordance with the views of the leading members of the Cabinet; Lord Grenville declaring that the grounds on which he was ready to admit those merits being Sir G. Barlow's zealous concurrence and effective co-operation in the measures and in the system of Marquis Wellesley, whose government was, in his opinion, the most splendid and glorious that India had ever known. The adoption of a totally opposite system by Sir G. Barlow must consequently have been utterly incompatible with his appointment to the office of Governor-General, in Lord Grenville's estimation. At the same time, the Directors complained with good reason of the inconsistency of the Cabinet in precipitately revoking an appointment which they had recommended, chiefly upon the grounds that it was necessary to arm Sir G. Barlow without delay with full authority to adjust and settle the various important matters which had been left undetermined or doubtful by the death of his predecessor. Intimation of his appointment would be so immediately followed by that of his supersession, that it was impossible he could have derived any additonal power or consideration from an elevation so fleeting and delusive, or that in the interval he could have adjusted and settled any doubtful measures of public importance. Lord Minto maintained that he had distinctly apprised the Court that the arrangement was to be regarded as merely

[1] Lord Lauderdale was a zealous supporter of Mr. Fox's India Bill, and an opposer of the Company's privileges. In politics his opinion were extreme, and led him to advocate the principles of the French Revolution. He made himself conspicuous in the House of Lords by affecting a costume supposed to characterise Jacobinism.—Obituary notice, Gentleman's Magazine, 1839.

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temporary, until there should be more leisure to give it that deliberation which its importance demanded. His letter, however, expressly stated that there was no intention of making any immediate change; and the Court, naturally inferring that a much longer period than that of ten days was contemplated, resented the suddenness of the alteration as indecorous towards themselves, and unfair and unjust towards Sir G. Barlow. Intended disrespect to the Court was of course disclaimed; and, in recognition of the admitted value of Sir G. Barlow's services, a hope was expressed that he would continue to be a member of the Supreme Council. The change of appointment was persisted in. It was evident that the first announcement of the purposes of the Ministry was premature, and that either Lord Minto had acted without consulting his colleagues, or that, in the novel position of the party to which he was attached, they had not been fully aware of the value of the patronage, or of the necessity of securing, by means of it, parliamentary support.[1]

A question of greater magnitude than the relative fitness of individuals was involved in the dispute; and the result awoke the Directors to the first distinct perception of the virtual power of the Crown to dispose at pleasure of the highest offices in India. It had been hitherto argued, that the clause in the act of 1784[2]—Mr. Pitt's bill—which gave to the Crown authority to recall any of the Company's servants, civil or military, and to compel them to vacate whatever situations they might hold, was intended only to prevent any improper abuse of the patronage of the Court, by enforcing the return of persons whom the partiality of friends in the Direction, or the vehemence of partisans in the Court of Proprietors, might uphold in office, in spite of notorious incompetency or misconduct. In such an extreme case, the Crown was empowered by the act to interpose, but in no other; for the same act had vested the appointment of their servants in India exclusively in the Directors; and, although they had been in the habit of communicating with his Majesty's Ministers, in order

[1] Mr. Fox admitted that the appointment of Sir G. Barlow was made before the Administration was fully formed.—Parl. Deb. 10th March, 1806.

[2] 24 Geo. III. cap. 25, sec. 22.

to preserve that good understanding which was essential to the conduct of public affairs, yet they denied that they had thereby relinquished a chartered right. "If," they enquired, "the removal of a high public functionary in India were to be combined with the appointment of a particular successor nominated by the King's Ministers, and the choice of the Court were confined to that person alone, then would not the absolute appointment to the important situations of Governor-General, or Governor of the subordinate Presidencies, devolve in fact upon the Crown?" The same arguments were repeated by Lord Melville. He affirmed, that it was alike the intention of the Legislature, and the sense of the public, in the act of 1784, that the Court of Directors should continue to enjoy, without interference, the patronage of India; and that the clause which gave to the Crown the power of recall could not be fairly construed as a transfer of the patronage, by enabling the Crown to negative appointments made by the Court: and he appealed to the recollection of Lord Grenville to bear him out in his understanding of the spirit of the act, in conformity to which alone its provisions should be interpreted. In his reply to the Court, Lord Minto confined himself to the question of right, admitting that of the Court to appoint, asserting that of the Crown to recall. Lord Grenville's answer to Lord Melville was, that laws were to be understood as they were expressed, and not according to the fancies or feelings of individuals; that the same objections which were now started had been made when the clause was enacted; and that it could not be contended, that, because the Crown had the power of negativing an appointment, it followed that the whole of the appointments in India fell under the controul of his Majesty's Ministers. He granted, that, if it could be shown that the power had been exercised in the present instance merely for the purpose of procuring the appointment of a person whom Ministers wished to serve, it would be a violation of the law; but, although he denied that the measure originated in favour to Lord Lauderdale, he refused to assign any motives for the removal of Sir G. Barlow. He also denied that his removal was founded upon any systematic exclusion of the Company's servants from places of the highest authority in

India; and observed, that such an insinuation came with a peculiarly ill grace from the members of the late Administration, who had exercised their patronage upon the same principle, and had sent out Marquis Wellesley, Marquis Cornwallis, and other noblemen to India. Lord Minto replied in a similar strain to a like representation from the Court of the injustice done to their civil servants by their exclusion from the chief dignities in India; and observed, that no disadvantage had resulted from the nomination to the first stations in that country of persons who possessed rank and influence in Great Britain.[1] He further remarked, that it was indispensable that the Government at home should have at the head of affairs in India an individual in whom they could implicitly confide, and of whose views they could feel assured: a principle which, the Court justly observed, might make the Governor-General the mere creature of a party, taking and leaving office with every change of Ministry, and regulating his proceedings in India, less by a disinterested regard for the prosperity of that country, than by anxiety for the retention of power and place by his colleagues in England; and they maintained, with unanswerable justice, that the Governor-General of India ought to be unfettered by

[1] The absolute exclusion of the Company's servants from the highest offices in India was never advocated; it was only asserted, that, with regard to the appointment of Governor-General, advantage had resulted from the preference of exalted station in Great Britain,—a proposition to which few of the Company's servants would hesitate to accede. With respect not only to the office of Governor-General, but to those of subordinate Governors, one of the most distinguished and respected of the Civil servants of the Company, the late Mr. Edmonstone, has left on record sentiments to which all who seek the real good of India will be inclined to subscribe. While admitting that there may be, and have been, splendid exceptions, Mr. Edmonstone observes, "My opinion has always been generally adverse to selecting the Governors from among those who have belonged to the service, because I think, that, with very few exceptions, an individual who has passed through the several gradations of the public service, and has consequently been known in the lowest as well as the highest grades, cannot assume that tone of superiority, nor exercise that degree of influence and controul, and attract that degree of deference and respect, which, in my judgment, contribute importantly to the efficient administration of the office of Governor, as regards both the European and native population. A person of eminence and distinction proceeding from England to fill that office, if duly qualified by character and talent, carries with him a greater degree of influence, and inspires more respect, than an individual who has been known in a subordinate capacity in India can usually command."—Evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832; Public Question, 1701. There are other obvious advantages from the appointment of a person of rank and connexion to the office of Governor-General in particular, that more than compensate for any want of stimulus to exertion which the possibility of attaining so elevated a station might be thought to afford to the servants of the Company.

party and Ministerial obligations. The qualification of partisanship for the office of Governor-General of India, although first avowed by the Whigs, is too congenial to the selfishness of that party spirit which governs the national councils of Great Britain to want advocates amongst their opponents also; but it may be stated, in justice to those who succeeded to the short-lived Administration of 1806, that the principle did not regulate their practice. Lord Minto, although selected from the ranks of their adversaries, was allowed to remain undisturbed in the discharge of his Indian duties until he was superceded by the Court of Directors.

The discussion that thus arose was not without ulterior consequences. Whatever were the ostensible motives of the disputants, however veiled by sophistical reasoning or unmeaning professions, there is no doubt that patronage was the prey contended for, and that which the original clause of the act of 1784 was intended unavowedly to appropriate. The true import of that clause was now brought to the test, and its meaning was proved to be the nomination of the Governor-General by his Majesty's Ministers. It had been proposed to effect this object in a conciliatory manner, by leaving the appointment with the Court of Directors, subject only to its contingent annulment by the Board through the power of recall: but, as on this occasion the Court manifested a disposition to assert a voice potential in the designation of a successor to the Marquis Cornwallis, the intimation was not disregarded; and, on the first subsequent opportunity for the renewal of the charter, a clause was inserted[1] more distinctly enunciatory of the power of the Crown, by which the appointments to the offices of Governor-General, Governors of Madras and Bombay, and Commander-in-chief, which were made by the Directors, were declared thenceforth subject to royal approbation. The patronage has been since exercised upon this arrangement; and, as the Court can appoint no persons save those of whom it has been previously ascertained that the Board approves, the nomination is virtually exercised by the Administration of the day.[2]

[1] 53 Geo. III. cap. 155, sec. 10.

[2] In the examination of Mr. Auber, the Secretary to the Court of Directors, before the Commons' Committee of 1832, the relative share of the Ministers

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The attention of the House of Commons was called to other subjects connected with the Government of India; and many of its deliberations were devoted, with little advantage either to India or to Great Britain, to a futile attempt to impeach the late Governor-General, Marquis Wellesley.

Mr. James Paull had resided some years in the principality of Oude,[1] and had there carried on a lucrative traffic in the cotton manufactures of the country. His residence had necessarily the sanction of the British authorities; and, according to his own account, he enjoyed the favour of the Nawab, until the period of a visit which he paid to England.[2] Upon his return, the Nawab strongly objected to his being domiciled in Oude; but his objections were withdrawn in consequence of the intercession of the Governor-General,[3] and Mr. Paull repaired to Lucknow, "sensibly feeling the obligations he was under to his Excellency, for whom he had only sentiments of gratitude and profound respect."[4] These sentiments were short-lived. Mr. Paull, soon after Lord Wellesley's resignation, returned also to England: his first step was the purchase of a seat in the House of Commons; his second, the institution of charges against his former patron and benefactor.

In the prosecution of this purpose, Mr. Paull moved, on the 25th June, 1805, for the production of papers intended to illustrate the nature of the connexion established with the Government of Oude under the administration of Sir John Shore, and the changes it had undergone during that of Lord Wellesley; by which the Nawab, in defiance of justice, had been degraded and disgraced in

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and Directors in the patronage of the highest offices in India was a subject fully discussed. Mr. Auber contended stoutly for the power of the Directors, but was obliged to admit that no Governor-General or Commander-in-Chief had ever been named by the Court of whom the Crown had disapproved, being in fact nominated upon a previous communication with the Board, while several instances of disapprobation of inferior appointments and their consequent annulment had occurred. The Directors in fact may be said to exercise a kind of selection, but it must be from individuals who they are assured will be acceptable to the Ministers.

[1] He is noticed as agent for one of the Nawab's creditors in 1796.

[2] Private letter to Major Malcolm, Lucknow, 9th Feb., 1803; printed by Auber, History of India, ii. 387.

[3] Letter from Persian Secretary to the Nawab Vizir, 17th Sept., 1802.—Papers printed by order of Parliament, 17th July, 1806, No. 28.

[4] Correspondence printed by order of Parliament, 16th June, 1806, No. 20.

the eyes of the world, and in the face of the most solemn treaties had been dispossessed of a territory which had a population of three millions of attached subjects, and yielded an annual revenue of nearly two millions sterling. Papers were also moved for, relating to the appointment of Mr. Henry Wellesley as Commissioner for the affairs of Oude; which appointment, he not being a servant of the East India Company, was in defiance of an act of parliament and a violation of the law. No opposition was made to the production of the papers; and subsequently similar documents were granted relating to Lord Wellesley's treatment of the Raja of Bhurtpore, the Nawab of Surat, and the Nawab of Furruckabad. The first charge was submitted to the House on the 23rd of April, 1806.

The tone of the preliminary proceedings sufficiently indicated their eventual result. The individual who had undertaken to establish the criminality of Lord Wellesley was ill qualified for the task, even if he had been provided with more tenable grounds for his accusations. The intemperance of his language was not redeemed by any powers of eloquence, or extenuated by the nature of his facts, and argued more of personal malignity than public spirit:[1] he stood wholly unsupported in the House, even by the members of the Court of Directors who were present, and who in that character had concurred in the unqualified reprobation of many of those measures of the Governor-General which were now brought under Parliamentary investigation.[2] He was opposed by both the political parties in the Commons: by one as participant of Lord Wellesley's measures; by the other on the principle that, although the system might be reprehensible, yet Parliamentary inquiry was neither necessary nor

[1] He accused, in his charge with respect to Oude, Lord Wellesley and Mr. H. Wellesley of committing murder, when speaking of the employment of a military force against the refractory Zemindars in the Ceded districts; and, on a subsequent occasion, he calls upon the House to consider the situation of India, from the accursed day when Marquis Wellesley set foot there, until the day of his departure, during which interval it exhibited a constant scene of rapine, oppression, cruelty, and fraud which goaded the whole country into a state of revolt.—Hansard's Parl. Debates, 23rd May and 6th July, 1806.

[2] Mr. Thornton observed, that impeachment was a step much stronger than anything which he was prepared to think the conduct of Marquis Wellesley, improper as he esteemed it, could warrant him in adopting; and Mr. Grant, although he certainly judged inquiry to be necessary, did not deem it advisable to proceed to impeachment.—Parl. Debates.

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expedient.[1] And he derived no weight from popular interest, as it was engrossed by considerations of nearer and more vital importance.

The first charge brought forward, the prodigal expenditure of Lord Wellesley's government, took the House by surprise, as it was unconnected with any of the papers previously moved for. Even Mr. Fox felt it incumbent upon him to remark upon so irregular a course. He observed, that "the honourable member had not told the House what were the documents to be laid before it in support of the charge, nor when they were to be produced: he understood, in fact, that the mover had really no documents, although he had proposed a day for discussion; and if, when that day should arrive, he should be unprovided with means to substantiate his charge, he would find himself in a very awkward and unpleasant predicament." So ill concerted were Mr. Paull's proceedings, that, having moved that the charge be taken into consideration that day three weeks, the motion found no seconder. It was not until after some pause that Sir William Geary rose to second the motion; not, as he observed, from any conviction of the culpability of the accused, but because he thought that the dignity of the House required that the opportunity of proving charges of so grave a tenor should not be denied. The obvious necessity, however, of bringing forward written vouchers enforced an alteration. The motion was withdrawn, and, in its place, papers to show the relative expenditure of successive Indian administrations were moved for, and granted.

[1] The sentiments of Mr. Fox are worthy of note, from the difference of his language on this occasion and that which he used during the proceedings against Warren Hastings. He said, "He, and others who agreed with him, had no wish to disparage the proceeding, or to throw obstacles in the way; but, because he disapproved of a system of measures, it did not follow that it was to be remedied by impeaching the individual. He and his honourable friend (Mr. Francis) had a good deal of experience on the subject: this was certainly not a proper time for inquiry; he might disapprove of, and strongly oppose systems, but he would not always think it necessary to resort to inquiries. Impeachment was a bad mode of proceeding, except in particular cases; and certainly it was not advisable to adopt it with regard to a Governor-General of India merely on account of his system. He could not be said to desert a person whom he never encouraged; but, since the trial of Mr. Hastings, they might say if they pleased, he shrunk from all India impeachments, or flew from them, or any other worse term might be employed, if worse could be found. To this he would make no answer."—Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1806.

A tangible charge was at length elicited. Reverting to the treatment of the Nawab of Oude, and the appropriation of the Ceded districts, it was affirmed that in these proceedings Marquis Wellesley had violated subsisting treaties, and every principle of equity and right; had been regardless of his duty to the East India Company, his Sovereign, and his country; had contemned the Parliament, the King, and the laws; had dishonoured the British nation and name; and had in these respects been guilty of high offences, crimes, and misdemeanours. A second charge was subsequently brought forward, accusing the Governor-General of having unjustly and violently compelled the Nawab of Furruckabad to give up his territory. Evidence was heard on the Oude charge, which closed on the 4th of July. On the 6th, Lord Temple moved that the charge should be taken into consideration; but the motion was resisted on the plea of precipitancy, and, as further papers were requested, the discussion was postponed. On the following day a third charge was adduced, relative to the treatment of the Zemindar of Sasnee and other Zemindars.

The end of the session put a stop to these proceedings; and, upon the dissolution of Parliament which ensued, Mr. Paull, having canvassed unsuccessfully the borough of Westminster, ceased to be a member of the House of Commons. The attack upon Lord Wellesley, however, was not abandoned: it was resumed by Lord Folkestone, but was urged in a more temperate strain, and for a different object; all purpose of impeachment being disavowed. A series of resolutions was proposed, condemnatory of the demands made upon the Nawab of Oude, in breach of the treaty of 1798, and the consequent sequestration of a considerable part of his dominions; but, after a prolonged discussion, the resolutions were rejected by a considerable majority. It was then moved by Sir John Anstruther, and carried by a majority equally numerous, that the Marquis of Wellesley, in executing the late arrangements in Oude, was actuated by an ardent zeal for the public service, and by the desire of providing more effectually for the prosperity, the defence, and the safety of the British possessions in India.

The character of the measures which were thus sub-

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jected to Parliamentary investigation has been explained in a preceding volume.[1] It is, therefore, unnecessary to do more in this place than to advert briefly to the principal arguments, which, amidst much irrelevant matter, were urged by either party. By those who sought to obtain a vote of censure on the Marquis it was maintained, that the Nawab of Oude was an independent prince, with whom, in that capacity, treaties had been contracted: that a treaty had been recently concluded with him (in 1798), by which his authority over his household, his troops and his subjects, had been recognised; and an amount of subsidy, fully adequate to the expense of the largest force ever raised for the defence of Oude, had been exacted from him: that the Nawab had punctually discharged all demands arising out of this stipulation; and that there was nothing in his domestic circumstances and conduct, or in the aspect of foreign affairs, which called for so violent a measure as that of compelling him to convert a money payment into a territorial concession, and to give up half of his dominions, in order to secure the fulfilment of his pecuniary obligations: that the demand had been submitted to by the Nawab solely through his conscious inability to resist it; and that the injustice thus inflicted upon a native prince, the ally and friend of the Company, was calculated to bring discredit on the British name throughout India: that the acquisition of territory thus obtained was in opposition to the sentiments of the Court of Directors as expressed in a despatch signed by them all, with one only exception; and was a violation of the declared sense of Parliament, which had expressly denounced territorial extension in India as contrary to the honour and wishes of the nation.

In opposition to these assertions, it was affirmed, that the Nawab of Oude was not entitled to be regarded as an independent sovereign; the military defence of his territories having devolved upon the British from their first connexion with Oude, and their interposition in its internal government having been repeatedly exercised. The reigning prince was in fact indebted to that interposition for the rank he held; his predecessor, Vizir Ali, having

[1] Mill, vol. vi. 135.

been deposed, and himself placed on the throne, by the Governor-General. That the treaty of 1798 had reference to the actual position of the Nawab, but did not preclude interference whenever circumstances should urgently call for it. That subsequently circumstances had occurred which demanded strong measures, the Nawab having intimated his apprehensions that the impoverished and declining resources of his principality would not long suffice to pay the stipulated subsidy: that such a failure was to be anticipated from the maladministration of the Nawab, and his inability to maintain subordination and realize his revenues: that, while the means of keeping up an effective subsidiary force were likely to be thus deficient, the necessity of augmenting its strength had been rendered imperative; first, by the absence of adequate provision for internal defence; and secondly, by the imminence of external danger. The troops of the Nawab were a disorderly and disaffected body, a source rather of peril than of safety, whose reduction was highly advantageous to the state. Repeated menaces of invasion had been put forth by Zeman Shah, the ruler of the Afghans; and the presence of Sindhia's disciplined brigades under French officers upon the frontiers of Oude menaced the integrity of the principality, and imperiously enjoined defensive preparations. Under these emergencies, the annexation to the British Indian empire of the districts in the Doab which were most exposed to foreign aggression was indispensably necessary for the security of both the protected and protecting power.

It cannot be denied, that the political interests of the British Government strongly recommended the appropriation of the Ceded provinces. Continued punctuality in the payment of the subsidy was an evident impossibility, from the diminishing resources of the Nawab; and the subsidiary force must have been reduced or disbanded, or kept up at the Company's cost. The condition of the districts in the Doab was also a subject of uneasiness, as, in the event of a collision with the Mahrattas, the movements of the British armies would have been embarrassed by the necessity of holding in check a disorganized and turbulent population. The readiest method of preventing such results was the establishment of the British autho-

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rity in the territories in question, the maintenance of order, and the application of the revenues to the payment of the subsidiary force. That the measure, whilst it strengthened the British Government, would be conducive to the well-being of the people and the prosperity of the country, was to be anticipated; and upon these grounds the appropriation was susceptible of vindication: but that it consulted the dignity and power of the Nawab, or could be acceptable to his feelings, it was absurd to pretend. He was helpless, and he acquiesced; but he was not so blind to his own interests as to be deceived by the specious plausibility with which the mutilation of his authority was pressed upon him; and there can be little doubt that the feeble efforts made in England to procure him redress, had their origin in the fallacious hopes which he had been led to entertain of the reversal of the sentence of spoliation by the justice of the British Parliament.

Notwithstanding the victory gained by the friends of Marquis Wellesley on this occasion, the ordeal which he had to undergo was yet incomplete. The minor charges relating to the Nawab of Furruckabad and the Zemindar of Sasnee were disposed of with the Oude charge, and no further notice was taken of the case of the Nawab of Surat. The charge of prodigal expenditure was also abandoned; as it had all along been admitted that the personal integrity of the late Governor-General was unimpeachable, and that his profusion was exclusively instigated by considerations of public credit and advantage. There remained, however, a topic which had been formerly brought forward by Mr. Sheridan,—the treatment of the Nawab of Arcot. He had moved for papers relating to the inquiry in December, 1802, but had then allowed the matter to drop. He still declined to renew its agitation, but he declared himself prepared to support any member who should introduce the question. Accordingly, on the 17th May, 1808, after an interval of five years and a half, Sir Thomas Turton moved a series of six resolutions, as grounds for the appointment of a committee to inquire into the assumption of the Carnatic. After an adjourned debate, the resolutions were rejected; and it was moved and carried, that it was the opinion of the House that the Marquis Wellesley and Lord Powis, in their conduct rela-

tive to the Carnatic, appeared to have been influenced solely by motives of anxious zeal and solicitude for the permanent security, welfare, and prosperity of the British possessions in India.[1] Thus ended the discussions in Parliament respecting Lord Wellesley's administration; having had no other effect than that of excluding him from a share in the administration of affairs at home, when his co-operation would have been of value to Ministers and to the country.

A very different result attended the proceedings of the Court of Proprietors. In May, 1806, a motion was there made for the production of the correspondence that had taken place with the Board of Controul on the subject of the late wars in India; the main object being to confirm the condemnation of many of Lord Wellesley's measures which had been expressed by the Court of Directors in the draft of a letter to Bengal, the despatch of which had been arrested by the Board of Controul. The documents having been printed,[2] a motion was made at a subsequent meeting, that "this Court, having considered the papers laid before it, most highly approve of the zeal manifested and the conduct pursued by the Court of Directors, and regard a firm adherence to the principles maintained by the Court to be indispensably necessary to preserve the salutary authority over the government of India vested by law in the Court of Directors, to restrain a profuse expenditure of the public money, and to prevent all schemes of conquest and extension of dominion,—measures which the Legislature had declared to be repugnant to the wish, the honour, and the policy of the nation; and this Court do assure the Court of Directors of their most cordial and zealous support, with a view to preserve unimpaired the rights and privileges of the East India Company. After a debate of some length, the resolution was submitted to decision by ballot, when a very large majority of the Proprietors expressed their concurrence in the views of the Directors.[3] It will not fall within the

[1] The numbers, for the motion 98, against it 19; majority 79.

[2] Papers printed for the use of the Proprietors, 7th May, 1806.

[3] The numbers were, in favour of the resolution, 928, against it, 195. A majority of seven hundred and thirty-three Proprietors recorded their condemnation of Lord Wellesley's policy. — Asiatic Annual Register, 1806; Proceedings, India House.

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limits of this work to describe the proceedings of the Company at a date long subsequent; but it deserves to be noticed, as a remarkable instance of the inconsistency of public bodies, that, thirty years afterwards, the resolution, now so numerously and strenuously supported, was virtually negatived by the unanimous determination of the same Court of Proprietors to make a pecuniary grant to Lord Wellesley in recompense of his great services to the Company, and to erect his statue in the Court-room;[1] thus testifying their approbation of the general policy of his administration, and consequently of the principles of subsidiary alliances and territorial aggrandisement.

The only other proceedings of importance at home affecting the Company's interests were partly of a financial character, and partly preliminary to the discussion of a question, the determination of which was now not very remote,—the renewal of the charter, which expired in 1813. On the 11th of March, 1808, Mr. Dundas moved the appointment of a select committee to inquire into the present state of affairs of the East India Company. A committee was appointed accordingly; and to it was referred a petition submitted by the Company, praying that 1,200,000*l.* due to the Company by the Government might be repaid, and a like sum be advanced by way of loan, to enable the Company to provide for the deficiencies of their commercial resources, which had been occasioned by continued remittances of goods and bullion to India, and the suspension of investments in return, in consequence of the political circumstances of India, and the pecuniary wants of the Government of that country. On the 13th of June, the report of the committee was presented, admitting a considerable balance to be due to the India Company by his Majesty's Government; and it was accordingly resolved that a sum not exceeding 1,500,000*l.* should be paid to the Company.

It was at the same time shown, that a principal source of the diminished profits of the Company's commerce arose from the rapidly decreasing value of their imports, owing to the failing demand for one of those articles which they had hitherto, in great part, successfully inclosed against

[1] Asiatic Journal; Proceedings in the India House, 1st November, 1837, and 17th March, 1841.

the trespassing of private trade. The improved and improving cotton manufactures of England were beginning to exercise a sensible effect upon the similar products of Indian industry; and the import value of Piece-goods, which had hitherto formed a main item in the commerce of the Company, had fallen during the last ten years to one-sixth of its amount at the commencement of the term—from nearly three millions sterling, to less than half a million.[1]

CHAPTER IV.

Lord Minto Governor-General. — Sir G. Barlow, Governor of Fort St. George. — Character and Policy of the Governor-General. — Determination to establish Order in Bundelkhand. — Description of the Hilly district of the province. — Colonel Martindell sent against Ajaygerh. — Affairs of Rajaoli. — Ajaygerh surrendered. — Lakshman Dawa sets off to Calcutta,—leaves it again suddenly. His Family put to Death by his Father-in-law. — Operations against Gopal Sing. — Nature of his Incursions. — His Submission. — Storm of Kalinjar, — repulsed. — Fortress surrendered. — Treaties with the Raja of Rewa. — Settlement of Hariana. — The Sikh Chiefs east of the Setlej taken under Protection. — Treaty with Ranjit Sing. — Embassy to Peshawar. — Revolutions of Afghanistan. — Disastrous Life of Shah Shuja. — Return of the Embassy. — Mission to Sindh. — Revolutions in the Government of that Country. — Failure of Negotiation. — Intercourse between France and Persia. — Ill-concerted Measures of the British Authorities. — Sir Harford Jones sent as Ambassador from England,—Sir John

[1] Imports, Piece-goods.

	1798-9.	1807-8.
From Bengal	£1,219,828	260,262
Coast	1,560,470	136,177
Anjengo	193,202	36,381
	£2,993,490	£432,820

Report of Select Committe, No. 1, printed by order of the House of Commons, 12th May, 1810.

The trade in piece-goods was deemed of such importance at the renewal of the charter in 1793, that it was stated by the Committee of Correspondence, that without it the Company could not liquidate their political debts, still less furnish the means of participation to the public to the extent which was proposed.—Resolution 8th, April 1st, 1793.

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Malcolm from India.—Unsatisfactory Result of the latter Mission.—Return of the Envoy.—A Military Expedition to the Gulph projected by the Bengal Government.—Sir Harford Jones departs from Bombay,—proceeds to Shiraz.—Prosecution of the Mission prohibited.—He perseveres,—reaches Tehran,—concludes a preliminary Treaty.—Disavowed by the Indian Government.—The Treaty confirmed.—Diplomatic Relations with Persia taken under the Management of the British Ministry.—Sir Gore Ouseley Ambassador.—Definitive Treaty concluded,—productive of little Advantage.

THE nobleman on whom the government of India now devolved had been long engaged in public life, and had been for many years an active member of Parliament. Connected with the Whigs in political principle, and the personal friend of some of their great leaders, Sir Gilbert Elliot had been chosen as one of the managers for the Commons in the trial of Warren Hastings, and to him had been intrusted the conducting of the proposed impeachment of Sir Elijah Impey.[1] The knowledge he had thus acquired of Indian affairs recommended him, upon the accession of his friends to power, to the office of President of the Board of Controul; and, when it was found impossible to overcome the repugnance of the Court of Directors to the appointment of the Earl of Lauderdale, he was readily acknowledged by both parties as eligible for the situation of Governor-General of India. Lord Minto was accordingly appointed. He left England in the Modeste frigate, and arrived at Madras on the 20th June, 1807. There, as has been noticed, he stayed a short time to assist in determining the final disposal of the Vellore prisoners, and, resuming his voyage, reached Calcutta on the 3rd July. Lord William Bentinck having at the same time been recalled, Sir George Barlow was nominated Governor of Fort St. George, and repaired thither in December of the same year.

The sentiments which had been expressed at home, both by the Ministry and the Court of Directors, adverse to the system of policy followed by Lord Wellesley, necessarily imposed upon Lord Minto the obligation of adopting

[1] See vol. v. of Mill's History, p. 59.

principles of a less ambitious tenor, and of pursuing the measures which had been instituted by Lord Cornwallis and Sir George Barlow for the retrenchment of public expenditure and the preservation of external tranquillity. The general tone of the new Administration was, therefore, moderate and pacific; and the character of the Governor-General, delighting in the milder glories of internal prosperity, the amenities of domestic society, and the cultivation of literature and the arts, accorded with the spirit in which it was expected that his government should be carried on. At the same time, Lord Minto was not of a disposition to shrink from expense or exertion when they were recommended or required by the interests of the state over which he ruled; and various important transactions, arising out of Indian and of European politics, signalised his career, and exhibited not unfrequent departures from the policy of imperturbable forbearance and scrupulous non-interference which had been followed by his predecessors.

The enforcement of submission to authority, and the final establishment of order in the provinces recently annexed to the British territories, were amongst the first objects of the Governor-General's attention. The avoidance of interference in the quarrels of the petty Rajas of Bundelkhand, and the attempt to secure their allegiance and good-will by conciliatory means, had entirely failed. The impunity with which some of the most notorious patrons of the bands of free-booters, by whom the province was overrun, were suffered to retain possession of the districts they had usurped, served only to perpetuate depredation; and the uncontrouled liberty which had been left to the Rajas, of asserting by arms their own real or pretended rights to each other's lands, was productive of interminable disputes, and a disorganising repetition of internal warfare. It was obviously necessary, if it was worth while to retain the province, to adopt a different mode of governing it; and a change of measures was resolved on. It was officially announced that the submission which milder means had failed to introduce should be established by force, and that the Government would compel, where necessary, obedience to its commands. The promulgation of these designs went far to effect their

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fulfilment. The Rajas who had hitherto believed that the interposition of the British agent would be limited to advice only, which they had hitherto ventured to treat with utter disregard, hastened, when they found that something more than mere advice was seriously contemplated, to refer their disputes to the decision of the superior authority; and lands and villages, long and fiercely contested, were awarded to those to whom it appeared upon investigation that they rightfully belonged, in most cases without any necessity for compulsive measures. It was not found possible, however, to exterminate the banditti who roamed through the country, as long as they found shelter and support in its principal fortresses; and it was rendered necessary, by the persevering contumacy of the castellans of the forts of Kalinjar and Ajaygerh, to employ a military force for their humiliation.

The province of Bundelkhand, which is generally a plain where it is contiguous to the Jumna, is encompassed on its southern and south-eastern confines by portions of the great Vindhya chain of hills, which stretches across India from the Ganges to the gulph of Cambay. The portions of the chain which border upon Bundelkhand, or are included within its limits, consist of four nearly parallel ranges, running obliquely from north-east to south-west distinguished as the Vindhyachal, Panna, Bhander, and Thamian or Kaimur hills; they are not of great elevation, but rise one above the other as they extend to the south and west. They are separated by narrow valleys or table-lands of limited extent, which, as well as the hills, are for the most part rendered difficult of access, by underwood and thick jungle. From the most northerly range, or Vindhyachal, isolated elevations are thrown out northwards into the plain, forming a characteristic feature of this part of the country, and affording favourable positions for the construction of hill-forts:[1] two of these had been selected for the site of the forts above named, and Kalinjar and Ajaygerh were regarded by the Bundelas as impregnable, both from the natural difficulties of the approach to them, and the fortifications by which those difficulties had been enhanced.

[1] Memoir on Bundelkhand, by Captain Franklin; Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 259.

The Kiladar of Ajaygerh, Lakshman Dawa, originally the captain of a band of plunderers, had become possessed of that strong-hold through the connivance of the officer who had been placed in command of it by Shamshir Bahadur, and who had been directed to give it up to the British authorities. Lakshman was permitted to retain the fort as a temporary arrangement, and to hold in Jagir the adjacent lands, on condition of paying a small annual tribute, and relinquishing the fortress at the expiration of two years, ending in 1808. The tribute was never paid, the term of occupancy had expired, and no intention of giving up the fort was exhibited. A body of troops was therefore assembled, and sent under Colonel Martindell against Ajaygerh.

No opposition was encountered by Colonel Martindell's detachment until they arrived at Rajaoli, a fortified hill about ten miles from Ajaygerh, which was occupied by a select body of Lakshman Dawa's troops. The ascent of the hill was by steep and narrow paths, overhung in many places by projecting rocks; from the shelter of which, parties of the enemy fired upon the slowly advancing troops. Driven from these stations they retreated to the summit of the hill, where they had constructed parapet walls, and behind them made a resolute stand. As no ladders could be brought up with which to scale the wall, the assailants were recalled, and preparations were made for resuming the attack on the following morning. The enemy evacuated the post during the night.[1]

On the following day Colonel Martindell proceeded to Ajaygerh, and batteries were raised against the fort. Operations were, however suspended, by repeated messages from Lakshman Dawa promising to deliver up the fortress, and negociations were protracted until the 11th of February, in this expectation. Further delay was then refused, and the guns opened upon the principal gateways with such effect as in a few hours to lay three of them in ruins. On the two following days the firing was repeated, and early on the 13th a practicable breach was made. The Kiladar anticipated the assault by a timely surrender, and

[1] The loss of the assailants was 28 Sipahis killed, and 115 wounded, including three officers, of whom Lieut. Jamieson of the light battalion died of his wounds.

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Ajaygerh was taken possession of in the course of the day.[1] Lakshman Dawa gave himself up to Mr. Richardson, the Governor-General's agent, and was allowed to remain at large upon parole. His family removed from the fort, and found a residence in the adjacent town of Naosheher, where a tragedy ensued, not unprecedented in the history of the Hindus, and characteristic of native sentiments of personal honour.

Lakshman Dawa, in surrendering himself, cherished a hope that the British authorities would reinstate him in the possession of his fort, and addressed a petition to the agent, praying either that he might be restored, or that he might be blown from the mouth of a gun, as life without reputation was not worth preserving. As Mr. Richardson declined a compliance with either alternative, the chief resolved to make a personal appeal to the Governor-General, and secretly quitted the camp for the purpose of repairing to Calcutta. He managed his flight with so much skill that no traces of him were discovered until his arrival at the Presidency. He was treated with kindness, and left at large under the supervision of the police; but, as no hope was held out to him of recovering a possession to which his only titles were usurpation and fraud, he departed as unceremoniously as he had arrived, and endeavoured to effect his return to Bundelkhand: his flight was intercepted, and he was brought back to Calcutta, where he was detained until his death.[2]

Upon the disappearance of Lakshman Dawa from camp, it was considered advisable to place his family in greater security, as hostages for his conduct. They were ordered to prepare for removal into the fort, with assurances that they had nothing to apprehend from their detention; and that one of their male relatives, who had not forfeited the

[1] Official Despatches and Government Orders; As. Annual Register, vol. xi.; Chronicle, p. 27.

[2] Lakshman Dawa died in the neighbourhood of Calcutta in November, 1828. He had from the first refused to accept any provision in place of the lands of which he had been dispossessed, and was for some time under the charge of the police. In 1811 his misfortunes affected his intellects, and he was placed under the care of the Company's medical officer at Alypore, with whom he continued until 1822, when he appears to have recovered his understanding. He was not released from all restraint for two years longer, when he consented to receive a pension of 600 rupees a month. After his death the surviving members of his family were allowed to return to Bundelkhand.—MS. Records.

favourable opinion of the British Government, should be intrusted with their guardianship. Baju Rao, the father-in-law of the absent chief, was instructed to conduct the party to their quarters. He undertook the office with apparent cheerfulness, and repaired for that purpose to the house in which the family resided. When a considerable interval had elapsed after his entrance into the house, and no person seemed to be coming forth, a native officer of the escort entered, and found the old man seated before the door of an inner room with a drawn sword in his hand. As the Subahdar approached, Baju Rao retired into the chamber, and closed the door. Assistance being obtained the door was forced; when the mother, the wife, the infant son of Lakshman Dawa, and four female attendants, were discovered lying dead on the floor, having been killed by Baju Rao, apparently with their own consent, as no cry nor any expression of alarm or suffering had been heard. As soon as the door was opened, Baju Rao inflicted a fatal wound upon himself. The catastrophe was in entire unison with native feeling; and several of the Bundela chiefs in camp hesitated not to avow, that, under similar circumstances, they would have perpetrated a similar deed.[1]

A protracted course of desultory and harassing hostilities had some time previously been commenced against Gopal Sing, a military adventurer who had usurped the district of Kotra, the inheritance of Raja Bakht Sing, a descendant of Chatrasál. The right of the Raja had been formally recognised by the British Government during the preceding administration, and he had been authorised to recover his lands; but, as he was not allowed to receive the assistance of British troops, the recognition and sanction were mere mockeries.[2] With the altered policy of the Government its grants became realities. A British detachment was sent to place the Raja in possession. The task was easily accomplished, and even Gopal Sing came

[1] MS. Records; also As. Annual Register, vol. vi.; History, p. 5.

[2] See the Ikrar Nama, or pledge of allegiance, and Sunnud granted to Raja Bakht Sing; Coll. of Treaties, p. 331. The documents are dated 8th June, 1807. The first article of the answer to the Raja's solicitation to be reinstated runs, "Little doubt can be entertained that you will be able to establish your authority, and to settle the Pergunnas, independently of the aid and support of the British Government: at the same time, every proper and necessary aid which you may require, *with the exception of troops*, shall be furnished to you."

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into camp and professed submission. From motives which are unexplained, or from the instability of purpose which is not unfrequent in the native mind, he seems to have speedily repented of his acquiescence, and, departing abruptly from the British encampment, he retired with a few followers to the thickets above the first range of hills. Sensible that direct resistance to the superior force of the supporters of Bakht Sing would be unavailing, he adopted a course of destructive irruptions; rushing down upon the plains and spreading terror and devastation in all directions whenever an opportunity occurred, and, when pressed by his enemies, taking refuge amongst the entangled and rugged country between the first and second ranges of the mountains. Although his parties were frequently overtaken and dispersed, they immediately re-assembled and renewed their depredations; and it became necessary to provide a permanent check upon their ravages. A cantonment was therefore established at Tiroha, at the foot of the first range, a few miles to the north-east of Kalinjar, from whence detachments were sent occasionally to guard the passes; the unhealthiness of the climate preventing the presence of a force above the ghats throughout the year. The marauding attacks of Gopal Sing were in some measure counteracted by these arrangements, but they continued at intervals to disturb the quiet and delay the pacific settlement of the country.

Towards the end of 1809, the concentration of the British force in Bundelkhand under Colonel Martindell, in a different quarter of the province, having drawn off the principal part of the troops opposed to Gopal Sing, the protection of the districts was left to the unaided resources of the Rajas of Panna and Kotra. They proved utterly inadequate to the duty. Their united contingents were defeated in an engagement with their more warlike adversary; and the country below the hills laid open to his attacks were remorsely devastated, until his progress was stopped by a detachment under Major Kelly, which was sent from Colonel Martindell's camp at Chatterpur. As the force advanced, Gopal retired above the third range of ghats; in the vicinity of which the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, commanded by Captain Wilson, was stationed to keep him in check,

while the rest of the detachment rejoined the main army.

Gopal Sing, finding himself more than a match for the force which remained to oppose him, resumed offensive operations; and being assailed in a strongly stockaded position near Kakarati in the Panna principality, by the detachment under Captain Wilson, repulsed the assailants after they had suffered considerable loss, and compelled them to fall back towards the plains.[1] The junction of Major Delamain, with a squadron of the 2nd native cavalry, restored the superiority to the British; but Gopal, turning to the north amongst the hills, outstripped their pursuit, and coming suddenly down upon Tiroha, which was feebly guarded, he plundered and set fire to the cantonments, before troops, despatched from Ajaygerh as soon as the movement of Gopal Sing upon Tiroha was known, could arrive for its protection. Major Morgan, who commanded the detachment, followed the retreating enemy; but whilst Gopal Sing, at the head of his horse, manœuvred so as to engross his attention, the infantry marched unperceived again upon Tiroha, where they not only completed such part of the work of destruction as they had left unfinished, but laid the adjacent town in ashes, after having first made themselves masters of much valuable booty. The audacity of this enterprise enforced the adoption of more vigorous measures, and Colonel Brown was detached from Colonel Martindell's camp, with the 1st native cavalry and one squadron of the 8th, to command the troops engaged in this harassing warfare. A battalion of native infantry, under Major Leslie was also added to the force; and Gopal, unable to encounter such an armament, and having been surprised and roughly handled by Colonel Brown at Bichaund near Ajaygerh, reascended the passes, and took shelter in an entrenched position at Jhargerh above the second range of ghats. Captain Wilson, with a squadron of native cavalry, the 1st battalion of the 16th native infantry, three companies of the 7th, and a company of pioneers, was sent forward

[1] On this occasion, Gopal Sing showed that he united humanity with courage and conduct. Several of the wounded Sipahis having fallen into his hands, he had their wounds dressed, and sent them back to rejoin the detachment.

1810.

in pursuit. After a laborious march he ascended the hills unperceived, and arrived at Jhargerh almost before his approach was discovered. The defences consisted of a rampart and strong stockades situated upon a rocky eminence in a valley overgrown with bamboos and brush-wood: they were accessible only on one face, the other sides being covered by almost impenetrable thickets; but the garrison, including Gopal Sing, were so much taken by surprise that their only thought was of escape. Guided by one of his prisoners, Captain Wilson effected his entrance into the main body of the works as they were evacuated by the enemy, who plunged into the thickets and disappeared. After burning the stockades, and levelling the fort, the detachment returned to its post at Kakarati. The setting in of the rainy season put a stop to further proceedings. Gopal retired to the south; and the troops were so stationed as to intercept his return to the north and west, and confine him to the rugged valleys between the Bhandar and Kaimur hills, towards the sources of the Sone and Nerbudda rivers.

As soon as the state of the country permitted, active measures were resumed; a division of the force under Captain Watson marched from Amghat on the 17th November, and on the morning of the 19th came upon a strong body of Gopal Sing's troops at the village of Bhamori, commanded by some of his principal Sirdars. The party was posted in two divisions: one in the village, occupying a brick fort; the other and larger in an adjacent grove, protected by a deep ravine. As soon as the ravine was turned by the native cavalry, the enemy's horse fled, and were pursued for some distance: the foot followed their example, and broke upon the first volley from the advancing column. The troops in the fort surrendered at discretion. About two hundred were killed and wounded, and above one hundred taken prisoners, with little loss on the side of the British. At the same time Major Kelly advanced from Lohagong, and Colonel Brown from the neighbourhood of Banda. The latter, after a long and fatiguing march, crossed the upper course of the Sone at Hardi Ghat, and overtook Gopal Sing near the village of Killeri, whither he had retreated, after declining to accept an asylum offered him by the Raja of Rewa. His

followers, consisting entirely of horse, were completely routed; and Gopal Sing escaped, almost unattended, into the jungle. Here he continued, however, to maintain himself and followers for several months, and notwithstanding his repeated discomfiture, remained unsubdued.

In the month of June, Gopal Sing emerged from his retreat at Kshirgaon in the country of the Berar Raja, and once more descended from the hills. His movements were closely watched by the detachments of Colonel Brown's force; and, having been nearly surprised by Captain Watson in the vicinity of Komtara, he retreated to the protection of his former asylum. Having received intelligence of his position, Colonel Brown moved with great secrecy and expedition, and came by surprise upon him on the night of the 26th June. The enemy's camp was pitched at the head of the Dowani pass in the Marao hills, in the dry bed of a swamp, protected by thick wood on every side, and accessible only by steep and narrow defiles. Through one of these the infantry advanced, and first gave intimation of their presence by a volley fired upon the camp. The enemy fled without attempting resistance: many were killed, and much plunder was recovered. The nature of the country and the approach of the monsoon again suspended pursuit; but, on the 7th September, the fortified post of Kshirgaon was attacked and carried by a detachment commanded by Captain Watson. Gopal Sing, once more an almost solitary fugitive, fled into the district of Sagar; but, becoming now convinced of the hopelessness of so unequal a contest, he proffered his submission on the conditions of receiving a full pardon for his opposition, and provision being made for his family. The British Government, equally weary of a troublesome and unprofitable warfare, acceded to the terms, and granted him a Jagir of eighteen villages in the district of Panwari in Bundelkhand, which is still held by his descendants.[1] The transactions are worthy of record as an instance of the success with which personal activity and resolution, aided by a difficult country, but destitute of any other means than plunder and the devotedness of a slender band of adherents, baffled for a period of four years, and ulti-

[1] See the Sunnud granted to Gopal Sing on the 24th Feb., 1812; Report of Select Committee, Aug., 1832; Political Appendix, p. 561.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV. 1812.

mately tired out, the resentment and the resources of a powerful antagonist.[1]

The final establishment of order and tranquillity in Bundelkhand was in a still greater degree dependent upon the reduction of Kalinjar; the strength of which fastness, and the vain attempts made in time past for its capture, impressed the natives with a univeral belief of its impregnability, and inspired its Kiladar, Dariao Sing, with confidence to persist in his opposition to British authority, and to continue his scarcely covert encouragement of every predatory leader. The mischievous consequences of allowing Dariao Sing[2] to retain possession of Kalinjar were vainly pointed out, when the British authority was first introduced into Bundelkhand; but the system of endurance having now given place to a policy of a more resolute character, it was determined no longer to overlook his contumacy: a force was accordingly assembled at Banda,[3] the command of which was given to Colonel Martindell, and on the 19th January Kalinjar was invested.

The fortified hill of Kalinjar is situated about twenty miles south-east of Banda, and about half that distance from the first range of hills. It rises from a marshy plain as an isolated rock to the height of above nine hundred feet, being at the base ten or twelve miles in circumference, and inclosing on the summit a table-land of more than four miles in circuit. On this plain were situated the residence of the Kiladar, the cantonments of the garrison, and several Hindu temples, apparently ancient:[4] the sides

[1] For the operations against Gopal Sing, see the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii.; History, 40: Chronicle, pp. 9, 10, 61, 78: and Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; History, p. 76.

[2] See p. 13, note.

[3] A squadron of the 8th light dragoons, five companies of the 53rd foot, a squadron of the 1st N. C. and three of the 3rd, with six battalions of N.I., three companies of pioneers, a detachment of European artillery, and a battering train of twelve and eighteen pounders.

[4] In some places, mutilated inscriptions were found in characters said to be the same as those on the staff of Firoz Shah at Delhi. They have never been collected or published. Cave temples also are described, one of which is dedicated to Nila-kantha, a form of Siva, as a Linga. Kálanjara, the correct appellation of the mountain, is also a name of Siva—he who sees time itself decay—and all the Hindu traditions relating to this hill, connect it with its worship. Kalbhiroop (or correctly, Kala-bhairava), whose colossal image is specified by Abulfazl as existing at Kalanjar, is an attendant of Siva, or one of his minor emanations. See the word Callinger, to which Kalanjara is commonly barbarously metamorphosed, in Hamilton's Gazetteer. A general description of the fort and its antiquities is given in Pogson's History of the Bundelas, but the latter have been but cursorily and imperfectly investigated.

of the hill are abrupt, and are covered with an almost impenetrable jungle of bushes and bamboos, the haunts of beasts of prey and of innumerable monkeys. The crest of the hill is formed of a ridge of steep black rock, which forms the base of a wall with loopholes and embrasures surrounding the whole of the summit. The Petta, or town, lies at the foot of the hill at the south-eastern angle; and the ascent thence to the fort is by a broad winding road cut along the eastern face of the rock, and defended by seven fortified gateways. Opposite to the north-eastern extremity, at the distance of about eight hundred yards, rises another detached elevation, the hill of Kálanjari, nearly as lofty as the main rock, but of much less extent: its sides are equally steep, and covered in like manner with a thick and entangled growth of low shrubs and bamboos.

After reconnoitring the defences of the fort, it was determined to erect batteries on the lesser hill, and by the 26th of January, a path having been cleared of the jungle, four iron eighteen-pounders and two mortars were hauled up by main force to the top. Another battery of two eighteen-pounders was formed lower down on the shoulder of the hill; and another of two twelve-pounders nearer the foot, opposite to the great gateway of the fort. Negociations having failed, the batteries opened on the 28th, on which day also possession was taken of the Petta. No attempt was made to disturb the construction of the batteries, and not a shot was fired from the fort until they opened; it being a point of Indian honour, it is said, for a fort not to fire until fired upon. When the firing of the besiegers commenced, that from the fort was feebly maintained and did little execution; and it was expected, that as soon as a breach should be made, the fortress would fall an easy conquest: an anticipation that was fatally disappointed.

By the 1st of February, the batteries had effected what was considered to be a practicable breach, and at sunrise on the 2nd, the storming party advanced to the assault. The party consisted of the five companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and the flank companies of the native regiments commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey. As they ascended the hill, they were encountered by a brisk fire of match-

locks and volleys of heavy stones, until they made good their footing to within fifty yards of the breach, where they halted, under cover of an old wall. The top of the breach, and the wall on both sides of it, were crowded with matchlockmen, regardless of the fire to which they were exposed from the destruction of the parapet. Upon a given signal the assailing column rushed forward, in spite of the missiles with which they were saluted, and reached the foot of the parapet. Here they were arrested by the precipitous and mostly perpendicular rock on which the wall had stood, and which it was necessary to scale before they could arrive at the foot of the breach. Ladders were applied, but the irregularity of the surface rendered it difficult to fix them; and, as fast as the men ascended, they were knocked down by heavy stones hurled upon them by the defendants, or were shot by their matchlocks. Equal resolution was displayed on either side; but the disadvantageous position of the assailants rendered the conflict so unequal, that, after an unavailing struggle of about thirty-five minutes, the storming party was recalled. The loss they sustained was severe:[1] that suffered by the garrison was not less. The attempt was not unavailing; as the Kiladar, apprehensive of its repetition, signified on the day following his acceptance of the conditions which he had previously rejected. Lands were assigned to him and the members of his family who held a united interest in Kalinjar, and they agreed to cede the fortress. This strong-hold, which had baffled Mahmud of Ghazni,[2] which had seen Shir Shah perish[3] before its walls and which had sustained a two years' siege by Ali Bahadur,[4] was thus added to the trophies of British conquest, and ceased to be the rallying point of lawless spoliation. After a brief occupancy as a military post, it was dismantled and abandoned. The chiefs who had once bid defiance from its ramparts to the commands of the British Govern-

[1] Capt. Fraser, Lieut. Rice, one serjeant, and ten men of the 53rd, were killed; ten officers and one hundred and twenty men were wounded. Lieut. Faithful, commanding the pioneers, and nearly half his men, were wounded. The Sipahis had no opportunity of coming into action.

[2] Mahmud besieged it in A.D. 1023, but made peace with Nanda, its Hindu Raja, and left it in his possession.—Briggs' Ferishta, i. 66.

[3] Shir Shah laid siege to it in A.D. 1554, and was killed by the bursting of a shell, and consequent explosion of a powder magazine near which he was standing.—Briggs' Ferishta, ii. 123.

[4] See above, p. 10.

ment became peaceable subjects, and their descendants are still enumerated amongst the Jagirdars of the province.[1]

1812.

The conduct of Jay Sing Deo, the Raja of Rewa, a small principality situated on the east of Bundelkhand, in countenancing Gopal Sing and other free-booters, had for some time past been unsatisfactory; and, very soon after the reduction of Kalinjar, a party of the plunderers known as Pindaris penetrated by way of Rewa into the British territory of Mirzapur, apparently with the connivance of the Raja. It was obvious, that he had either permitted their passage through his country, or that he had not the power to prevent it; and in either case the duty of self-protection suggested interposition. After some hesitation the Raja was compelled to accede to a treaty of friendship and alliance, by which his possessions were guaranteed, and his supremacy in the administration of his government acknowledged; but he was interdicted from communicating with foreign states, obliged to agree to the mutual delivery of enemies and rebels, and to promise co-operation in military affairs. The treaty was concluded in October, 1812.

These arrangements were scarcely concluded when the Raja manifested a disposition to violate them. He objected to the establishment of a military post within his boundary; opposed a communication through his country between the British districts which it separated; treated the British political agents with indignity; and either suffered or instigated the petty chiefs of Singrana, his dependants, to commit various acts of aggression on the adjacent country under British protection. To punish their ravages, and compel the observance of the stipulated treaty, Colonel Martindell marched into Rewa early in 1813. He had advanced near to the capital, when the Raja solicited a suspension of hostilities, and consented to enter into a new treaty, confirming the former stipula-

[1] Villages were assigned in perpetual Jagir, not only to Darlao Sing Chaubé, but to his coparceners, descendants equally of Ramkrishna Chaubé, to the number of eight.—See the separate grants, Report of Select Committee, August, 1832; App. Political, p. 562; also Bengal and Agra Gazetteer for 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 286. The Jagirs thus granted, as well as others of a similar class, to the number of twenty-seven, were exempted by a special regulation, xii. of 1812, from the operation of the general regulations, and from the jurisdiction of the courts of civil and criminal judicature.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV.

tions, and engaging to pay the expenses of the military operations. He shortly afterwards abdicated in favour of his son.

1813.

During the suspension of hostilities with the Rewa Raja, a party of Sipahis escorting military stores, marching to join the main force, and proceeding in the confidence of the armistice which had then been agreed upon, were suddenly surrounded near the village of Sathani by a strong body of horse and foot, by whom some of the men were killed and the baggage was plundered. The Raja disclaimed all participation in this atrocity; and it appeared to have been the unauthorized act of some of his feudatories, particularly the Raja of Sathani and Sarnaid Sing, Raja of Entouri. A force under Colonel Adams took the field immediately after the rains to punish the aggressors. The fort of Entouri was stormed and carried, after an obstinate resistance. Sarnaid Sing, disdaining to survive its capture, strewed a quantity of gunpowder upon a cloth, which he tied round his body, and, setting fire to it, terminated his existence. Some other forts were taken and destroyed; and the chiefs, alarmed, came into camp and submitted. A third treaty was then concluded with the Raja of Rewa; by which, upon his renewing the stipulations previously contracted, he was placed in possession of some of the lands which the contumacious Zemindars had forfeited, with certain reservations, under strict promise that he would respect whatever guarantees the British Government had granted to any of his chiefs, and would refrain from molesting all such as had evinced towards it a friendly disposition. The Raja necessarily acquiesced, but the resentment felt by this petty court at an interference which it had provoked has perhaps scarcely yet given place to friendly feelings.[1]

These operations put an end for a time to all serious manifestations of the turbulent spirit by which the Bundelas have been long distinguished. A different race, but of a congenial temperament, in another portion of the western frontier, required, about the same period, similar coercion.

At the termination of the war, the extensive and fertile

[1] See the three treaties of the 5th Oct. 1812, 2nd June, 1813, and 21st March, 1814, with the Rewa Raja, in the collection of treaties printed by order of Parliament, 27th May, 1818; also in a collection printed for the Proprietors, Aug. 1824.—Administration of the Marquis of Hastings. The operations are related in the Calcutta Annual Register for 1821, p. 60.

but thinly peopled district of Hariana, lying immediately west of Delhi, had been taken within the range of British supremacy. The inhabitants of the province, who were of the Ját race, a resolute and high-spirited tribe, had some years before taken advantage of the enfeebled administration of affairs at Delhi to throw off the allegiance which they had previously professed to the Mogul. Collected together in village communities they formed so many petty republics acknowledging no head; and, although combining occasionally against a foreign enemy connected by no common tie of political interest or authority, and not unfrequently at deadly feud with each other. From time to time some Maratha or Mohammedan chieftain, or individual of their own body, established a military ascendancy over them to a limited extent, and for a brief interval; and, in one instance, George Thomas, an Irish adventurer,[1] rendered himself the lord over a part of the province, with Hansi, its chief town, for his capital. His reign was of short duration; but its overthrow was not effected by the discontent of his subjects or the rivalry of his equals, and it demanded the overwhelming force of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, commanded by General Perron, to dispossess him. Hariana was then governed by Perron in the name of Sindhia,

[1] George Thomas arrived in India as a sailor about 1781. At Madras he deserted, and entered into the service of some of the southern Poligars; thence he made his way through the heart of India, and reached Delhi in 1787: he there received a commission in the brigade of Begum Sumroo, and rose to high favour; but, being supplanted in the Begum's good graces by some other adventurer, he quitted her service in 1792, and joined Apa Khande Rao, one of Sindhia's discarded captains, who was endeavouring to form an independent state in the country west of Delhi. He succeeded in his project, but, dying in 1797, his power fell to pieces, and George Thomas, thrown on his own resources, determined to conquer Hariana for himself. He succeeded so far as to make himself ruler of a petty principality, extending about 100 miles from N. to S. and in its broadest part about 75 miles from E. to W., comprehending 900 villages and several small towns. Hansi, which Thomas found in ruins, was restored and fortified by him, and, becoming his capital, was soon tenanted by between five and six thousand inhabitants. George Thomas was Raja of Hansi for four years, and had little to fear from any of his neighbours, until Sindhia's authority extended to Delhi, and introduced a power far superior to that of the European potentate. Thomas was besieged in Hansi by Du Perron with a strong and well-organized force, and surrendered on condition of being conveyed to a British station. The stipulation was observed, and he was conducted to the British frontier in January 1802. He thence proceeded towards Calcutta, with the purpose of returning to his native land, but was taken ill, and died at Berhampore in August. His career is a striking illustration of the distracted state of a country in which a common sailor, with no other aid than European energy, personal strength, and intrepid resolution, could raise himself even to ephemeral sovereignty. —See Life of George Thomas, by Colonel Franklin.

1809.

and, with the defeat of his troops, passed over to the British. The Government of the day, unwilling to retain the conquest, transferred it to several native chiefs in succession; but all found it impossible to establish their power without the assistance of British troops, and speedily resigned the unprofitable boon. The last of these, Abd-ul-samad Khan, a military leader of repute, who had joined Lord Lake early in the Mahratta war, and who had latterly received Hariana in recompense of his services, found himself compelled to follow the example of his predecessors, and the province was thrown again upon the hands of the British Government. As Hariana was conterminous with the districts of Delhi under British administration, the danger arising from the predatory and unrestrained habits of its population was not to be disregarded, and it was determined to provide against the evil by undertaking the immediate regulation of the country, and bringing the people under the authority of British functionaries. With this design the Honourable Mr. Gardner, assistant to the Resident at Delhi, proceeded with a strong escort into the province. Little difficulty attended his proceedings; most of the head-men of the villages obeyed his summons, repaired to his camp, professed allegiance, promised the regular payment of a stipulated revenue, and engaged to desist from intestine broils and from the plunder of travellers and merchants. Whatever may have been their sincerity, the prompt display, in two instances, of the determination of the Government to suffer no infringement of the compact awed them into the observance of their engagements. The people of Baliali, a large village of Játs, who professed Mohammedanism, having robbed some traders almost in sight of the Commissioner's camp, a military detachment was sent against them. They fled into the adjacent country of Bikaner, and their village was destroyed. A more resolute resistance was encountered at another large village or town, that of Bhawani. The inhabitants of this place, notorious for the audacity of their depredations, carried off the camels and baggage of a party of Sipahis on their march to camp, and fired upon them as they approached the town. Immediate measures were taken to punish the aggressors. A force of four battalions of

native infantry, one regiment of cavalry, a corps of irregular horse, with a train of artillery, commanded by Colonel Ball,[1] marched against Bhawani, and appeared before it on the 27th August: batteries were opened, and the walls were breached by noon of the 29th. An assault was made in two columns: the right was met by a sortie of the inhabitants, who fought with courage, but were driven back and followed into the fort; the left column also forced its way into the town, and, after an obstinate conflict, in which severe loss was inflicted on the enemy, the place was carried.[2] The transaction was productive of the good effects expected from it. The lawless and turbulent tribes of Hariana were made to feel that they had now a master. Submitting to a yoke which they could not shake off, they became in due time an orderly and obedient people, and, devoting themselves to agricultural occupations, rendered the province one of the most valuable districts subject to the British Government. 1809.

A still more important departure from the principle of non-interference occurred in the same direction, and occasioned an extension of British supremacy to the frontier which still forms its north-western boundary, the left bank of the Setlej. The success with which the Sikh chief, Ranjit Sing had wrought his own aggrandisement at the expense of all his competitors on the west of the Setlej, encouraged him to pursue the same line of policy with respect to the Rajas on the east of the river, and to attempt to spread his influence and power across it to the Jumna. He was led to believe that he would not be obstructed in the execution of this project by the British; as, although the Government had accepted the proffered submission of the Sikh Rajas, it had required from them no positive stipulation of tribute or allegiance, and had contracted no formal engagement to protect them. He went to work, however, with his usual caution. A violent quarrel having taken place between the Rajas of Patiala

[1] 1st battn. of the 9th, 2nd of the 18th, 1st of the 22nd, and 2nd of the 23rd, besides some companies of the 1st of the 10th, and 2nd of the 24th, with the 6th regt. N. Cavalry, and Skinner's horse.

[2] One officer, Lieut. O'Brien, of the 1st batt. of the 22nd, was killed, six were wounded; eighteen privates were killed, and one hundred and fourteen wounded. The loss of the townsfolk was officially estimated at more than a thousand.—Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi.; History, p. 7; Chronicle, p. 67.

BOOK I. CHAP. IV. 1808.

and Naba, the latter called Ranjit Sing to his assistance. The call was promptly answered; and in October, 1806, that chief crossed the Setlej with a strong body of horse, and dictated terms of reconciliation to the contending parties. Some apprehension of his ulterior objects was entertained at Delhi; but a letter was received from him expressing his profound respect for the British Government, and no notice was taken of his proceedings. The result of this experiment confirmed him in the belief that he had no opposition to dread from his more powerful neighbours in establishing his authority over the states between the Setlej and Jumna; but, having other designs in view, or not considering matters sufficiently mature for the consummation of his purpose, Ranjit Sing departed, and re-crossed the Setlej in the beginning of 1807.

In the course of that year, the wife of the Patiala Raja, who was at variance with her husband on account of her insisting upon an assignment of revenue for the use of her son, yet a minor, had recourse to Ranjit Sing, and he again crossed the Setlej into the Doab. The Sikh chiefs in this quarter now began to be seriously alarmed, and made an earnest application to the Resident at Delhi to defend them against the growing ambition of their countryman; protesting that they had ever considered themselves to be the subjects of the Company, and entitled to its protection. Before any reply could be received from Calcutta, the Raja and Rani had settled their dispute amicably, and had purchased the withdrawal of Ranjit by a valuable diamond necklace and a celebrated brass gun; but, before leaving the country, he levied contributions on some other petty Rajas, or seized upon their forts and confiscated their lands. His return was probably hastened by a knowledge of the negotiations going on at Delhi, and by a report, which the chiefs industriously circulated, that their application had been favourably considered. In order to discover the truth of this assertion, Ranjit addressed a letter to the Governor-General, stating that he had learned that troops were assembling on the Jumna, and requesting to be informed of the cause. He declared his wish to continue on friendly terms, but ventured to add, "The country on this side of the Jumna, except the stations occupied by the English, is subject to my authority. Let it remain so."

1808.

Although Lord Minto was resolved to resist the pretensions of Ranjit Sing to the exercise of any authority on the right bank of the Jumna, yet the policy of securing his concurrence in the scheme of defensive alliance, which it was sought to frame against the hostile designs upon India avowed by the Emperor Napoleon, suspended the announcement of the Governor-General's sentiments; and Ranjit was referred for a reply to Mr. (afterwards Sir Charles) Metcalfe, whom it had been determined to send on a friendly mission to the Sikh ruler. The envoy set out from Delhi in August 1808, and, crossing the Setlej on the 1st of September, reached the camp of Ranjit, at Kasur, on the 11th: his reception was at first courteous and cordial; but in a few days a different feeling was displayed, and much dissatisfaction was expressed that the British Government should hesitate to acknowledge the Jumna to be the boundary between the two states. Still further to evince his displeasure, and to induce the Rajas on the east of the Setlej to believe that the British envoy acquiesced in his designs, Ranjit broke up his camp, crossed the river with the envoy in his train, dispossessed the chief to whom it belonged of the fort of Farid Koth, seized upon Ambala, and exacted tribute from the Rajas of Shahabad and Thanesar. As Sir C. Metcalfe had refused to follow his extended march into the Doab, Ranjit retraced his steps, and returned to Amritsar, where the mission awaited him. The circumstances which had influenced the Governor-General's external policy had now in some degree ceased, and it was no longer necessary to temporise with the Raja of Lahore. Ranjit was consequently apprised that the Rajas between the two rivers were under British protection; that he might retain such acquisitions as he had made on this side of the Setlej previously to the existence of the relations which had been formed with the protected states, but that he must restore all that had been made subsequently; and that in order to guard against any future encroachments, a military post would be established on the left bank of the river. The Raja strenuously expostulated against this declaration; arguing, that he had repeatedly exercised acts of authority in the Doab of the Setlej and Jumna, without any objection having been started by the British

1809.

Government; that appeals made to the British Resident at Delhi by refractory chiefs had, to his certain knowledge, received no countenance or encouragement; that blood had been shed, and treasure expended, in asserting a supremacy which he claimed as his right; and that it was as unfriendly as it was inconsistent to prevent his reaping the fruit of exertions which had been suffered to come to maturity in seeming acquiescence. He, therefore, requested a renewed consideration of the subject; and in the mean time he assembled his troops, and appeared resolved to maintain his pretensions by arms.

Having come to the determination that the Setlej should be the limit of Ranjit Sing's acquisitions in that direction, with the exceptions above intimated, the British Government immediately commanded the advance of a sufficient body of troops to uphold their resolution. A detachment under Colonel Ochterlony crossed the Jumna, in the middle of January, and proceeded to Ludiana, whilst an army of reserve under the command of Major-General St. Leger was prepared to support the advance, should protracted operations become necessary. The troops of Ranjit Sing fell back as Colonel Ochterlony's detachment approached; and an incident took place, under the observation of the Raja, which might have suggested to him their unfitness to encounter disciplined battalions.

During the stay of the British embassy in the vicinity of Amritsar the anniversary of the Moharram occurred, and the deaths of Ali and his sons, Hasan and Hosain, were commemorated by the Shia Mohammedans of the envoy's escort with the public demonstrations of passionate sorrow and religious fervour usual on the occasion. The celebration gave great offence to the Sikh population of Amritsar, which is the site of their most sacred temple; and especially to the Akális, a set of Sikh fanatics who combine a religious and martial character. Headed by a party of these men, a numerous and infuriated mob attacked the envoy's camp: they were repulsed by the steadiness of the escort, although it consisted of but two companies of native infantry and sixteen troopers; but not until several of the assailants were killed, and many of the Sipahis were wounded. Ranjit Sing came up at the

close of the affray, and assisted in quelling a tumult which it was strongly suspected he had in some degree fomented. The camp was removed to a greater distance from the town, and no further molestation was experienced.

The advance of the troops to the Setlej, and the experience of their quality which the affair at Amritsar afforded him, dissipated Ranjit Sing's dreams of conquest, and rendered him anxious to secure the forbearance and friendship of the British Government. Accordingly, on the 25th April, a treaty was concluded which stipulated that perpetual friendship should subsist between the British Government and the state of Lahore; that the former should have no concern with the territories and subjects of the Raja to the northward of the Setlej; that the Raja should never maintain on the left bank of the river more troops than were necessary for the internal duties of the territory acknowledged to belong to him, nor commit nor suffer any encroachment on the possessions or rights of the chiefs in its vicinity; and that the treaty should be null and void in the event of a violation of either of the preceding articles. Thus terminated all unfriendly discussions with the Sikh chieftain.[1] That he was deeply mortified by the result cannot be doubted; and there was reason to believe, that, if he could have relied upon effective support from Hindustan, he would not have submitted so peaceably to such a diminution of his power and disappointment of his hopes.[2] Nor did he for some time lay aside his distrust of the ulterior designs of his European neighbour. An exaggerated notion of his resources, and suspicion of his ambitious projects, continued also for a considerable period to regulate the policy of the British Government towards him, and to suspend the establishment of a cordial intercourse almost to the term of the Raja's existence. During the last five years of his life, his confidence in British faith, and reliance on the principles of non-interference which had been originally professed, were fully confirmed by the cautious abstinence which had

[1] MS. Records; Prinsep's Life of Runjeet Singh, Calcutta, 1834, p. 64.

[2] There was credible evidence, *that*, during these discussions, a communication was kept up between the Raja and Sindhia, and unavowed agents were resident on either part at Gwalior and Lahore: a correspondence with Sarji Rao Ghatka was also detected. Ranjit's sagacity, however, soon discovered the weakness to which the Mahrattas had been reduced. — MS. Records.

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uniformly left him at liberty to extend his power over the independent principalities and states north and west of the Punjab without any interposition or even remark.[1]

The seasonable succour thus given to the petty Sikh chiefs between the Setlej and the Jumna[2] put an end to the vague character of the connexion which had hitherto united them with the British Government, and rendered it necessary to define the reciprocal relations which were thenceforward to subsist: accordingly, a general declaration was circulated to them, announcing that the territories of Sirhind and Malüa had been taken under British protection; that it was not the intention of the Government to demand tribute from the chiefs, but that they would be expected to furnish every facility in their power to the movements of British troops through their districts, and to join the British armies with their followers whenever called upon. The several chiefs were permitted to exercise, and were guaranteed, the rights and authorities which they possessed in their respective territories; but supplies of European articles for troops, and horses for cavalry passing through them, were to be exempted from transit duties. The declaration conveying these provisions became the charter of rights to which the Sikh chiefs have been accustomed to refer for the settlement of all questions that have arisen between them and the British Government; but[3] the mutual relations of supremacy and subjection, appeals from the inferior to the superior in disputes amongst themselves or in domestic

[1] Travellers in Runjit's territories complain, even to a late period, of obstructions to their proceedings thrown in their way by his subordinate functionaries and officers, and ascribe them to private instructions issued by the Raja, whilst ostensibly he gave them permission to go wherever they wished, and institute whatever inquiries they pleased. This might have been the case with some of the first visitors of the Punjab; but, latterly, whatever impediments were experienced were most probably ascribable to the ignorance or impertinence of the subordinates.—See the travels of Moorcroft, Jaquemont, Vigne, &c.

[2] The chief of these were Saheb Sing, Raja of Patiala; Bhye Lal Sing, of Kythal; Jeswant Sing, of Naba; Bhag Sing, of Jhind; Guru-Dayal Sing, of Ladüa; Jodh Sing, of Kalasia; Gopal Sing, of Manimajra; Daya Kunwar, Rani of Ambala; Bhanga Sing, Raja of Thanesar; Sodha Sing, of Mahawat; Jawahir Sing, of Bharup. The Patiala Raja had a revenue of six lakhs of rupees, and a force of 2000 horse and 1000 foot. The revenues of the other chiefs varied from one to two lakhs, and their troops from 500 to 1000 horse. There were about twenty others of still inferior importance, but all claiming independent authority over their vassals; presenting in fact a state of things very similar to that of the early feudal anarchy of Europe.—MS. Records.

[3] Life of Runjeet Singh, 72.

dissensions, and the imperative necessity of maintaining public order and security, speedily multiplied occasions of interposition, and, after no long interval, compelled the British Government to proclaim the right and the resolution to interpose.[1] The regulation of successions was also a subject which from the first demanded the intervention of the protecting power;[2] and political expedience has dictated the enforcement of a principle recognised throughout the feudality of India, the appropriation of a subject territory in failure of lawful heirs by the paramount sovereign.[3]

There is no satisfactory proof that the Emperor Napoleon ever seriously contemplated the invasion of India. In an early stage of his career, before his path to greatness was distinctly visible, he seems to have entertained some vague and wild dream of founding for himself an empire in the East.[4] The conquest of Egypt, in addition to the purpose of establishing a French colony in that country which should divert the stream of commerce between India and Europe from the Cape of Good Hope to the Straits of Bab-al-mandal, and thus annihilate one of the sources of British prosperity, had, according to Napoleon, for one of its objects, the formation of a basis from which to accomplish the invasion of India; but it is scarcely possible to believe that he could ever have gravely projected so impossible a scheme as that of sending sixty thousand troops upon camels across the deserts of Arabia, and barren

[1] A public proclamation declaratory of the right and determination to interfere between the different Rajas in all cases of disputed territory, and at the same time repeating the resolution not to interfere in the internal administration of justice between the chiefs and their subjects, was issued on the 11th August, 1811.—See Report of Select Committee, House of Commons, 1832; Appendix Political, p. 560.

[2] In 1812, the Raja of Patiala, having rendered himself insupportable to his subjects by his insane oppression, was deposed in favour of his son, a minor, under the regency of the Rani, by the British Government. The measure was obnoxious to some of the Raja's adherents; and one of them, an Akali, attacked the Agent, Colonel Ochterlony, in his palanquin, and severely wounded him.—Life of Runjeet Sing, 76.

[3] Commonly to the exclusion of females, except in a few families where a contrary usage has prevailed. Some of the chiefships have so lapsed, the principal of which are Ambala and Thanesar.—Bengal and Agra Guide, 1841, vol. ii. part 2, p. 268. And, still more recently, Khytal.—Calcutta Journals, April, 1843.

[4] According to his own assertion, if he had taken St. Jean d'Acre, he would have brought about a revolution in the East, would have reached Constantinople and the Indies, and changed the destinies of the world.—Las Cases' Journal, i. 206; Scott's Life of Napoleon, ii. 104, 111.

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wastes of Baluchistan, to the banks of the Indus.[1] The subsequent mission of General Gardanne to Persia, and the influence acquired at Tehran, regarded Russia more immediately than India, and were suggested by the community of political interests, as Persia and France were simultaneously engaged in hostilities with the former empire. Such, however, was the impression produced by these demonstrations, and such the dread of Napoleon's power and resources, that a French invasion of India was reckoned amongst the possible contingencies of the time, and one against which precaution was indispensable. In this conviction, the Governor-General of India deemed it advisable to endeavour to establish amicable relations with the frontier principalities of the Punjab and Afghanistan, and to renew a friendly understanding with the king of Persia. The mission to Ranjit Sing, which originated in this policy, has been adverted to, and we have now to notice the measures adopted with respect to the two other states.

The political condition of Afghanistan was almost wholly unknown to the Government of Bengal. No English traveller had crossed the Indus[2] since Foster; and his journey was performed under circumstances of personal disguise and hazard, which restricted him to hasty and superficial observation. Little information was to be gathered from his narrative. It was known from original authorities, that, of the country occupied by the Afghan tribes, the eastern portion, including Kabul and Ghazni,

[1] L'expédition d'Egypte avoit trois buts: établir sur le Nil une colonie Françoise; ouvrir un débouché à nos manufactures dans l'Afrique, l'Arabie, et la Syrie; partir d'Egypte comme d'une place d'armes pour porter une armée de 60,000 hommes sur l'Indus, soulever les Marattes et les peuples opprimés: 60,000 hommes, moitié Européens, moitié recrues des climats brulants de l'équator et du tropique, transportés par 10,000 chevaux et 50,000 chameaux portant avec eux des vivres pour cinquante ou soixante jours, de l'eau pour cinq ou six jours, et un train d'artillerie de 150 bouches à feu de campagne, avec double approvisionnement, arriveraient en quatre mois sur l'Indus. L'océan a cessé d'être un obstacle depuis qu'on a des vaisseaux, le désert cesse d'en être un pour une armée qui a en abondance des chameaux et des dromedaires.—Mémoires de St. Hélène, ii. 214. Scarcely less insane was his speculation of invading India by sea, and sending round the Cape a force of sixteen thousand troops under convoy of thirty-two ships of the line.—Las Cases' Journal, ii. 248.

[2] Mr. Foster, a member of the Civil Service of Bengal, returned from India to England through the Punjab, Afghanistan, and Persia: he travelled on foot in the character of a pauper and garb of an Asiatic; and, although he communicates some novel information, yet his notices of the Afghans, amongst whom he was in much danger, are unavoidably meagre.—See his Travels.

had been usually dependent upon Delhi ; and the western, comprising Kandahar and Herat, ordinarily subject to Persia. Upon the murder of Nadir Shah, king of Persia, Ahmed Shah, of the Durani tribe of Afghans, a leader of distinction in the Persian army, took advantage of the distracted condition of both India and Persia to found a kingdom, independent of either, extending from the Indus to Herat, and ultimately including parts of Baluchistan and Sindh. Ahmed Shah was succeeded by his son, Timur Shah, who enjoyed a long and tranquil reign under the shadow of his father's fame. Upon his death the Durani monarchy speedily fell to pieces. He left a number of sons necessarily competitors for the sovereignty.[1] Zeman Shah, although not the eldest son of these, made good his pretensions with the aid and support of his younger brother, Shuja-al-mulk, and retained a precarious occupancy of the throne for seven years. The injustice and insolence of his favourite Vizir provoked a conspiracy against him among the principal nobles of his court. It was detected ; and one of the conspirators, Sirafraz Khan, chief of the Barikzei clan, to which Shah Zeman had been mainly indebted for his own elevation, was put to death. The act was fatal to the monarch ; for Fatih Khan, the eldest son of Sirafraz Khan, immediately devoted his abilities and influence, which were considerable, to the service of Mahmud, a brother and rival of the king. Shah Zeman, deserted by his troops, was taken prisoner, deposed, and blinded, and Mahmud was made Shah.

The character of Mahmud was unequal to the exigencies of his perilous position. Indolent and timid, he transferred the cares of the government to his ministers, and, as long as his own ease and enjoyment were provided for, was wholly indifferent to the prosperity of his kingdom. By his injudicious partiality to his Persian guards, and the unbridled license in which he suffered them to indulge, he

[1] They were more than thirty. Humayun, the eldest, after a feeble effort to maintain his right, was taken by Zeman Shah, blinded, and died in captivity. Zeman Shah, Mahmud, and Shuja-al-mulk, in their turns held temporary sway, and perished. Firoz-ad-din for some time occupied Herat, but was dispossessed, and fled to Persia, where he died. Shah Abbas, who was set up as king for a short time, also died in exile. These were the only members of the family who acquired notoriety.

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offended both the religious prejudices and the national feelings of his countrymen, and provoked them to insurrection.[1] Shuja-al-mulk was called to head the insurgents; and, fortune abandoning Mahmud, his adherents were defeated, and he himself was taken prisoner. Shuja ascended the throne: a feeling of fraternal affection induced him to refrain from inflicting upon Mahmud the usual disqualification for sovereignty, loss of sight; and this act of clemency, which was so unusual in Afghan policy, proved ultimately his own destruction.

During the five succeeding years, Shah Shuja was nominal monarch of Afghanistan; but his authority and life were repeatedly endangered by the attempts of one or other of his brothers to supplant him, and by the aid which they received from the turbulent and factious nobles of his court, especially from the powerful family of which Fatih Khan was the head.[2] Towards the close of this period, Mahmud escaped from confinement and fled to his son Kamran, who had been able, during his father's detention, to maintain himself at liberty on the western frontier of Afghanistan. Although joined by the Barakzei chief, the confederates were defeated by Shah Shuja, and his power seemed to be finally established on a secure foundation.[3] Instead, however, of following up his success, and extinguishing the last sparks of rebellion by the expulsion or capture of Mahmud, he returned to enjoy his triumph at Peshawar, and with singular imprudence despatched the principal part of his army to recover the province of Kashmir from the chief by whom the province was governed, and who was in arms against his sovereign.[4] It

[1] The Gholam Shâhis, or Kazal-bashis, the king's Persian guards, were obnoxious to the Afghans, not only from their insolence and licentiousness, but their professions of the Shia form of Mohammedanism, which considers Ali as the rightful successor of Mohammed, and denounces imprecations on the first three Khalifs, Abu-bekr, Omar, and Othman, as usurpers. The Afghans are bigoted Sunis, and assert with equal zeal the lawfulness of the succession. An insurrection in Kabul, directed in the first instance against the Kazal-bashis, and ultimately against Mahmud as their patron, prepared the way for his deposal.—Elphinstone's Kabul, 8vo., vol. ii. 334.

[2] The sons of Sirafraz Khan, the hereditary chiefs of the Barakzei clan, were twenty-two in number: one of them, Dost Mohammed, the chief who has of late years acquired such extensive European celebrity, was then one of the youngest of the brethren.

[3] In August, 1808, the Resident at Delhi reported, that, according to the latest advices from Afghanistan, the authority of Shah Shuja was fully established.—MS. Records.

[4] For the latter history of the Afghans, See Elphinstone's Embassy to Kabul, vol. ii. p. 279, and Conolly's Overland Journey to India; Afghan History. ii. 233. See also the later accounts of Burnes, Vigne, &c.

was at this season that the mission from Bengal arrived at Peshawar.

The embassy to Kabul was fitted out in a manner intended to impress the Afghans with an exalted opinion of the power and dignity of the Company, and was intrusted to a member of the civil service, Mr. Elphinstone, whose conversancy with the language and manners of native princes, and whose abilities, judgment, and personal character ensured its success, as far as the state of affairs permitted. Mr. Elphinstone left Delhi on the 13th of October; and, as it was uncertain whether Ranjit Sing would assent to the passage of the mission through the Punjab, the route followed traversed the hitherto untrodden wastes of Bikaner and Jesselmer to the frontiers of Bahawalpur, then a dependancy of Kabul. Proceeding through Multan, the Nawab of which was also at that time, nominally at least, a feudatory of the Afghan monarch, the mission reached the Indus, and on the 7th of January crossed the river at Kaheri ferry. On the 5th of March, Mr. Elphinstone reached Peshawar, whither Shah Shuja had recently returned from Kandahar.

Although the envoy met with a courteous reception, and much cordiality prevailed between the members of the mission and the principal persons of the court, yet the objects of the embassy were never fully comprehended, nor was a feeling of distrust towards it ever entirely effaced. An alliance to resist a combined invasion of the French and Persians seemed to the Afghans to be a needless precaution, as the danger was avowedly contingent and remote, and as it was one with which they deemed themselves competent to cope. The circumstances under which the alliance was sought, showed that British rather than Afghan interests were at stake, and the court not unreasonably desired to know what benefit was to accrue to them from the confederacy. It was shrewdly enough argued by the diplomatists of Peshawar that they could not come to any decision upon an *ex-parte* statement, and that in justice to themselves they ought to hear what an ambassador from France might have to urge before they made common cause with either French or English. To a treaty of offensive and defensive alliance generally, they professed themselves to be willing to accede, as such an

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alliance proposed a reciprocal advantage; but they objected to enter into engagements intended solely for the protection of British India. They saw clearly that the British Government had a point to carry with the court of Kabul for interests of its own; and, when they found that the equivalent demanded was withheld, they concluded that some ulterior and unacknowledged purpose was entertained.

The importance of the object which Shah Shuja and his ministers had in view — the assistance of the British — was speedily enhanced by the course of events. The troops sent to Kashmir were so entirely defeated that not more than two thousand men, dismounted, disarmed, and wholly disorganised, escaped. Mahmud immediately resumed the offensive, occupied Kandahar and Kabul, and threatened Peshawar. The army was annihilated,...the treasury was empty and the means of levying any considerable force were entirely deficient. In this emergency a pecuniary grant was urgently solicited from the British Government; and such was the state of popular indifference with regard to the contending parties, and the readiness of the chiefs to sell their services to the highest bidder, that a compliance with the application would in all probability have secured the ascendancy of Shah Shuja, and have seated him firmly and permanently in his dominions.[1] The measure was warmly advocated by the envoy; but unhappily for the Shah, and for the fate of Afghanistan, doomed to a long and still unterminated course of civil dissension and domestic anarchy, the policy of the British Government had undergone a change. The invasion of Spain by Napoleon, and the commencement of the Peninsular war, had indefinitely suspended the execution of his designs upon India, and had made it no longer necessary to conciliate the good-will or purchase the co-operation of the natives upon the frontier. It was there-

[1] The people of the towns were in general well-affected towards Shah Shuja, who was recommended to them by his moderation and justice. The Hill tribes were indifferent, and followed their own chiefs, most of whom were ready to sell their services to the highest bidder. Ten lakhs of rupees would probably have turned the scale decidedly in favour of Shah Shuja, and have secured him a permanent ascendancy. The grant of pecuniary aid was advocated by Mr. Elphinstone, but the measure was not thought necessary by Lord Minto, expressly on the grounds that the change of affairs in Europe had indefinitely suspended, if not entirely defeated, the projects of France against British India.—MS. Records.

fore resolved to decline the grant of pecuniary aid in any form whatever, and to withdraw with unmeaning professions of amity from all intercourse with the Durani sovereign. The consequences of the ambition of the French Emperor thus vibrated to the heart of Asia; and his declaration, that the Bourbons had ceased to reign, precipitated Shah Shuja from his throne, consigned him to a life of exile and to a disastrous death, and ultimately led to the infliction of an indelible stain upon the military reputation of the British in the East.

Notwithstanding the disappointment of his hopes of realising an equivalent advantage from the proposed connexion, Shah Shuja agreed to the terms of a treaty in which it was stipulated, that if the French and Persians, who were in alliance, should endeavour to cross Afghanistan on their way to India, the Shah should, to the extent of his power, oppose their march; that the expense attending such opposition should be defrayed by the British Government; that friendship and union should continue for ever between the contracting states; that they should in no manner interfere in each other's countries; and that the King of Kabul should permit no individual of the French nation to enter his territories.[1] The treaty was sent for ratification to Calcutta: it was signed there on the 17th of June; but, before it could be returned to Peshawar, neither king nor ambassador remained to exchange its authentication. Mr. Elphinstone, who had left the city on the 14th of June to await the restoration of tranquillity, received on his route the order for the return of the mission, and proceeded accordingly to the British territory by way of the Punjab. Shah Shuja marched against his rival: on the 29th of June his army, whilst yet in disorder after its march through the mountains, was surprised by Fatih Khan, and completely routed. The Shah fled; and, although he made several attempts to recover his authority, was uniformly unsuccessful. He then became the guest, and finally the prisoner, of Ranjit Sing; but effected his escape from Lahore, and found an asylum for many years in Ludiana, under the protection and with the support of the Government of India. At the end of 1832 he left his residence, and, pro-

[1] Coll. of Treaties, p. 301.

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ceeding to the westward, raised a force with which he defeated the troops of the Amirs of Sindh, and compelled them to pay him a pecuniary contribution. He then advanced to Kandahar, which he besieged. The Barakzei chiefs of that city having been joined by Dost Mohammed issued into the field, and an action took place which ended to the advantage of the Barakzeis. The Shah might, however, have recovered the supremacy, as many of the principal leaders of the enemy were prepared to desert to him; but he retreated precipitately from the contest, and hastened back to his place of refuge, to be thence conducted once more to Afghanistan,[1] under more propitious auspices than had ever smiled upon his former efforts,—the avowed co-operation of Ranjit Sing and the Government of British India. The auspices were deceptive. The powerful support upon which he relied crumbled beneath his feet, and left him helpless and alone amidst inexorable foes and treacherous friends. The end of his chequered career followed close upon his abandonment; and the hand of an assassin terminated the life of a prince whose alliance the Government of India had once courted, whose expulsion from his dominions it had pitied, and whose distress it had relieved, and whom, as fatally for him as for itself, it at last vainly engaged to replace upon his throne.

The country of Sindh constitutes the most western limit of India along the southern course of the Indus. It was conquered by the Mohammedans in the commencement of the eighth century, and was retained as a dependency of Persia until its subjugation by Mahmud of Ghazni. Upon the downfall of his dynasty, the Sumras, a race of chiefs of Arab extraction, established themselves as independent rulers of the country, until they were dispossessed by the Sumas, who were Hindus, and who professed a nominal fealty to the Patan sovereigns of Delhi. In the reign of Akbar, Sindh became more intimately attached to the Mogul empire; but the government of the province was usually intrusted to native chiefs, whose degree of subordination was regulated by the ability of the court of Delhi to compel obedience. Towards the

[1] Parliamentary Papers relative to Shah Shujah's expedition into Afghanistan, 1833-34; printed 20th March, 1839.

close of the seventeenth century, the Kaloras, a race of religious teachers who pretended to derive their origin from the Abasside Khalifs, and who converted their reputation for sanctity into an engine of worldly aggrandisement, had become possessed of extensive territory in Sindh, and usurped an ascendancy in its government, which was legalised in the reign of Mohammed Shah of Delhi by the appointment of Nur Mohammed Kalora as Subahdar of Tatta. The vicegerent of Sindh was speedily relieved from his dependance upon Delhi, but was compelled to pay tribute to the conqueror, Nadir Shah. The death of that prince dissolved the connexion with Persia; but the new sovereign of Afghanistan claimed the like supremacy over the country, and Sindh became, nominally at least, subject to Kabul. Although confirmed by Ahmed Shah, the son and successor of Nur Mohammed, Mohammed Murad Khan was deposed after a reign of a few years by his disaffected nobles; and his brother, Ghulam Shah Khan, was placed on the musnud in his room. After a turbulent and distracted reign, he was succeeded by his eldest son, Sirafraz Khan,[1] who in a few years was deposed by the heads of the Baluch tribes, who had now acquired a leading influence in the affairs of Sindh, and whose enmity he had incurred by putting Bahram Khan, the chief of Talpura, and one of his sons, Sobhdar Khan, for some offence to death. The confederates first placed a younger brother of Sirafraz Khan, and then a cousin, upon the throne; but, dissatisfied with their own choice, successively removed them, and seated Ghulam Nabî Shah, a brother of Ghulam Shah, on the musnud. Shortly after his accession, Bijar Khan Talpura, another son of Bahram Khan, returned to Sindh from Arabia, whither he had gone on pilgrimage, and undertook to revenge the death of his father. He was joined by his clan, and by their friends. Ghulam Nabi Khan immediately assembled his adherents; and a conflict ensued in which he was killed. Bijar Khan then marched against the capital, Hyderabad, where Abd-un-nabi Khan, the brother of the defeated sovereign, had fortified himself, and had put to death Sirafraz Khan, who had been confined there, and, along with him, other princes whose pretensions he thought likely to interfere with his own. Bijar Khan, unable to

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[1] He founded the present capital, Hyderabad, in 1782.

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reduce Hyderabad, protested his readiness to acknowledge Abd-un-nabi as his sovereign, and faithfully adhered to his professions. The Kalora prince was acknowledged to be the paramount prince, and the head of the Talpura tribe became his hereditary minister. The authority exercised by Bijar Khan was not of long duration. In little more than two years he was assassinated by agents of the Raja of Jodhpur, with the connivance, or at the instigation, it is said, of Abd-un-nabi. The belief that the latter was implicated in the murder of Bijar Khan roused the vengeance of the Talpura tribe; and Abd-ullah Khan, the son of the deceased, expelled Abd-un-nabi from Sindh. Abd-ullah assumed the sovereignty.

Although assisted successively by the chief of Kelat and by the Raja of Jodhpur, Abd-un-nabi Khan was unable to recover his authority, and was obliged to have recourse to the Afghan monarch, Timur Shah, the son of Ahmed Shah. A force was placed at his disposal which his enemies were unable to resist, and an apparent reconciliation was effected by the intermediation of the principal nobles. The reconciliation was insincere. The Talpura chiefs rebelled, were again defeated, and were again received into seeming favour, when either the dread of their renewed machinations, or resentment for the past, induced Abd-un-nabi Khan to perpetrate the murder of their leading men. Inviting Abd-ullah Khan, with two of his principal associates and kinsmen, to an interview on board his boat when upon an excursion on the Indus, he had them seized and immediately put to death. The crime was fatal to his dynasty; for the surviving chiefs of the Talpuras, led by Fatih Ali, the son of Mir Sobhdar Khan, the brother of Bijar Khan, who had been put to death along with their father Bahram Khan, rose in arms, and, assisted by the neighbouring chiefs of Khyrpur, Bahawalpur, and Daudputra, compelled Abd-un-nabi once more to seek an asylum at the court of Kabul. Circumstances were no longer propitious to his cause; and, although assistance was promised him, none of any magnitude was afforded. The representations of the Talpura chiefs, their professions of allegiance, the tribute which they promised, and the bribes which they distributed, retarded and ultimately frustrated the intentions, and baffled the efforts, of Timur Shah, and his successor Zeman Shah.

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Abd-un-nabi, after residing some years upon Jagirs assigned him, first by the Afghan monarch, and afterwards by the Raja of Jodhpur, died an exile in the states of the former prince, in the reign of Mahmud Shah, and the Talpura chief finally established the authority of his family in Sindh. His personal elevation was not undisputed, even by his own relations; and the forces on either side were drawn out to decide the dispute by the sword. The counsels of the elders of the tribe, and the tears and entreaties of the women, arrested the strife upon the eve of its occurrence;[1] and an accommodation was effected, by which Mir Sohrab of Khyrpur and Mir Thara of Mirpur, both descended from a common ancestor, were acknowledged to be independent in their own districts, while Fatih Ali was recognised as chief ruler of Sindh. This power he shared with his three brothers, Gholam Ali, Karam Ali, and Murad Ali. At a period when a friendly connexion with the country became an object of the policy of the Government of India, Fatih Ali was dead, but the three surviving brothers jointly administered the affairs of Sindh.[2]

Imperfectly acquainted with the history and the resources of Sindh, and attaching to its commerce and alliance more value than belonged to either, the Government of Bengal had made several attempts to form relations with the court of Hyderabad. Its advances were received with coldness, or repelled with insolence, and although a commercial agent was at one time allowed to reside at Tatta and carry on trade there, yet little encouragement[3] was given to it by the ruling authorities; and the factory having been attacked and plundered in a popular tumult, for which no reparation or redress was procured, the agency was discontinued. Circumstances

[1] An interesting account of this transaction is given by Mr. Crow, in his report on Sindh, and is extracted in Captain Postans' account of Sindh.

[2] See Macmurdo's account of Sindh, Journal, Royal Asiatic Society, i. 223; Visit to the Court of Sindh, by Dr. Burnes; Personal Observations on Sindh by Captain Postans; and a Persian account, translated by Captain Pogson, and published in Calcutta. This latter differs, in some details, from the narrative, of the European writers, and is less favourable to the Talpuras, ascribing to the latter treacherous designs, which provoked, and in some degree justified, the treatment they experienced.

[3] Ghulam Shah Kalora granted perwanas in 1758 to a Mr. Sumption, in the service of the East India Company, exempting the goods he should import from all duties, and authorising him to build a factory at Aurangbunder, or at Tatta.—Coll. of Treaties, 488.

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now appeared more promising. Alarmed by the menaced interference of Shah Shuja on behalf of the expelled prince, Abd-un-nabi, the Amirs of Sindh had applied to Persia for succour, and a Persian army had been directed to march to their assistance. The death of Abd-un-nabi, and the embarrassments which Shah Shuja experienced at home, removed all ground of fear from Afghanistan, and the Amirs then became most apprehensive of peril from their allies. They thought it prudent, therefore, to oppose one powerful friend to another,—British India to Persia: they therefore began to conciliate the British Government, and sent an agent to Bombay to propose the renewal of the commercial intercourse that had formerly existed. The proposal was favourably entertained, and Captain Seton was sent as envoy to Hyderabad. A treaty of offensive and defensive alliance was concluded by the envoy with the Amirs; but, as the stipulations pledged the British Government to a reciprocity that was deemed inexpedient, the ratification of the treaty was withheld, and Mr. Nicholas Hankey Smith, a Bombay civil servant, was deputed to explain the cause, and to contract a less comprehensive engagement. After many delays and obstructions opposed to his journey by the servants of the Amirs,—not, it was suspected, without their secret approval,[1]—Mr. Smith reached Hyderabad on the 8th of August; and on the 23rd of that month a treaty was signed, which engaged that there should be eternal friendship between the two Governments; that vakeels or agents should be always mutually appointed; and that the French should not be permitted to form an establishment in Sindh.[2] The apprehension of a French invasion of India had subsided, and there remained no motive of weight for cultivating the friendship of a semi-barbarous and arrogant court; while the Amirs were equally disinclined to maintain an intimate intercourse with a power which they feared, and with which they thought they had reason to be dissatisfied, not only on account of the annulment of the treaty entered into with Captain Seton, but because they were apprised that any aggression upon the

[1] A detailed account of the proceedings of the mission is given by Lieutenant (now Sir Henry Pottinger) in his Travels in Beloochistan and Sindh, p. 331.

[2] Coll. of Treaties, 306.

neighbouring state of Cutch, to the affairs of which we shall hereafter have occasion to recur, would be decidedly resisted. No beneficial result consequently followed the connexion formed at this period with the rulers of Sindh. 1808.

Negociations of greater importance and of more durable consequences were at the same period set on foot with the Government of Persia. They opened inauspiciously, but their complexion was changed by the influence of political revolutions in the west; and the course of events in Europe cleared the road from Bushir to Tehran, and subverted the influence which the French embassy had obtained at the latter city.

Napoleon had endeavoured at an early date to establish a connexion with the King of Persia; and when he projected the invasion of Egypt, the Directory, at his suggestion, sent secret agents to Tehran to prevail upon the reigning monarch, Aga Mohammed, to make a simultaneous attack upon the Turkish provinces on the Euphrates. The unavowed character of the French emissaries perplexed the Persian sovereign: his death shortly afterwards, and the accession of Fatih Ali, caused their proposals to meet with but little attention; and no disposition was evinced to adopt the views of France. This disappointment, and the successful mission of Sir John Malcolm to Tehran by Marquis Wellesley, excluded the influence of France at the Court of Persia for several years. An accredited agent, who was then sent, died shortly after having had an audience of the King, and all intercourse was again suspended.

In the beginning of 1806, Persia being engaged in hostilities with Russia, and dreading the advance of the Russian arms, gladly welcomed an agent from the French minister at Constantinople, and at his recommendation despatched one of the nobles of the court to Paris to negociate a treaty of offensive alliance. A second envoy from Tehran accompanied Monsieur Pontecoulant, who had been despatched to Persia after the death of his predecessor, and who was now returning to France. This disposition of the Persian Court coinciding with the political interests of the French Emperor, met with the most cordial encouragement, and a splendid embassy was

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sent to Tehran under General Gardanne, who arrived at the Persian capital towards the end of December, 1807. His suite consisted of twenty-five persons, mostly military, besides a number of artillery and engineer officers, and a considerable body of artificers. The draft of a treaty was speedily completed, and sent to Paris for ratification. It was stipulated that France should, either by force or negociation, obtain from Russia, Georgia and other frontier provinces conquered from Persia; that the King of Persia should allow an army to march through his territories to invade India, should provide for its wants, and join it with all his force; that the Island of Kharak should be ceded to France, and French factories should be admitted at Gombroon, Bushir, and other places; and that, if the Emperor required it, the King of Persia should exclude all Englishmen from his dominions. During the negociations, and the interval of the ratification of the treaty, many of the French officers attached to the embassy were dispersed through the country, and were actively engaged in making military surveys of it and ascertaining its resources; while those remaining at the capital were as busily employed in drilling the new Persian levies, and instructing them in European discipline.

The war between Persia and Russia originated in the invasion of Georgia by the former power, and consequent recourse to the latter by the princes of Georgia, Heraclius and his successor Gurgein, the second of whom promised perpetual vassalage to Russia as the price of the aid solicited. The Persians had been driven out of the country, and they had not only been foiled in every attempt to regain it, but had sustained many disastrous defeats, and had lost extensive tracts in Armenia and Daghestan. In the first moments of distress the court had applied to the Indian Government for aid, under the initiatory article of the treaty concluded in 1801, which pledged the two states to perpetual amity. This interpretation of the article was not concurred in by the Government of India, and armed assistance was declined. The refusal had alienated the court of Persia from the British connexion, and had thrown it into the arms of France. Unfortunately for its hopes, the peace of Tilsit, which was concluded before even the arrival of General Gardanne

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at Tehran, had united the Emperors Napoleon and Alexander in bonds of personal friendship and projects of mutual aggrandisement. Although not immediately avowed,—although a show of regard was displayed, and offers of mediation were professed,—yet at the very moment when the King of Persia was assured that the strongest intercession in his favour should be addressed to the Czar, his cause had been utterly abandoned, and the integrity of his dominions sacrificed to Russia, in exchange for license to the French Emperor to pounce without check or hinderance upon Spain.

The presence of a French embassy at the Persian court had so far a beneficial operation, that it roused the authorities both in England and in India to a sense of the necessity of reacquiring some consideration at Tehran. Unluckily, their measures were taken without previous concert, and the result was an undignified and impolitic collision. The Government of England, in communication with the Court of Directors, resolved to send an ambassador to Persia, in the person of Sir Harford Jones, who had held for several years the office of Company's Resident at Bagdad. He was accordingly nominated his Majesty's envoy extraordinary and plenipotentiary; although his allowance and the cost of the mission were to be defrayed by the East India Company, and the envoy was ordered to act under instructions from the Governor-General. The Governor-General had in the mean time determined to despatch his own representative; and Sir John Malcolm, who had concluded the former treaty, was again sent by Lord Minto in the same capacity to Persia.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia was one of the last acts of the administration of Earl Grey; and his departure was delayed by the change of ministry which took place in March, 1807. From this and other circumstances, Sir Harford Jones did not arrive at Bombay until April in the following year, and on his arrival found that Sir John Malcolm had preceded him to Bushir. In compliance with the orders of the Governor-General, he remained at Bombay until it should be ascertained in what manner the mission had been received. Sir John Malcolm reached Bushir in May, and announced his arrival to the court, sending his despatches by one of his officers,

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Captain Pasley. The letters were forwarded, but the messenger was detained at Shiraz until instructions should arrive from Tehran. After some delay, they were received. The King, still clinging to the hope that the intercession of France would procure the restoration of some of his lost frontier,—a hope in which he was strengthened by the assurances of a Russian agent, and the protestations of the French ambassador,—chose rather to brave the resentment of his former allies than give umbrage to both France and Russia. Affecting, however, an equal unwillingness to displease the British Government, he directed one of his sons, Hosein Ali Mirza, governor of the province, to carry on the negociations with its representative at Shiraz. To this Sir John Malcolm strongly objected, as derogatory to the dignity of his Government. Believing from the private information he received, that the French embassy had obtained too firm a footing at Tehran to be supplanted, and arguing that the connexion was a breach of existing engagements, and inimical to British interests, he abruptly sailed from Bushir, and repaired at once to Calcutta, where his representations induced the Governor-General to conclude that measures of intimidation or hostility were necessary; and orders were issued for fitting out a military expedition, which should occupy the island of Kharak, and hold the command of the navigation of the Persian Gulph.[1]

The first impression entertained by the Governor-General, founded upon the envoy's despatches, was, that the proceedings of Sir John Malcolm had been somewhat precipitate, and that no sufficient cause had been assigned for the total abandonment of the objects of the embassy. He had therefore authorised Sir Harford Jones, in the event of his predecessor's withdrawal, to prosecute his voyage "without a moment's delay, should the circumstances render, in his judgment, such a step advisable, without further reference to Bengal." The information which he subsequently received induced Lord Minto to believe that a representative of the British power would not be admitted to the presence of the King of Persia, and that a repetition of the attempt to obtain an audience would be incompatible with the dignity of the Govern-

[1] Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 415

ment, while it would be productive of no advantage. Sir Harford Jones was consequently instructed to await the result of further deliberations. The countermand was too late. Before it reached Bombay, Sir Harford Jones, acting in the spirit of his first instructions, had sailed for Persia. He arrived at Bushir on the 14th of October. The aspect of affairs had changed. No progress had been made towards the restitution of any part of the Persian territory, and the court had begun to lose faith in the professions of the French. In this feeling of disappointment, regret for having given offence to the British Government, and apprehension of the consequences of its displeasure, found easy access to the Persian cabinet, and the arrival of his Majesty's ambassador at Bushir was regarded as a fortunate means of escaping from its embarrassments. Still, some reluctance seems to have been entertained to break so entirely with France as openly to sanction the advance of the mission to the capital; and, although an invitation to proceed to Shiraz was very soon forwarded, Sir Harford Jones consented to go thither upon no other security for his ultimate reception at Tehran than the assurances of a native agent that on his arrival there he would find the official invitation from the King and his ministers to continue his journey to the presence. Upon this information, the envoy accompanied the Mihmandar who was sent to conduct him to Shiraz, and arrived there on the 1st of January. Some faint attempts to inveigle him into negociations with the local authorities were easily baffled; and, all difficulties being surmounted,[1] the mission departed from Shiraz on the 12th of January. Sir Harford Jones entered Tehran on the 14th of the following month, the French embassy having quitted the city on the preceding day. During the stay of the mission

[1] Malcolm ascribes this to "the anticipated failure of the French to fulfil their extravagant promises, the alarm excited by the military preparations in India, and the cupidity of the Persian court, which had been strongly excited."—Pol. Hist. i. 415. Sir Harford Jones states, that Lord Minto accused him of having found his way to Shiraz by corruption.—Account of the Mission to Persia, i. 147. According to the Plenipotentiary's own account, the King's willingness to receive him was stimulated by exaggerated descriptions of a valuable diamond included amongst the presents intended for his Majesty, and of which he himself remarks, "I so managed, that, at the expense of £10,000 to the Company, the Shah of Persia considered he had received twenty or twenty-five thousand pounds from his Majesty's envoy."—Account of the Mission, i. 144.

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at Shiraz, the despatches from Bengal arrived, recalling the ambassador, and announcing the military projects of the Government. The information speedily transpired, and excited great alarm; to allay which, Sir Harford Jones assumed, as the representative of the Crown, a power independent of the Governor-General of India, and entered into a solemn pledge that no aggression should be committed upon the dominions of the King of Persia as long as his Majesty displayed a wish to preserve the amicable relations by which he had been connected with the King of Great Britain.

The appointment of an ambassador to Persia by the home Government had been regarded by the Governor-General as an injudicious departure from the practice of negociating with that country through India. He protested against the innovation. Lord Minto argued, that it was inconsistent to expect from the Government of India effective precautions against any dangers on the side of Persia, without leaving to it the power of controuling the minister deputed to the Persian court, and directing the course and character of the negociations to be carried on with it: that such a minister appointed in England might not only fail to appreciate the interests of British India, but might act in direct opposition to them; and might not only pledge the faith of its Government to measures unsanctioned by it, but even to such as were incompatible with its honour and safety: that the Indian Government was vested with the power of sovereignty within its own limits, and had been recognised in that character by the King of Persia. "It was in that character alone that we had been able to obtain those manifestations of respect, that regard to the claims of dignity, which amongst all nations in the world, but in an especial degree amongst Asiatic states, are essential to the maintenance of real power in the scale of political interest: this acknowledged character, as it constituted the basis, so it must form the cement, of our external relations. To depreciate, therefore, that estimation of the power and dignity of the British Government in India, which, under a just sense of its importance, we have hitherto successfully laboured to preserve among surrounding states, is to fix upon the British Government the stigma of deceit, to affect the

reputation of our public faith, and to expose us to much of the danger arising from a real loss of power, by diminishing that awe and respect with which the Government has hitherto been contemplated, and on which the tranquillity and security of British India materially depend."[1]

Notwithstanding the earnestness with which Lord Minto asserted the sovereign prerogatives of the Governor-General of India, the transfer of diplomatic relations with Persia from that officer to the Ministers of the Crown was persevered in, and ambassadors to Persia have ever since been sent directly from Great Britain alone. The destinies of Persia are, in truth, so much more intimately interwoven with the political interests of the parent country than of India, the consequences deprecated by Lord Minto as likely to affect the latter are so much more calculated to exercise an influence upon the former, that the relations established, or to be established, with Persia, can no longer be consistently confided to the arbitrement of a delegated and subordinate functionary however high his station or absolute his authority.

Until, however, the question was decided against him, Lord Minto showed himself resolved to exercise his power. Highly displeased at the determination of Sir Harford Jones to continue his journey from Shiraz, the Governor-General addressed despatches to the court of Tehran, disavowing the public character of the ambassador; and, to Sir Harford Jones himself, orders were sent, commanding him instantly to leave the country, with the intimation, that, on his failing so to do, any bills drawn by him on the Indian Governments after the date of such disobedience would not be discharged. His Majesty's plenipotentiary could not resist the weight of this argument, and signified his readiness to obey; but in the mean time he had pursued his negotiation with great activity, had accomplished the execution of a preliminary treaty, and had prevailed upon the King of Persia to send Abul Hasan Khan as his ambassador, in company with Mr. Morier, to England. The Governor-General consented to ratify the treaty, but peremptorily ordered Sir H. Jones

[1] Lord Minto's letter to the Secret Committee, as quoted by Malcolm.—Pol. Hist. i. 417.

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to quit Persia, making over charge of the mission to a medical officer of the Company until the arrival of Sir John Malcolm, whom he still resolved to employ. On the other hand, orders from England directed Sir H. Jones to remain until the arrival of another ambassador in the person of Sir Gore Ouseley; and he continued in the country until after the winter of 1810, although not exercising apparently any ministerial functions. Sir John Malcolm arrived at Tehran in June 1810,—for no purpose apparently except to vindicate the dignity of the Governor-General of India, and put the Company to an unnecessary expense. His presence and services in Persia being speedily rendered unnecessary by the approach of Sir Gore Ouseley as his Majesty's representative at the Persian court, he left Tehran in the following month.[1] There were consequently, about the same period, three English ambassadors in Persia, whose relative importance it must have perplexed the Persians to determine, although they were astute enough to take advantage of so much competition for their friendship, and make the better bargain for themselves.

By the preliminary treaty concluded between Sir Harford Jones and the ministers of the King of Persia it was stipulated that the articles should form the basis of a definitive treaty without alteration; that every treaty made by the King of Persia with any one of the powers of Europe, should become null and void; and that he would not permit any European force to march through Persia towards India. That, should any European force invade or have invaded the territories of Persia, his Britannic Majesty would afford to the King of Persia a military force, or, in lieu of it, a subsidy and warlike ammunition; the number of the forces and the amount of the subsidy

[1] A full account of the circumstances connected with Sir Harford Jones's embassy has been published by himself.—An Account of the transactions of his Majesty's Mission to the Court of Persia in the years 1807-11, by Sir Harford Jones Brydges, Bart. A somewhat different view of them is given by Malcolm in his Political History of India. Some notice of the proceedings of the mission occurs in Morier's First Journey through Persia. Whatever may be the case with respect to the means employed, there is no denying that Sir Harford Jones effected his object; that he made his way to Tehran, and negociated a treaty which, in substance, was confirmed by the British Government; and that the projected military expedition to the Gulf would have entailed a heavy cost, realised no solid advantage, and deeply, perhaps incurably, wounded the pride of the Persian monarch and the patriotism of his people.

to be regulated by a definitive treaty. Should his Britannic Majesty make peace with the invading power, he should use his efforts to negociate a peace also between it and Persia; but, in failure of success, the military or pecuniary aid should be still supplied as long as the invading force continued in the Persian territory, or until the conclusion of peace. That, if the Afghans or any other power should attack India, the King of Persia should furnish a force to assist in its defence. That, if any British troops should have landed at Kharak, or in any other Persian port, they should not possess themselves of such places, but be at the disposal of the King of Persia, subject to the alternative of a pecuniary payment in their place. That, if war should take place between the Afghans and the King of Persia, the King of Great Britain should take no part in it, except as a mediator at the desire of both parties. That the object of these articles should be regarded as mutually defensive; and, finally, a hope was expressed, that the treaty might be everlasting, and produce "the most beautiful fruits of friendship between the two serene kings."

A definitive treaty, in conformity to these stipulations, was entered into by Sir Gore Ouseley; but some of the conditions underwent a modification in England, and the final arrangements were not completed till 1814, when the terms were conclusively agreed upon. The defensive character of the treaty was more explicitly stated, and Russia was specified as the power against which the Persian frontier was to be defended. The amount of the subsidy was fixed at 200,000 tomans, about £125,000 per annum; and it was further agreed, that the said subsidy should not be paid in case a war with any European nation should have been produced by an aggression on the part of Persia. The other modifications little affected the preliminary conditions; and, at a subsequent date, the Persian court was compelled to relinquish the stipulated subsidy.[1] Little ultimate advantage accrued to either power from the intercourse which it had been considered so essential to the political interests of both to maintain.

[1] See the several engagements with Persia of 1809, 1814, and 1828, in the treaties printed by order of the House of Commons, 11th March, 1839.

CHAPTER V.

Appointment of Sir G. Barlow to the Government of Madras, — unacceptable to the Settlement. — The State of Popular Feeling. — Commencement of Agitation. — Case of Mr. Sherson. — Proceedings of the Commission for the Investigation of the Debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic. — Trials of Reddy Rao, — his Conviction, — his Pardon and Death. — Affairs of Travancore. — Disputes between the Raja and the Resident. — Enmity of the Dewan, — sets on foot an Insurrection, — abetted by the Dewan of Cochin. — Troops ordered to Travancore. — The Resident's House attacked, — his Escape. — Operations of the Subsidiary Force. — Murder of Europeans by the Dewan. — Army sent to the Province under Colonel St. Leger. — Storm of the Arambuli Lines. — Defeat of the Nairs at Quilon. — Advance to the Capital. — Submission of the Raja. — Flight of the Dewan. — Sanctuary violated. — Death of the Dewan. — Seizure and Execution of his Brother. — The Body of the Dewan gibbeted. — Sentiments of the Bengal Government. — Disorganised Condition of Travancore. — Administration of Affairs by the Resident as Dewan under the Raja and his Successors. — Restoration of Prosperity. — Similar System and Results in Cochin. — Disputes between the Governor and Commander-in-Chief. — The latter refused a Seat in Council by the Court, — his Dissatisfaction and Resignation. — Discontents of the Officers of the Coast Army, — their Causes. — Tent Contract abolished. — Reasons assigned in the Quarter-Master-General's Report, offensive to Officers commanding Corps, — demand a Court-Martial on Colonel Munro. — The Commander-in-Chief places Colonel Munro in Arrest. — Government cancels the Arrest. — General Macdowall issues a General Order on the Subject, and embarks for England. — Counter Order by the Government. — Subsequent Severity. — Suspension of Major Boles. — Effect upon the Officers. — Orders of the 1st of May. — Violent Proceedings at Hyderabad. — Mutinous Conduct of the Garrison of Masulipatam. — Threatened March of the Troops to Madras. — Firmness of the Government. — Consequent Arrangements. — Test

proposed to the European Officers. — Appeal to the Native Troops. — Their Allegiance. — The Garrison of Seringapatam in open Rebellion. — Colonel Close sent to Hyderabad. — Officers of the Subsidiary Force sign the Test, — their Example followed. — Arrival of the Governor-General at Madras. — Courts-Martial. — Sir Samuel Achmuty Commander-in-Chief and Member of Council. — Proceedings in England. — Warm Disputes in the Court of Directors. — Officers restored to the Service. — Sir G. Barlow finally recalled.

TO compensate Sir George Barlow for the disappointment which had been inflicted upon him by his supersession in the high office of Governor-General, the Administration in England consented to his eventual elevation to that dignity, and in the mean while concurred in his nomination to the government of Fort St. George.[1] He was accordingly appointed Governor of Madras, and assumed charge of his new duties at the end of December, 1807.[2]

Various circumstances conspired to render the appointment of Sir George Barlow unacceptable to the servants of the Company under the Madras Presidency. His being a member of a different service was one source of his unpopularity, and his well-known character as a rigorous advocate and unrelenting enforcer of measures of public economy and retrenchment produced a still more universal and profound impression adverse to his person and his government.[3] Unfortunately, he does not appear to have

[1] "He (Sir George Barlow) is now subjected to the discredit of being superseded in the Government-General; to the succession of which, after having once actually filled that high office, he stood for the third time appointed."—Protests of Messrs. Parry, Astell, Smith, and Bell, against the recall of Sir G. Barlow in 1812. So Mr. Grant in a separate protest observes, "I come now to speak of the order rescinding the appointment made by Sir G. Barlow, in May 1807, to be Governor-General of Bengal in succession to Lord Minto."—Dissents, &c., published by Sir Robert Barlow. Murray, 1813.

[2] The occurrences of Sir G. Barlow's administration are fully detailed, not only in the numerous pamphlets published both by his friends and enemies, but in the official documents relating to the transactions themselves, and to the discussions which they occasioned in the Court of Directors, which were printed by order of Parliament at the following several dates, 25th May, 1810; 1st April, 1811; 3rd May, 1811; 13th June, 1811; 21st June, 1811, and 15th April, 1812.

[3] "I am under the necessity of avowing, with infinite regret, another very operating principle of these discontents, which have since matured themselves gradually, but without interruption, into the extremes of public disorder. I allude to the unjust but very general and vehement prejudices against the

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been qualified or disposed to dissipate the prejudices which anticipated his presence. His manners were reserved and unconciliating: a stranger at Madras, and of retiring habits, he gave his confidence too exclusively to the knot of civil and military functionaries by whom he was immediately surrounded: his notions of the claims of the executive powers of Government to prompt and unquestioning obedience were lofty and uncompromising; and in the stern exaction of acquiescence he undervalued apparently the necessity, which "every statesman ought to feel, of mutual accommodation and concession in the controversies and contentions of mankind, and was wanting in a liberal consideration for human feelings and infirmities." These defects were not counterbalanced, in the estimation of those whom he was set over, by the acknowledged merits of his public character, his conscientious sense of the importance of his duties, or his industry and ability in their discharge; nor was time allowed for the due appreciation of the excellence which, under an unattractive deportment, distinguished his private life. The state of society also at Madras, and the sentiments which had for some time pervaded the Coast army, had accumulated elements of discord which the slightest breath was sufficient to set in agitation: dissensions and discontents accordingly immediately burst forth, and rendered the administration of the new Governor of Madras a season of unprecedented private misery, and unexampled public peril and alarm.

The first occasion of offence occurred in the settlement of Madras, and followed closely upon Sir George Barlow's arrival. On assuming the reins of power, he found in progress an inquiry instituted by order of his predecessor, into the conduct of a Mr. Sherson, a civil servant of some standing, of a respectable character, and a person much esteemed in society; who had held the office of superintendent of the public stores of rice laid in by the

person and character of Sir G. Barlow, which may have been in some degree the unavoidable, but were certainly the unmerited, consequences of his firm and faithful discharge of ungracious and unpopular, but sacred and essential duties, not sought or relished by himself, but cast by circumstances peculiar to the times on the period of his administration in Bengal."—Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb., 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346.

Government of Madras, to be retailed in small quantities to the people, as a precaution against the recurrence of those famines which had frequently desolated the Presidency. Charges of fraud in this department were preferred against Mr. Sherson, and a committee was appointed for their investigation. That abuses in an arrangement so liable to be abused seemed probable; but their nature and extent were undetermined, and the participation or cognizance of the principal unsubstantiated. His accounts submitted to the civil auditor were pronounced correct; yet, as they did not tally with the native accounts of the office, Mr. Sherson, and Mr. Smith the auditor, were both removed from their situations, and the former was suspended from the service pending the pleasure of the Court of Directors. An opinion generally prevailed that both these officers had been harshly, if not unjustly, dealt with; and Sir George Barlow incurred much obloquy from having precipitately believed representations asserted to be interested or malicious.

That he too hastily adopted a decided opinion in the matter, and, in his intolerance of supposed official peculation, inflicted severe punishment before its justice was undeniably established, was shown by subsequent events. A prosecution was commenced in the Supreme Court of Madras against Mr. Sherson, and after considerable delays, during which a change of Government had taken place, the cause came on for trial. Mr. Sherson was acquitted, not only of legal, but, in the opinion of one of his Judges, of moral criminality.[1] It was accordingly resolved by the Court of Directors, "that the severe measures adopted relative to Mr. Sherson had been founded upon erroneous grounds;" and he was restored by them to the service, with a pecuniary indemnification of 20,000 pagodas for his losses. The resolutions were confirmed in terms still more emphatic by the Court of Proprietors.[2]

Animosities still more violent and extensive were engendered by the part which the Governor of Madras deemed it incumbent upon him to take in support of a

[1] Sir John Newbolt: the other Judges were Sir Thomas Strange and Sir Francis Macnaghten.

[2] Report of Debate in the Court of Proprietors, 28th April and 5th May, 1815, by Mr. Fraser; London, 1815. Report of Proceedings in the Supreme Court, Madras, 28th March, 1814; Honourable Company v. Sherson and others.

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committee which had been appointed under an act of parliament for the investigation and adjustment of the debts of the Nawab of the Carnatic. The principles which had been enjoined by the Board of Controul in 1784, for the settlement of all claims upon the Nawab have already been described;[1] and, under this application, the amount of debt admitted at that date without any scrutiny, and which was known as the Registered debt, had been liquidated by May, 1804. But, besides the amount of debt so discharged, claims to a much greater extent had been advaneed. These had been submitted to examination before a committee which was formed at Madras, the operations of which continued from 1785 to 1791. They allowed some of the demands brought before them, but left the far larger number for further investigation; and there the matter rested. When the entire revenues of the Carnatic were assumed by the Company's Government, it was considered but just to take the incumbrances along with them, and to pay off all valid demands upon the former Administration. An engagement to this end was concluded between the Company and the creditors in July 1805, and commissioners to make a settlement were nominated. In the year following, an act of parliament was passed for enabling the commissioners acting in execution of an agreement made between the East India Company and the private creditors of the Nabobs of the Carnatic the better to carry the same into effect.[2]

The engagement thus legalized by the Legislature provided that a fixed annual sum (3,40,000 pagodas, or £136,000) should be set apart from the revenues of the Carnatic for the payment of all such debts as should be admitted to be just and valid by commissioners appointed in England for their adjudication, assisted by similar commissioners at Madras; whose duty it should be to collect information and evidence, both oral and documentary, for transmission to the commissioners at home, in whom alone the power of final admission or rejection was vested: and, in order that the Indian commissioners might be as free as possible from all motives of local interest or

[1] Vol. v. p. 26.

[2] Parliamentary Debates, April 14th and 16th, 1806. In moving for leave to bring in the bill, Mr. Hobhouse gave a full and perspicuous history of the arrangements which had been made for the liquidation of these debts.

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influence, it was agreed that they should be appointed by the Governor-General, and that they should be selected from the Civil service of Bengal. Accordingly, at the period under review, three commissioners, who were members of the Bengal Civil Service, were sitting at Madras to investigate the demands of persons claiming to be creditors of the Nawabs of Arcot, and producing bonds and other vouchers asserted to have been originally granted by those princes in acknowledgment of actual loans or real pecuniary obligations.

The long interval which had elapsed since the investigation of the Carnatic debts had been commenced, and the prospect which the present arrangement encouraged of their being ultimately paid, had not only protracted the existence of those vouchers which were of unimpeachable authenticity, but had prompted the fabrication of a vast mass of fictitious documents[1] in evidence of unreal transactions. It was not an easy task to discriminate between the false and the true bonds; and the former, having long passed from hand to hand without question, had become, in the ordinary course of transfer, the property of individuals wholly unconnectd with the original fraud, and entertaining no doubt of the goodness of the security. Many bonds of large amount had come very honestly into the possession of persons of rank and influence in the society of Madras, who were naturally and excusably interested in establishing the validity of deeds upon which their fortunes mainly depended. When, therefore, the commissioners from Bengal, early in 1808, entered upon their office at Madras, they found the difficulties, inseparable from the nature of their duty and the novelty of their position, aggravated by the opposition which they encountered. In this situation they gladly availed themselves of any assistance which offered a reasonable chance of affording them the information they were appointed to obtain; and they were fully justified in attaching consideration to the advice and opinions of a native named Reddy Rao, as he had been the principal

[1] The extent of these forgeries and fabrications is shown by the result. The final report of the Carnatic commissioners, dated March 1830, states the amount originally claimed to have been above thirty millions sterling (£30,404,919 1*s.* 3½*d.*) The amount allowed was little more than two millions and a half (£2,686,148 12*s.* 8½*d.*)

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accountant in the financial office of the late Nawab of Arcot, and was fully informed of the extent and character of the claims upon his master, and as he was a man of ability and had always been reputed respectable and honest.

Shortly after this selection had been made, a bond held by Reddy Rao himself came under the inspection of the commissioners. Its authenticity was challenged by Avadanam Papia, another native creditor. The commissioners, upon investigating the charge, pronounced the bond of Reddy Rao genuine, and prosecuted the witnesses Papia had brought forward for perjury. Papia had the start of them, and carried his accusation of forgery before a magistrate, who committed Reddy Rao for trial. Regarding the prosecution as a mere trick intended to deprive them of essential assistance, the commissioners appealed to the Government of Madras; and upon their representations, and at their request, the law officers of the Company were ordered to conduct the defence of Reddy Rao. This measure and the proceedings against Papia filled all classes of creditors with alarm, inasmuch as the appearance of Government as a party in opposition to their claims, was calculated to deter the natives from giving any testimony which they might think unacceptable to the superior authorities, and might deprive the claimants in many instances of the only means by which they could substantiate their demands. Great excitement spread throughout the settlement; and many individuals, of high rank in the service and much consideration in society, inveighed vehemently against an arrangement which was attributed to the partiality and prejudices of the Governor. The Government persisted, and with reason; for no good cause could be assigned why the commissioners should be debarred from the aid of the legal advisers of the state. But, not satisfied with a calm perseverance in a right course, measures of ill-timed and injudicious severity towards individuals were adopted, which had the appearance of a determination to substitute intimidation for inquiry. Indignant at the impediments which had been thrown in the way of the commissioners, the Government dismissed the magistrate, Mr. Maitland, by whom Reddy Rao had been committed; required Mr. Parry, a

merchant residing at Madras, who had taken a conspicuous part in the opposition to the acts of the commission, to return immediately to Europe; and removed Mr. Roebuck, a civilian of long standing, from the situation he filled at the Presidency, to an office of inferior rank and emolument in the provinces, where he shortly afterwards died. In these manifestations of the displeasure of the Government, undue and unnecessary rigour was exhibited. The opposition may have originated in interested motives, and may have been intemperate and indecorous; but some consideration might have been reasonably entertained for the feelings which the dread of loss of property could not fail to inspire, and the virulence of which would have been corrected by the steady perseverance of the commissioners in the calm and impartial performance of their functions. It was not in the power of any combination to defeat, however it might retard, the objects of the commission; and, although entitled to the support of the Government, it needed not its wrathful and vindictive interposition. The interference of authority also in this stage of the business, whilst proceedings in the highest court of judicature were pending, was, to say the least, exceedingly ill-timed, as it afforded a specious plea for accusing the Government of a design to obstruct the administration of justice.

The trial of Reddy Rao took place: the Chief Justice pronounced an elaborate judgment in his favour; the jury found him guilty. A new trial was moved for, but the decision was postponed; and in the mean time an indictment for perjury was preferred against a person named Batley, the English translator and secretary of the Nawab, and one of the witnesses on behalf of Reddy Rao. It was in fact a second trial of Reddy Rao, as it involved the question of the spuriousness of his bond. A verdict unfavourable to his cause was given by a special jury, in the conviction of the defendant.

A third trial was held: Reddy Rao was charged with having paid a debt due to another native with a forged bond, knowing it to be forged; and he was again found guilty by the jury. The Chief Justice, strongly persuaded of his innocence and of that of Batley, suspended delivery of the sentence, and referred the evidence through the

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Board of Controul to the King, recommending the defendants to his Majesty, "not as the objects of his mercy, but as suitors for his justice; conceiving prosecutions to be the King's, and that a greater evil could scarcely happen to society than that they should be suffered to become, by whatever means, the successful engines of wrong."[1] Necessarily guided by the opinions of the Chief Justice, the pardon of the Crown was granted; but before it reached Madras the chief actor in the scene had ceased to be amenable to human judgment: Reddy Rao poisoned himself in little more than a twelvemonth after his last trial. He had not long continued, after that event, to enjoy the confidence of the commissioners. Suspicion was awakened: it was discovered that he was deeply implicated in the issue of the fabricated securities, and in other frauds upon the Nawab's treasury; and the very bond, the genuineness of which had been so tenaciously upheld by the commissioners, was reported by them to their fellow commissioners in London a forgery. The result was little calculated to gain credit or favour for the Governor of Madras, who, in his eagerness to maintain unimpaired the powers of the commissioners, had thrown the whole weight of his authority into the same scale with an impostor and a cheat; and, in defence of a knave, had inflicted on men of character and honour penury and disgrace, because in protecting valuable interests they had been betrayed into indiscretion and intemperance.[2]

However inveterate the mutual ill-will which was engendered by these proceedings, they were far exceeded in intensity and importance by the dissensions which about the same time broke out between the Governor of Madras and a large division of the army. Before entering upon an account of the lamentable consequences attending them, it will be advisable to notice the political occurrences by which they were preceded.

[1] Two letters from Sir Thomas Strange, 27th Feb. and 4th May, 1809, to the Right Honourable R. Dundas.—Parliamentary Papers, Carnatic debts.

[2] The best authenticated accounts of these proceedings are to be found in the papers printed for Parliament, 3rd May and 11th June, 1811, relating to the Carnatic debts. Ex-parte statements, which agree as to the main facts, are to be met with in the Parliamentary papers referred to: also in Marsh's Review of Sir G. Barlow's Administration; London, 1812: Exposure of the Misrepresentations and Calumnies in Marsh's Review; London, 1813: Short Narrative of the Late Trials, &c.; London, 1810: Correspondence of Messrs. Abbott, Parry, and Maitland, with the Court of Directors; London, 1813; and in other pamphlets.

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The mutual dissatisfaction which had long subsisted between the Raja of Travancore and the British Government has been already adverted to. Towards the end of 1808, the subsidy which the Raja was bound to pay had fallen into a long arrear, and the Resident peremptorily demanded its liquidation. The Raja and his principal minister protested that the revenues of Travancore were incapable of supporting so heavy a burthen as the charge of four battalions of Company's troops, and required their reduction. The Resident replied by insisting on the dismissal of an imperfectly disciplined body of infantry in the Raja's service, called the Carnatic Brigade, as a useless and expensive corps, the discontinuance of which would obviate all difficulty regarding the subsidy. The Carnatic Brigade was looked upon by the Raja as an essential part of his dignity, and indispensable to his personal safety; and the proposal to disband it was treated as a preliminary step to the seizure of the Raja's person, and the annihilation of his authority. Appeals were made by the Raja to the Governments of Madras and Bengal, in which he asserted that the treaty of 1805 had been forced upon him; that he had been intimidated into its execution by the menaces of the Resident; and that the expense which it entailed upon the revenues of his principality was beyond their means of defraying it.[1] These assertions were denied by the Resident.

[1] An opinion seems to have prevailed that the difficulty in the realisation of the subsidy arose from the refusal of the Company's Government to receive payment in pepper, agreeably to the terms of the original treaty; but which having fallen in value, a money payment was demanded. In Sir Thomas Munro's examination before the Committee of the House of Commons in April, 1813, he was asked, "Have you not heard that the Raja originally entered into the treaty with great reluctance, and received our troops into his dominions, for the payment of which the pepper was agreed to be delivered?" his reply was, "I have not so heard." The notion may, perhaps, be traced to the Asiatic Annual Register for 1809, in which this account of the alteration from payment in pepper to that in money, is assigned as a cause of the discontent of the Raja and subsequent disturbances. The statement is nevertheless erroneous. In the first correspondence with the Raja in 1788, the option of paying the subsidy in pepper or money was offered to him: he chose the latter. In 1793, a contract was entered into with him for the purchase of pepper for eight years, wholly unconnected with the subsidy. In 1795, an article of the treaty provided for the perpetuity of the pepper contract, subject to such modifications as should from time to time be agreed upon; but there was no stipulation that its price should form part payment of the subsidy. No allusion to such payment is contained in the treaty of 1805. The original contract provides that the pepper shall be paid for in goods; and, should they leave a balance, that should be paid in money. The commercial and political engagements were throughout distinct, and no complaint occurs in the correspondence on this account. The main ground of contention was the Carnatic Brigade.

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Besides the cause of discontent arising out of the subsidy, which was common to the Raja and his counsellors, his Dewan or prime minister, Vailu Tambi, had personal grounds for fear and resentment. Considering him to be the chief instigator of the Raja's backwardness in fulfilling his pecuniary engagements, the Resident had insisted upon his removal from his situation, and the appointment of a minister more submissive to British controul. The Dewan professed himself willing to resign whenever a successor should be appointed; but, under cover of his pretended acquiescence in the Resident's will, he set himself to work to organise an insurrection of the Nairs, the martial population of Malabar, and to accomplish the murder of the Resident, whom he hated as the scourge of his country, and his own avowed and inexorable foe. He prevailed upon the Dewan of the Raja of Cochin to join him in the plot; and, giving encouragement to some French adventurers from the Isle of France, who had landed from an Arab vessel on the coast of Malabar, spread abroad a report that a large French army was about to come to assist him to expel the English. He also wrote circular letters to the neighbouring Rajas to summon them to combine for the defence of their religion, which he affirmed the English designed to overthrow. His instigations were effectual: arms were collected, and the people were prepared secretly for their use. The popular excitement became known to the Resident, and at his request reinforcements were ordered to Travancore. His Majesty's 12th regiment and two native battalions were directed to move from Malabar; and his Majesty's 69th, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery, were commanded to march from Trichinopoly to his succour.

Alarmed apparently by these precautionary measures, the Dewan professed his readiness to resign immediately if his personal safety were guaranteed, and arrangements were made for his private removal from Alepi to Calicut on the night of the 28th of December. On that same night, a body of armed men surrounded the house of the Resident. He had retired to rest, but was awakened by the indistinct noise of the approaching multitude; and, going to the window to discover the cause, was fired at by the assailants. Before an entrance could be forced,

Colonel Macaulay, with a confidential servant, had time to hide themselves in a lower chamber, the door of which could not be easily distinguished from the exterior wall. The insurgents, having broken into the house, sought for the object of their vengeance throughout the night in vain. At daybreak they beheld a vessel under British colours entering the port, and other ships were discernible at a little distance making for the harbour. They now thought only of their own retreat, and hastily quitted the premises; affording Colonel Macaulay an opportunity of making his escape and taking refuge on board the vessel, which proved to be a transport with part of the reinforcement from Malabar. The more important division from Trichinopoly had been countermanded, the Madras Government giving ready credence to the simulated submission of the Dewan. The news of the insurrection obliged them to repeat their first directions, and in the middle of January the Trichinopoly force commenced its advance under the command of the Honourable Colonel St. Leger.

Before he was joined by the principal reinforcements from Malabar, Colonel Chalmers, commanding the subsidiary troops cantoned at Quilon, had commenced offensive operations. On the 30th of December he learnt that great numbers of armed Nairs had collected at a residence belonging to the minister, at no great distance to the north of the cantonments; and that an equally numerous body had assembled at Parùr, about ten miles to the south. His measures were promptly taken. Five companies of the 1st battalion of the 4th regiment of native infantry, with a field-piece, were detached to occupy a low hill commanding the Dewan's residence. They had scarcely reached the spot when they were attacked by the enemy in numbers greatly superior, but they maintained their ground during the night; and, being strengthened by the two flank companies of the 13th N. I. at day-break, they advanced against the Nairs, defeated them, and took possession of the house, with two brass and four iron guns, with which it had been converted into a temporary battery. Information being received that a body of the enemy above four thousand strong, were advancing along the coast from the north, the detachment commanded by Major Hamilton proceeded to meet them. They were

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encountered at the estuary of the Kaladi river, where some had crossed the bar, while the Carnatic Brigade was drawn up on the other side of the stream. Those who had crossed were attacked and compelled to retreat, but the main body stood firm; while a strong division ascended the river, in order to pass it higher up and get into the rear of the British. At the same time news arrived, that the force from the south estimated at more than ten thousand men, was rapidly advancing, and it was judged prudent to recall the detachment to the cantonment. The retreat of the troops gave courage to the insurgents.

The increasing numbers and confidence of the Nairs obliged Colonel Chalmers to remain on the defensive at Quilon, where he was reinforced early in January by his Majesty's 12th regiment under Colonel Picton. On the other hand, the Dewan, having concentrated his forces, amounting to between twenty and thirty thousand men, with eighteen guns, advanced to Quilon, and on the 15th of January attacked the British lines, defended by one European regiment and three battalions of Sipahis. The action began at six in the morning; the enemy occupying a rising ground, from which their guns opened a fire on the British encampment. Leaving the 4th native infantry to cover the camp, Colonel Chalmers formed the rest of his troops in two columns, the right under Colonel Picton, the left under Major Hamilton, and led them against the Travancore force. A stout resistance was encountered, and a division of the enemy attempted at the same time to storm the camp. They were repulsed, and, after a conflict of five hours' duration, the whole were driven off the field, leaving seven hundred slain, and losing fifteen pieces of artillery. The British loss was comparatively trifling.

Thus foiled in his attempt upon Quilon, the Dewan directed a considerable division of his followers against what promised to be an easier prey,—the post of Cochin, which was held by Major Hewitt with two companies of the 12th regiment, and six of the 1st battalion of the 17th native infantry. The enemy advanced on the 19th of January to the attack, in three masses, each a thousand strong: the one on the left was met, charged, and routed. The victors then fell upon the other two bodies, which opposed a more resolute resistance, but were forced to

give way. Desisting from further engagements in the field, they spread round Cochin on the land side, and covered the sea with their boats, so as to cut off all supplies. Before this manœuvre had produced serious distress, the Piedmontese frigate, with the Resident on board, anchored off the town; and her boats, with some small armed vessels belonging to Cochin, quickly drove the enemy's flotilla into the river, pursued, and set it on fire. The blockade was consequently raised; but the enemy still continued in overpowering numbers in the vicinity of Quilon and Cochin, and straitened the resources and checked the movements of the subsidiary force, until they were called off by the approach of danger in other directions. During this interval they disgraced their cause by acts of atrocity, which served no purpose except that of provoking retribution. An assistant-surgeon of the name of Hume, travelling at night on the 30th of January, was seized on his route, and led into the presence of the Dewan; who, although he knew the young man personally, and had benefited by his professional advice, commanded him to be conducted to the sea-side, where he was put to death and buried in the sand. About the same time a small vessel, with some of the soldiers of the 12th regiment on board, having touched at Alepi for supplies, the men were induced to land by the appearance of cordiality among the people, and assurances that part of the subsidiary force was in the neighbourhood. Unaware that hostilities had commenced, the men, thirty in number, disembarked, and as soon as they landed were made prisoners, and shortly afterwards murdered. This was also done by order of the Dewan, who thus effaced, by his perfidy and cruelty, whatever credit he might have claimed for zeal in the cause of his country and his prince.

Finding it no longer possible to avoid the cost of military operations, the Government of Fort St. George resolved to act with vigour, especially as the advancing season of the year admitted not of further loss of time. Colonel Cuppage, commanding in Malabar, was ordered to enter the province of Cochin, from the north, and join Colonel Chalmers, with his Majesty's 80th regiment and two battalions of native infantry; and Colonel St. Leger was directed to march immediately to Trichinopoly, with

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a force composed of his Majesty's 69th regiment, a regiment of native cavalry, and three battalions of native infantry,[1] besides a detachment of Royal artillery, and the 3rd Ceylon or Kafri regiment, which was to join from Ceylon. Two divisions, consisting of a European regiment and a battalion of Sipahis, severally commanded by Colonel Wallace and Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, were stationed in the Tinnivelly district and the vicinity of Wynâd, to keep the Travancoreans in check, and eventually co-operate with Colonel St. Leger's force. A proclamation was issued by the Madras Government, and distributed with Colonel St. Leger's advance, ascribing the necessity of military measures to the intrigues of the minister, and declaring that "the British Government had no other view than to rescue the Raja from the influence of the Dewan, to put an end to the power of that minister, and to re-establish the connexion of the two Governments on a secure and happy foundation.

The principality of Travancore is divided from the province of Tinnivelly by the southern portion of the mountain-chain which runs nearly parallel with the coast of Malabar, from the upper part of the Peninsula to Cape Comorin, and is usually known by the appellation of the Western Ghats. The mountains are lofty and covered with jungle, and present in general almost insuperable obstacles to the march of an army with baggage and artillery. The most practicable passes are situated near the southernmost extremity of the chain, where the mountains decline in elevation as they approach the sea; and through one of these, the pass of Arambuli or Aramuni, it was determined on this occasion to force an entrance into Travancore. The Arambuli pass was defended by formidable lines, consisting of a number of small redoubts, each mounting two or three guns, and connected by a strong wall of masonry. The whole extended about two miles along the sides of steep and rugged hills, and terminated at either extremity by a

[1] The force consisted of her Majesty's 69th; both battalions of the 3rd native infantry; 1st battalion and one company of the 2nd battalion of the 13th; five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 10th native infantry; 6th native cavalry; a detachment of artillery and pioneers; a detachment of Royal artillery; and 3rd Kafri regiment from Ceylon. But the last did not join till after the capture of the Arambuli lines,

strongly fortified mountain flanked by impenetrable jungle. The high road from Palamkota led through the centre of the works, by a gateway which was commanded by two large circular bastions armed with several pieces of ordnance.[1] Colonel St. Leger arrived at the foot of the lines on the 6th of February; and, as the division was unequipped with a battering train, determined to attempt to carry the pass by surprise. On the night of the 10th Major Welsh, with two companies of the 69th, four flank and five battalion companies of the 3rd native infantry, quietly climbed the hill on which the southern works were erected, and, after six hours' arduous ascent, reached the foot of the wall unperceived. The ladders were planted, and the ramparts scaled, before any effective resistance could be opposed; and although a short stand was made, which was attended with some loss of life,[2] the redoubt was quickly in possession of the assailants. As soon as the day broke, the guns of the bastion were turned upon the defences of the pass, which they enfiladed; and, reinforcements being sent to Major Welsh, he was strong enough to attack the rest of the lines, and the whole of the works were speedily cleared of their defenders.

Having thus secured his entrance into Travancore, Colonel St. Leger advanced on the 17th of February into the interior; and dislodged, after a short action, a body of troops strongly posted, with nine guns, on the bank of a river near the village of Nagarköil. The next march brought the troops to the forts of Udagiri and Papanavaram, which were abandoned: the gates were set open, the garrisons had fled, and ensigns denoting submission were seen flying in every direction. Communications were shortly afterwards received from the Dewan and from the King, breathing a pacific spirit, and deprecating the nearer approach of the troops to Trivandrum, the capital. Having referred the letter of the King to the Resident, who was at Cochin, Colonel St. Leger marched to a position half-way between Udagiri and Kalachi, on the coast, detaching a part of his force to occupy the latter, and open a communication with Colonel Chalmers at Quilon. This officer had continued to be hemmed in by the enemy

[1] Welsh's Military Reminiscences, vol. i. p. 288.
[2] Captain Cunningham of the 69th was the only officer killed.

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during Colonel St. Leger's advance; but, having been reinforced by part of the 19th regiment, had, shortly before the communication now opened, rid himself of his opponents. Marching out of cantonments on the 21st February, in two columns, severally commanded by Colonel Picton and Colonel Stuart of the 19th, he attacked the enemy's position in front of his encampment; and although they were five thousand strong, and were defended by batteries and entrenchments, he carried the works, captured their artillery, and dispersed their force. After the action, Colonel Chalmers marched towards the capital, and arrived at the high ground within twelve miles of Trivandrum, much about the same time that Colonel St. Leger took up a similar position on the opposite side. About the same period also, the division under Colonel Cuppage crossed the frontier on the north, without opposition, and advanced to Parúr. The country was now completely in the possession of the British: the Nairs disbanded, and retired to their homes; the Dewan despairing of forgiveness, fled into the thickets; and the Raja, left to himself, hastened to tender his submission, and profess his readiness to conform to any conditions which the Resident should please to dictate.

The troops being concentrated round Trivandrum, Colonel Macaulay proceeded to the capital, and concerted with the Raja the conditions on which tranquillity was to be restored, and the prince allowed to retain possession of his dominions. The terms were adjusted by the 1st of March. The Raja consented to pay the arrears of the subsidy and the expenses of the war, and eleven lakhs of rupees were paid on the former account before the expiration of the month.[1] The Carnatic Brigade, and some Nair battalions in the Raja's service, were dismissed, and the defence of the prince and of his country was entrusted exclusively to the subsidiary force. A new Dewan, supposed to be in the interest of the English, and recommended by the Resident, was appointed. The invading

[1] The Madras Government proposed that the guns and stores captured by the troops should become public property upon the payment to the army of their value, which should be charged to the Raja. The Government of Bengal justly objected to this double penalty, and directed the stores to be paid for by the Madras Government.—Appendix 43, Second Report of Select Committee, May, 1810; and MS. Records.

forces were withdrawn immediately upon the conclusion of the treaty: a portion of the subsidiary battalions was permanently quartered in the proximity of Trivandrum; the rest returned to their former cantonments.

The zeal of the new minister in the cause of his English friends was promptly evinced by the active measures which were instituted for the capture of his predecessor. Traces of him were discovered among the mountains; and means were devised for preventing his being supplied with the necessaries of life by the peasantry, who had hitherto ministered to his wants. Reduced to extreme distress, the Dewan made his way, as a last resource, to the Pagoda of Bhagwadi, which from ancient usage enjoyed the privileges of a sanctuary. The emissaries of the minister, although Hindus, disregarded the sanctity of the temple, forcibly entered it, and broke open the door of the chamber to which Vailu Tambi and his brother had retreated. As they entered the apartment, the Dewan was found expiring of wounds inflicted by his own hand, or, at his entreaty, by the hand of his brother, to save him from falling alive into the power of his unrelenting foes. The brother was seized, taken to Quilon, and hanged in front of the 12th regiment, drawn out to witness his execution, as an accessory in the murder of their comrades. The body of the Dewan was carried to Trivandrum, and exposed upon a gibbet, amidst, it was said, the acclamations of the people.

The vindictive measures which were thus adopted by the Resident were defended by him upon the plea of their being no more than a just retribution for the foul treachery and sanguinary cruelty of the Dewan and his brother.[1] The Government of Bengal admitted the defensibility of the summary execution of the latter, upon the understanding that he had been implicated in the murder of Mr. Hume and the British soldiers; but condemned, in terms of merited reprehension, the vengeance which had pursued the crimes of the Dewan beyond his life. The ends of justice and the purposes of public security were attained, the Governor-General remarked,

[1] Beside Dr. Hume, and the men of the 12th, Vailu Tambi was accused of having put to death three thousand native Christians, charged with no crime but their religion.

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by the death of the Dewan; and the prosecution of a vindictive policy, when the object of it had ceased to exist, was repugnant to the feelings of common humanity and the principles of a civilized Government. He further observed, that although ostensibly the act of the Raja, yet it would not be believed by the public that it had not the Resident's sanction, and did not originate in his advice; and that had it been the Raja's act, with a view to impress upon the British Government the notion that he had not participated in the treachery of his minister, yet a sentiment of just abhorrence of the measure itself, and a regard for the reputation of the British Government, should have induced the Resident to prevent the exposure, or, if anticipated, to have publicly proclaimed his disapprobation.

The proceedings in Travancore were, in truth, among the least justifiable of the many questionable transactions by which the British power in India has been acquired or preserved. The protection of the Raja was, in the first instance, generous and politic; the military command of his country, subsequently, was necessary for objects of British policy, and was not incompatible with the pacific interests of the Raja and prosperity of his limited dominion. To impose upon him the maintenance of a force infinitely more numerous than was necessary for the defence of the country, and the cost of which heavily taxed its resources; to urge the exaction with unrelenting rigour; and to resent with unpitying vengeance the passions excited by a deep sense of national wrong among a semi-barbarous and demoralised race,—were unworthy of the character of the British nation for justice and generosity, of the civilization it had attained, and the religion it professed.

Notwithstanding the severities exercised upon the leaders of the late rising, and the submission which the irresistible superiority of the British arms had compelled, the spirit of disaffection after a while revived, and in less than two years, the new Dewan was suspected of being concerned in a plot directed against the British authority. He had also suffered the payment of the subsidy again to fall into arrear, and improvement in this respect was not to be expected from the increasing infirmities and im-

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becility of the Raja. Under these circumstances, the Government of Bengal considered itself empowered by the fifth article of the treaty of 1805 to assume the management of the country, but suspended the final adoption of the arrangement until it should become unavoidable. Its necessity became apparent at last even to the Raja; and the new Resident, Colonel John Munro, at his request and with the authority of the British Government, took upon himself the administration of the principality as the minister of the Raja, or Dewan.[1] The condition of Travancore unquestionably required the intervention of a stronger and wiser controul. The Raja was a cypher: the Dewan usurped the whole power, and employed it to defraud the prince and oppress the people. Inadequate as were the resources to the public exigencies, the country laboured under the severest fiscal exaction: justice there was none, and a general state of disorganization prevailed. The judicious regulations introduced by Colonel Munro restored order, secured the administration of justice, and, whilst they liquidated the debt, and discharged the stipulated payments with punctuality, they more than doubled the revenues of the Raja, and in a still greater proportion lightened the burthens of his subjects.[2] The Raja died in 1812. He was succeeded by his sister, such being the order of inheritance among the Nairs of Travancore. Under the government of this lady, and the regency of her successor, Colonel Munro officiated as Dewan until the year 1814; when he restored the

[1] We have Colonel Munro's own statement, that he accepted the office of Dewan at the request of the Raja. In answer to questions put to him, he states, "The treaty authorized the general interference of the British Government; but I assumed the charge of the administration at the express request of the Raja, with the authority of the British Government." And to the question, whether it was completely voluntary on the part of the Raja, he replies, "It was at the earnest request of the Raja.—Evidence of Colonel Munro; Select Committee of House of Commons, March, 1832. Hamilton therefore is wrong in stating that the arrangement took place under the Raja's successor.—Description of Hindostan, ii. 317.

[2] Evidence above referred to: also Extracts from Colonel Munro's Report to the Madras Government in 1818, quoted by Mr. Jones; App. Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons; Political, 4to. ed., p. 287. In three years, Colonel Munro, beside the current subsidy, "succeeded in paying eighteen lakhs of rupees due to the Company, and nearly six to individuals; in abolishing the most oppressive monopolies and taxes, and in settling the affairs of the country on the principles of justice and humanity." The land revenue was increased from nine to fifteen lakhs; the duty received from the tobacco monopoly, from five to eleven lakhs; and that on salt, from thirty thousand rupees, to two lakhs and thirty thousand: but, to the relief of the people, as many oppressive taxes and all illegal exactions were abolished.

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management of the state to a native Dewan, extricated from its embarrassments, with a greatly augmented revenue, and in a situation of complete internal tranquillity.[1]

Although the Raja of Cochin had abstained from actual hostilities and died during their continuance, not without suspicion of having fallen a victim to his unwillingness to engage in them, yet the participation of his minister in the projects of the Dewan of Travancore, which was unequivocally established, subjected the Raja's successor to the displeasure of the British Government. The Raja was accordingly condemned to pay a third of the expenses of the war, and to sign a new treaty, which added to the amount of his tribute the cost of a battalion of Sipahis in the field in place of his own troops, whom he was required to dismiss, beyond such as might be necessary for the collection of the revenue. As the state of his country differed little from that of Travancore, a similar system of reform was extended to Cochin, under the more immediate management of Captain Blacker, the Assistant Resident. Upon his departure, Colonel Munro assumed the duty; and, under their joint superintendence, the like improvement was effected in Cochin which had been accomplished at Travancore.[2]

Whilst the Company's troops were thus employed in the coercion of refractory allies, and in extending the authority of the Government of Madras, the Governor and the Commander-in-chief engaged in a dispute which speedily involved a large portion of the Coast army in a contest with the civil power, and was productive of the most alarming and dangerous results.[3] Sir John Cradock

[1] For the military transactions in Travancore, see Secret Letter from Fort St. George printed in the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, App. 43; Madras Papers, 15th March, 1811, p. 15; Letter from the Court, 29th Sept., 1809, printed Parl. Papers, 22nd June, 1813, No. 10; Welsh's Military Reminiscences; the Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. History, ch. 3; and the General Orders of Government in the Chronicle of Madras Occurrences. The MS. Records have also been consulted.

[2] By the treaty of 1791 the Raja of Cochin paid a tribute of 100,000 Arcot rupees per annum. By this of the 6th May, 1809, he was compelled to pay in addition 1,76,037 Arcot rupees; making a total of 2,76,037 Arcot rupees.—Coll. of Treatics, 472.

[3] "The East India Company, and, I may add, the British empire in all its parts, never, I believe, was exposed to greater or more imminent danger."—Letter from Lord Minto, 15th Sept. 1809. "The late revolt of the officers of the Madras army is the most remarkable and most important event that has occurred in the history of the British Administration of India since our first

had been succeeded in the command of the Madras army by Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall. The former had held, as Commander-in-chief, a seat in council: the Court of Directors had thought proper to refuse equal rank and emolument to his successors. The appeal of General Macdowall to the Court against this infringement of his dignities had been answered by the appointment of a civil servant to the vacant seat. The Commander-in-chief felt the exclusion as a personal grievance and affront, and, on the final extinction of his hopes, resigned his command; expressing his resignation in terms strongly indicative of the bitterness of his mortification and disappointment.[1]

It has been mentioned, that, after the close of the Mahratta war, the Government of Bengal urgently pressed upon the subordinate Presidencies the necessity of extensive retrenchments. In conformity with these injunctions, various plans for reducing the military expenditure of the Presidency of Madras were suggested during the command of Sir John Cradock; some of which were acted upon, and deprived officers, in command of regiments or brigades, of different sources of emolument. These measures were naturally unpalatable to the army. The difference of military allowances between the Bengal and Madras services had long been a subject of discontent; and the assignment of commands to officers of his Majesty's regiments, in place of Company's officers, occasioned amongst the latter frequent murmurs. The personal feel-

acquisition of territory there. It led to the commencement of a civil war in the Carnatic; it threatened to involve the whole Peninsula in anarchy and blood; to encourage the numerous adherents of the fallen families of Tippoo, and Mohammed Ali, to insurrection; to incite the native powers to fall upon us whilst in this state of internal convulsion; and to subvert a Government which had successfully resisted the repeated attacks of the neighbouring states."—Paper accompanying Reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell to the Dissent of several Directors, &c.; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 45. We may be permitted now to think that this language is somewhat exaggerated.

[1] "The decision of the Court of Directors has placed me in so extraordinary, so unexampled, and so humiliating a predicament, that the most painful emotions have been excited; and sixteen months' experience has convinced me that it is impossible to remain with any prospect of performing my duty with credit to the East India Company, of acquiring for myself any reputation, or for doing justice to those over whom I am called to preside; divested of the power of selecting for commands by the restriction of military patronage, or of requiting the meritorious officer; deprived of the respectability which attaches in this country to a seat in council, and abridged in the usual emoluments of office."—Letter to Sir G. Barlow from the Commander-in-chief, 15th January, 1809; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, part i. p. 8.

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ings of the Commander-in-chief heightened his sympathy with the grievances of those under his command, and fostered their discontents;[1] and a state of disquietude and dissatisfaction pervaded the minds of the officers, which, as compliance with their expectations was little to be looked for, required to be allayed by gentle management, and the avoidance of additional irritation. Unluckily, fresh occasions of excitement did occur, and that excitement was not gently dealt with.

Among the articles of retrenchment put in force by the Government of Madras, was the abolition of what was known as the Tent Contract; an arrangement by which officers commanding native corps received a permanent monthly allowance, alike in cantonments as in the field, in peace as in war, on condition of their providing the men with suitable camp equipage whenever it might be required.[2] The retrenchment was originally suggested by Sir John Cradock; and he called upon Colonel John Munro, the Quarter-Master-General of the army, to report whether it was not practicable without detriment to the efficiency of the troops, and how it might best be accomplished. The report advocated the change, and submitted a mode of effecting it. The plan was approved of by Sir John Cradock, by Lord W. Bentinck, and by the Government of Bengal. It merely fell to Sir G. Barlow to carry it into execution. No share of the opprobrium was due to him, even if the measure deserved it; but, in fact, the contract was open to objections of so obvious a character, that no disinterested person could doubt the reasonableness of its abolition. The alteration was to be judged of,

[1] Memorial of the Officers of the Madras Army to the Court of Directors, forwarded by the Commander-in-chief, with a Letter to the Government of Fort St. George, 23rd January, 1809. The Madras Government, viewing the sentiments expressed in the paper with extreme disapprobation, declined to transmit it to the Court, until it had been laid before the Governor-General.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. i. p. 25. At an earlier date, 1st May, 1808, General Macdowall enumerates, as the seeds of discontent widely disseminated, the abolition of the Bazar Fund; the degradation of the military character, from the Commander-in-chief to the youngest ensign; the late reductions, and especially the abolition of the Tent Contract; and adds, "I much lament the expediency which occasioned these disgusting measures."—Extracts from Lord Minto's Letter to the Secret Committee, 5th Feb. 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, p. 346. The same letter supplies instances, if not of "the deliberate intention of the General to make the army an instrument of opposition and disturbance," as affirmed by Lord Minto, yet of great disposition to foment and heighten the prevailing discontents.

[2] Letter from Sir John Cradock to Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, 7th Feb. 1807; and his reply, 30th June, 1807: Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 94.

however, by those whose interests it effected, and in their estimation it was a grievous wrong; but, unable to deny the defects of the system, or the expediency of its reform, their dissatisfaction found an excuse for its display in some unguarded expressions which occurred in the Quarter-Master-General's official report.

The transaction of public business in India by written statements is not without its inconvenience; and one of these is, the temptation it offers to public functionaries to put upon record more than is always necessary or judicious. Such was the case with Colonel Munro. Not contented with indicating such objections as could not be disputed, he proceeded to specify others, which, although equally true in a general sense, were capable of individual application, and might be construed into an accusation that the officers in command of corps had consulted their own profit at the expense of the public service, and had appropriated the tent allowance without keeping up an adequate tent establishment.[1] The officers resented the imputation; and, although Colonel Munro earnestly disclaimed any intention of reflecting upon the honour and integrity of any portion of the officers of the army, they refused to be appeased, and called upon the Commander-in-Chief to bring him to a court-martial for aspersions on their characters as officers and gentlemen.

[1] In enumerating the objections to the system, the Report specifies one of them as follows: "By granting the same allowances in peace and war for the equipment of native corps, while the expenses incidental to that charge are unavoidably much greater in war than peace, it places the interest and duty of officers commanding native corps in direct opposition to one another: it makes it their interest that the corps should not be in a state of efficiency fit for field service, and therefore furnishes strong inducements to neglect their most important duties." It would have been prudent to have omitted at least one half of this paragraph; but still, abstractedly considered, it was scarcely disputable. The measure no doubt, in theory, placed the interest and duty of the officers in opposition; but in practice it left it to be supposed that they did their duty, although their interests suffered. Unfortunately, the objections were preceded by the assertion, that "Six years' experience of the practical effects of the existing system of the camp equipage equipment of the army, and an attentive examination of its operation during that period of time, had suggested the objections." Here, therefore, was an assertion that, practically, the officers had preferred their interest to their duty: an assertion the more objectionable, as no proof was given; for, as the officers in their memorial justly replied, "If such a case had occurred, why was it not noticed at the time?" They had reason to be offended; but still, as the offence grew out of an indiscreet mode of propounding undeniable generalisations, and was evidently not designed to apply to any particular case, they might have been satisfied with a declaration to that effect, and would no doubt have been so contented, had not an infectious irritability perplexed their sober judgments. Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 96; ditto, 1st April, 1811, p. 65; ditto, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

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Upon the receipt of the charges against Colonel J. Munro,[1] the Commander-in-Chief hesitated whether he should admit them, and referred the question for the opinion of the Judge-Advocate-General, who, after discussing the circumstances of the case, came to the conclusion that the charges were such as the accusers had no right to agitate or prefer.[2] The officers acquiesced in the decision, and solicited a suspension of the direct charge; substituting in its place a memorial to the Court of Directors, praying them to investigate the subject.[3] Previously, however, to his being apprised of their change of purpose, General Macdowall had also viewed the matter in a new light, and had determined that the charge should be entertained. On the eve of his quitting Madras, he placed Colonel Munro under arrest, to be brought to trial by the succeeding Commander-in Chief;[4] having, as he declared, received an opinion of much importance, in expectation of which he had suspended his decision. From what quarter this opinion proceeded is nowhere stated.

It appears, however, that, in the interval that had elapsed since the charge was first brought forward, circumstances had occurred, which, in the state of the Commander-in-Chief's feelings, were possibly not without some influence upon his determination. Major Blacker, of the Quarter-Master-General's department, was ordered to join the force in Travancore. Another officer, Captain Macdowall, who had been formerly employed in the province, remonstrated against the arrangement, and urged his own preferable claims. His pretensions were supported by the Commander-in-Chief, who requested that the appointment might be reconsidered. This was on the 16th of January. On the 18th, the Government of Madras declined to revise the nomination, reprimanded

[1] See the charges, Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 13.

[2] Letter from Colonel Leith, Judge-Advocate-General, to the Adjutant-General, 7th Nov. 1808; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 17.

[3] The memorial is printed, Parl. Papers, 3rd May, 1811, p. 79. The officers say, "Finding the mode (of court-martial) was considered by the Judge-Advocate-General to be irregular and ineffectual, they respectfully abide by that opinion for the present, and have solicited a suspension of the direct charge against the individual, whilst they have appealed to the candour and justice of the Court. The Government refused to forward it, as the question was considered to be settled: the Court disapproved of the refusal to transmit the memorial.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 13.

[4] Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 14.

Captain Macdowall for the tone of his application, and threatened to remove him from the office he held. On the 20th, Colonel Munro was placed under arrest; the effect of which was to compel the Government to revoke Major Blacker's appointment, as the temporary removal of his superior rendered his presence indispensable at the Presidency.[1] The close concurrence of these events suggests the possibility of their connexion, and the likelihood that matters of comparative insignificance, magnified into mischievous importance by the passions of the individuals interested, contributed to occasion the transactions which ensued.

As soon as Colonel Munro was made aware of the decision of the Commander-in-Chief, he appealed to the Government, under whose authority he had acted, and by whom the measures he had recommended had been approved and adopted. This appeal was, in the first instance, forwarded through the Commander-in-Chief; but, upon his refusing to be the channel of its transmission, it was addressed direct to the Governor in Council.

The subject of the communication was referred to the chief civil and military advisers of the Government, the Judge-Advocate-General, and the Advocate-General, and fortified by their joint opinions that it was bound to protect the advisers of measures which it had made its own, the Government exercised the power with which it was intrusted by the Legislature; and, having first in vain requested, next commanded General Macdowall to release Colonel Munro from his arrest.[2] The tenor of the Commander-in-Chief's commission subjected him so explicitly to the authority of the Governor in Council, that he was under the necessity of yielding obedience, protesting against what he designated as an undue interference. Nor was he satisfied with this expression of his indignation: on the eve of his embarkation for England, he directed the publication of a General Order, in which he announced that his departure alone prevented him from bringing Colonel Munro to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-Chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the

[1] Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 9.
[2] See the whole correspondence, Parl. Papers, 25th May, pp. 12—24.

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officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall had received a positive order from the chief secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest: and the order proceeded to stigmatize the conduct of Colonel Munro as destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-Chief, and a most dangerous example to the service. General Macdowall therefore thought it incumbent on him, in support of the dignity of the profession, and his own station and character, to express his strong disapprobation of Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and reprimanded him accordingly.[1]

Thus far the Government of Madras had acted with a degree of calmness and forbearance which derived additional lustre from the contrast which it offered to the violence of the Commander-in-Chief. Instead of interposing to heal the wounds which the needless sensitiveness of the officers had suffered from the incautious but indefinite language of an official report, and which a few words of explanation from the writer, supported by their own good sense and the mediation of their common superior, must have convinced them were more imaginary than real, General Macdowall echoed and aggravated their complaints, and, mixing up their grievances with his own, employed them as instruments with which to assail the Government in the person of one of its most meritorious and efficient servants. For the Government of Madras to have allowed Colonel Munro to fall a sacrifice to interested clamour or personal resentment on account of its own acts, would have forfeited for ever its claim to the respect of its subordinates. The opinions of Colonel Munro had been called for by those who were entitled to demand them, and so enjoined, it was his duty to state his honest convictions without reserve. These convictions were pronounced by the Commander-in-Chief of the day to be his own; and the Madras Government, the Government of

[1] General Orders by the Commander-in-chief, head-quarters, 28th Jan. 1809.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 28.

Bengal, and the Court of Directors, all concurred in their justice and truth, and took them as the principles of their public acts. The responsibility of the subordinate ceased when the supreme power — one acknowledging no responsibility to its own servants — determined to identify his counsels with its own decrees; and its decrees would have been issued in vain, if the counsels which suggested them were to expose any one of its instruments to be degraded and punished by another. There can be no question, therefore, that the Government of Madras was bound to shield the Quarter-Master-General from the anger of the Commander-in-Chief; and that it was legally empowered so to interpose, was substantiated by the enforced submission of the latter. His threats of what he would have done if he had remained, were like the fast-retiring wave of the Madras surf wasting itself in impotent foam and fury upon the beach.

It happened, unfortunately for the character of the Madras Government, and the tranquillity of the settlement, that, departing from the calm assertion of its own powers, and the dignified attitude it had hitherto held, the Government precipitated itself into a career of recriminatory and vindictive acts. Instead of regarding the general order of the Commander-in-Chief as the idle ebullition of an angry spirit, the influence of which was neutralised by its own intemperance; instead of taking time to weigh deliberately the probable results of engaging in an angry contest; the Government instantly promulgated a public order[1] of scarcely less exceptionable phraseology, charging General Macdowall with having given utterance to insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundations of public authority, and with having on that and other recent occasions been guilty of violent and inflammatory proceedings, and of acts of outrage: accusations not wholly borne out by facts, even if it had been decorous to proclaim them. Taking advantage also of the non-reception of General Macdowall's formal resignation, the order cancelled his appointment, and removed him from the station of Commander-in-Chief of the forces of Fort

[1] The Commander-in-chief's order was not published till the 30th of Jan. The order of the Government is dated the 31st.

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St. George: a somewhat superfluous mode of displeasure, as General Macdowall was on board the ship which was to convey him to England; a destination he was not permitted to reach, the vessel being lost at sea on the voyage.

If the Madras Government had vindicated its authority in more temperate language, and directed that the offensive order of the General should be expunged from the order-books of the army, it would have better preserved its consistency and secured its triumph. Had its indignation been allowed to expire with the cause which had provoked it, few would have been disposed to call its proceedings seriously in question; and after a short period the superficial and inconsequential ferment, in the activity of which the Commander-in-Chief was so vital an element, would have subsided. Unhappily, it was thought that enough had not been done to vindicate the authority and dignity of the Government. Measures were adopted which irritated the passions of the army more than anything that had yet occurred, and infused into the quarrel feelings of personal rancour, by which it had not yet been generally embittered. The order of the Government, which has just been described, concluded by suspending from the service of the Company, Major Boles, the Deputy-Adjutant-General, for having signed and circulated the general order of the departing Commander-in-Chief in the absence of his immediate superior, who had accompanied General Macdowall on board ship. Colonel Capper, the Adjutant-General, avowed himself responsible for the circulation of the order, and was included in the same penalty.[1] It was to no purpose, that these officers pleaded the merely ministerial character of their duties, and the obligation, imposed upon them by military discipline, of executing the orders of the Commander of the forces. It was argued by the Government, that, by giving authenticity and currency to a paper which they could not but be aware was in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government, they were acting in direct violation of their duty to the latter, and thereby knowingly committed an illegal act, connected with views of the most reprehensible

[1] General Orders of the Government of Fort St. George, 31st Jan. and 1st Feb., 1809; Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, p. 29.

nature, which no authority could justify, and that they therefore deserved the punishment they had incurred. Colonel Capper sailed for England, and, like his superior, perished on the passage. To Major Boles it was intimated, that if he acknowledged his error, the sentence might be mitigated; but he refused to admit that he had done wrong, and the penalty was enforced.

It is very possible, that the Adjutant-General and his deputy were more inclined to take part with their military than with their civil superior, that they shared in the prevailing discontent, and that they were not unwilling instruments in the issuing of the offensive order. Still, the plea of military subordination was a plausible excuse, and one which was calculated to find favour with military men. It might be correct, as afterwards argued by the Judge-Advocate-General, that, even in the case of military men, the illegal commands of a superior are invalid; but then comes the question, by whom is the illegality to be determined? Nothing can justify disobedience of orders but the most unequivocal and universal recognition of the illegality; and, wherever a doubt is admissible, obedience is the safer course. That General Macdowall's order was illegal is a proposition by no means so self-evident as to obtain immediate and implicit assent, and was little likely to be so esteemed in the actual state of military feeling at Madras. It was possible, therefore, that those who obeyed it did not consider it to be illegal; and, although they saw that it was disrespectful, they did not hold their interpretation of its tenor to that extent only to be a sufficient reason for disobeying the positive commands of the Commander-in-Chief.[1] At any rate, the plea was urged in extenuation

[1] Major Boles avers, that he did not consider the order illegal or directed against the Government, and that many officers of rank and experience in the King's and Company's services concurred with him in concluding it to be exclusively applicable to Colonel Munro.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, i. 37. General Maitland, at the time Governor of Ceylon, in an elaborate examination of the subject, maintains that there was no proof of the ministerial officers being aware of the illegality of the order, and that, if Major Boles erred, he erred on the right side; that the military law was completely positive on one side, and perfectly indefinite on the other; and that he followed a course vindicated by many precedents, instead of one for which no precedent could be pleaded.—Parl. Papers, 25th May, 1810, No. vi. p. 158. Although the Supreme Government considered the general order of General Macdowall to be of a seditious character, and that the Adjutant-General and his deputy in issuing it had become thereby guilty of sedition, (Parl. Papers, 50th May, 1810, No. iii. p. 13,) yet the Governor-General avows that the suspension of those officers gave him great uneasiness, as he anticipated that it would furnish a

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of the act, and it would have been prudent to have so accepted it; for it might easily have been foreseen, that to visit the offence with extreme punishment would excite general commiseration for the victims and unpopularity for the judge. The consequences were such as should have been anticipated. Addresses were immediately forwarded to Major Boles from all the divisions of the army approving of his conduct, denouncing his sentence as cruel and undeserved, and proposing to raise by subscription an income equal to that of which the Government had deprived him. The type of the contest was now for the first time durably stamped upon it. Hitherto the officers of the army had felt aggrieved by the public acts of the Government: they now combined in hostility to the Governor. It was henceforward a struggle between men, rather than between principles; between Sir George Barlow and a body of officers, rather than between the Government and the army of Fort St. George.

An interval of three months had elapsed from the suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department, when another general order of the Government, dated the 1st of May, announced a sweeping list of removals, supersessions, and suspensions. Four officers of

plausible, and to military minds a captivating, pretence for a more general combination against the Government than any of the circumstances which preceded it: that, although the merits of the question as an abstract point were clear and confident, yet they were not less likely to be questioned; and he felt assured that in the military world, which was the quarter of the greatest authority in such a controversy, the sentiment was likely to be nearly unanimous against the principle adopted by the Government of Fort St. George, whilst other opinions would be much divided.—Parl. Papers, April, 1811, No. vi. p. 138.) The sense of the Court of Directors was still more decidedly expressed; as, immediately after the arrival of the first intelligence of the proceedings of the Madras Government, they ordered that Colonel Capper and Major Boles should be restored to the service. "As those officers were placed in a situation of difficulty, their removal from their respective emoluments on the staff would have been a sufficient mark of your displeasure, and we therefore direct that their suspension from our service be taken off."—Letter from the Court, 15th Sept. 1809. When subsequent advice of the part taken by the officers in favour of Major Boles reached England, they rescinded the order and confirmed the suspension; "as it was to be inferred, that he had become a rallying point for dangerous doctrines, with his own consent."—Letter from the Court, 29th Sept.; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 13. They afterwards recur to their first view of the case, and state that they cannot discover any such inherent and obvious illegality as could justify the Adjutant or Deputy-Adjutant-General in refusing to obey the command they had received from Lieutenant-General Macdowall that the said order should be circulated to the army. "We therefore continue of opinion that Major Boles ought not to have been suspended from the service."—Military Letter from the Court of Directors, 5th February, 1811; Parl. Papers, April, 1811, p. 178.

rank were suspended the service; an equal number were removed from their commands or staff appointments, and four were superseded in the command of battalions: among them were Colonels St. Leger, Chalmers, and Cuppage, who had recently performed such distinguished services in Travancore.[1] The officers thus punished were accused of having signed, and influenced others to sign, an address to Major Bowles of the purport above stated; and of having signed, and influenced others to sign, a memorial which it was proposed to send to the Governor-General, in which the supposed grievances of the Madras army were detailed. Some of the offenders were also charged with having signed a statement in favour of General Macdowall, and forwarded it to him at Ceylon. Copies of these documents had come into the hands of Sir George Barlow, and were communicated by him to his council, with whose concurrence the order of the 1st of May was issued.[2]

Although it could not be denied, that the officers of the army had entered into combinations which were as decidedly incompatible with their military obligations as their subordination to the Civil Government, yet it is very questionable if the measures adopted were politic or necessary. The statement of General Macdowall's conduct, and the memorial to the Governor-General, had been drawn up under the influence of that excitement which existed at the time of the embarcation of the Commander-in-chief; and the address to Major Boles originated in the occurrences immediately following. The feelings so vivid in the beginning of February had in some degree begun to cool even early in March; for at that time a circular letter was addressed by the new Commander-in-Chief, General Gowdie, to the officers commanding the principal divisions of the army, desiring to know whether the memorial had been circulated amongst the officers under their command, and enjoining them to be vigilant in

[1] General Order, 1st of May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 22. The officers suspended were Lieutenant-Colonel the Honourable Arthur St. Leger, Major John De Morgan, Captain Josiah Marshall, Captain James Grant. Removed: Lieutenant-Colonel Robert Bell, Lieutenant-Colonel J. M. Chalmers, Lieutenant-Colonel J. Cuppage, Captain J. M. Coombs. Superseded: Captain Smith, Major Keasberry, Major Muirhead, and Major Haslewood.

[2] Minute of the President in Council, with enclosures, 1st May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. 3,

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bringing them to a sense of their duty; and it is acknowledged by Sir George Barlow himself, that, with one exception, the replies were in general perfectly satisfactory.[1] In fact, the memorial never was sent; and it is admitted that all intention of sending it had been abandoned, when it was made the ground of punishing those who were accused of having taken an active share in its signature and circulation.[2]

Another objectionable feature in this proceeding was its being based on private information, a copy of the memorial having been forwarded to Sir G. Barlow through a channel which he did not wish to reveal. Its existence was farther substantiated by the testimony of some of the country-born clerks in the offices of the military department, who had been employed to transcribe various papers by some of the officers particularised. Their depositions were taken privately. Their testimony was never communicated to the accused, and might or might not have been true.[3] That papers such as were described had been in circulation, was not improbable; but to what extent some of the individuals condemned were implicated in their distribution, had not been clearly established.[4] Several of them denied the justice of the charge; but denial was useless, and proof would have been too late. Accusation and condemnation were simultaneous; the officers so summarily punished were allowed no opportunity of excuse or justification. They first heard of the charge against them when they read their sentence. No wonder that such treatment should have added fuel to flame.

A further unfortunate circumstance distinguished this general order of the 1st of May. With singular ignorance of the extent to which the same sentiments pervaded the Madras army, and with a strange unconsciousness of the sympathy which fellowship in service and in fortunes is so apt to inspire amongst classes of men, and particularly

[1] Minute last cited. [2] Minute ditto,

[3] The examinations are appended to the President's minute.

[4] The officers of the artillery, under Colonel Bell's command, made "a solemn and unequivocal declaration that he had neither directly nor indirectly countenanced or influenced the circulation of any paper of the tendency alluded to in the order of Government." Colonel St. Leger and Major De Morgan denied having taken an active part in the circulation of the memorial, or influenced others to sign it. See their memorials in the Parl. Papers.

amongst the members of the military class, the Government thought fit to compliment the subsidiary force at Hyderabad for its satisfactory and exemplary conduct in having resisted all participation in the improper and dangerous proceedings which the order described. Nothing could have been more mischievous.[1] The officers of the Hyderabad force instantly and indignantly repudiated the distinction, and, in their eagerness to show that it was undeserved, plunged headlong into a career far more violent and indefensible than any which had yet annoyed or alarmed the Government. They immediately published a letter to the army and to the officers suspended, in which they declared their entire disapprobation of the suspension and removal of so many valuable officers from the service and from their commands; their willingness to contribute to the support of those officers; and their determination to co-operate with the army in all legal measures for the removal of the cause of the present discontent, and the restoration of their brother-officers to the honourable situations from which they had been removed.[2] This was followed by an address to the Governor in Council, signed by a hundred and fifty-eight officers of the divisions of Jalna and Hyderabad, urging strenuously the restoration of the removed officers as the only measures likely to prevent the possible and probable consequences which they else apprehended; namely, the separation of the civil and military, the destruction of all discipline and subordination amongst the native troops, the ultimate loss of a large portion of the British possessions in India, and the dreadful blow it would inflict on the mother country.[3] In the course of the following month an address was presented to Colonel Montresor, commanding the Hyderabad force, by his officers, of a still more outrageous description.[4]

[1] General Orders of the Government; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 A. p. 24.
[2] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 24. [3] Ibid. p. 26.
[4] On the 21st of July they presented to Colonel Montresor a paper which they styled their ultimatum, but pledging themselves to remain quiet until a reply from Government should be received. In this they demanded the repeal of the orders of the 1st May, the restoration of the officers suspended or removed, the removal from their staff appointments of the officers who had been the principal advisers of the Government, and the grant of a general amnesty to the discontented. The signatures of all the officers except those on the staff were affixed to the paper, and a joint movement from Jalna and Hyderabad on Madras was projected in case their demands were not complied with.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 29.

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About the same time with this manifestation of the growing sentiments of insubordination at Hyderabad, an overt act of mutiny was committed by the Company's European regiment quartered at Masulipatam. The officers of this corps had partaken in the general feelings, and had been further irritated by the indiscreet harshness with which their commanding officer had visited some imprudent expressions of those feelings in a moment of conviviality. The men were also out of humour at being occasionally drafted to serve as marines on board of the ships of war in the Bay of Bengal. A report was current amongst them that the whole corps was to be broken up in this manner; and, when an order was issued for three companies to prepare for marine duty, the men refused to obey, and the officers placed their own colonel under arrest. The command was assumed by the next in rank; a managing committee of officers was instituted, and a correspondence was opened by them with the Hyderabad and other mutinous divisions. Colonel Malcolm, who was at Madras, preparing to proceed on his mission to Persia, was despatched to Masulipatam to restore order and subordination: he was treated with courtesy, but returned to the Presidency without accomplishing the object of his mission, and strongly impressed with the persuasion that the revocation of the Government order would alone prevent a general and fatal insurrection.[1] In fact, on the 3rd of August, garrison orders directed the regiment to hold itself in readiness for field service; a plan having been concerted for the junction of the troops from Masulipatam with those from Jalna and Hyderabad, and their united march to Madras, where they threatened to compel the restoration of the officers, and to depose Sir George Barlow from the post of Governor. Luckily for all concerned, these wild and criminal projects were arrested by the seasonable interposition of the Governor-General, and the return of the most violent and rash to a recollection of their duty.

The Government of Madras had thus, by unquestionable deficiencies in temper and discretion, brought matters to a

[1] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 B. p. 33, and 2 C. p. 1. Colonel Malcolm subsequently published "Observations on the Disturbances of the Madras Army," in two parts; London, 1812.

position from which it was equally dangerous to advance or recede. Several of the most distinguished of its military servants counselled the rescission of the obnoxious orders, and the restoration of the suspended officers to the service.[1] Such a concession might have moderated the violence of the tempest, but its efficacy in producing a continued calm was more than doubtful. It would have been an acknowledgment that the Government had acted with inconsiderateness and injustice, and possessed neither the strength nor the spirit to assert its legitimate rights; and it would have established a dangerous precedent, and encouraged, in time to come, those who felt or fancied a grievance, to resist the will of all future administrations, and seek redress by force and intimidation. There was an end of all civil government, — of all government, — if military combination was allowed to set aside constituted authority; if the army was suffered to dictate its own laws and choose its own officers; if the weapons, with which it was intrusted to defend the state against external aggression, were aimed against those functionaries who had been appointed to guide and govern in India the civil and military servants of the Company and subjects of the Crown. Justice demands that full weight should be given to these considerations in appreciating the conduct of Sir George Barlow at this crisis. His determination to uphold at every risk the rightful claims of the Government to the obedience of the army was defensible on the grounds of the responsibility, imposed upon him by his station, of preserving undisturbed the social relations of the civil and military power under his authority, of asserting the superiority of law over force, and of maintaining inviolate the principles of the constitution, which had been assigned to the various members of the Indian empire by the Legislature of Great Britain. Nor was the hazard of actual collision so imminent or so great as it seemed to be from the menacing attitude which a part of the army had assumed. It was but a part; and a considerable portion had not yet taken any share in their proceedings. The Commander-in-chief, and the great majority of those officers who were highest in rank and most

[1] By Captain Sydenham, the Resident at Hyderabad; by Colonel Montresor, commanding the subsidiary force; and by Colonel Malcolm.—Parl. Papers.

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distinguished in reputation, and whose influence with those under their command was of most importance, were staunch advocates of the principles of order and military subordination; many, who had been involved in the proceedings by the vehemence of those around them, were known to be averse to the extremes to which they were urged; and it was to be expected, that, even of those who were loudest in their denunciations, many would pause before they incurred the guilt of actual rebellion. The Government of Madras was assured of the decided support of the Government of Bengal, and had the command of the resources of that Presidency, as well as of Bombay and Ceylon. The King's regiments steadily adhered to their duty; and there could be little doubt that the native soldiery, when the case was explained to them would prefer the cause of the Government, from whom they derived their subsistence and hopes of promotion, to that of their officers, whose objects they imperfectly understood, and from whose triumph they could anticipate no advantage. Relying on these considerations, the Government of Madras entered upon the contest with promptitude and vigour.

In order to ascertain its own strength, and discover what proportion of the officers were well-affected, and at the same time to remove the disaffected for a season from situations where they might exercise influence or authority, the officers generally were called upon to sign a test pledging themselves to support the measures of the Government. Letters were addressed to the commanding officers of stations, furnishing them with the proposed form of the test, and instructing them to procure to it the signatures of the officers under their command, on penalty of being removed from their regiments to stations on the sea-coast, where they would be required to reside until the situation of affairs, and the temper of men's minds, should allow of their being again employed.[1] As the removal was avowedly temporary, and the recusant

[1] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 41. The test or declaration ran thus: "We, the undersigned officers of the Honourable Company's service, do in the most solemn manner declare, upon our word of honour as British officers, that we will obey the orders and support the authority of the Honourable the Governor in Council of Fort St. George, agreeably to the tenor of the commissions which we hold from that Government."—Ibid. 2 B. p. 9.

officers were not to forfeit their pay, all appearance of unnecessary harshness was avoided, and a reasonable plea for remaining neutral was supplied to the least violent. At the same time, the commanding officers of corps were, ordered to assemble the native officers, and explain to them, and through them to the Sipahis, that the discontents of the European officers were entirely personal; that the Government had no intention to diminish the advantages which the men enjoyed, but, on the contrary, was anxious to improve them, and that it confidently relied upon their attachment and fidelity.[1] A general order to the same effect was also promulgated, and active measures were taken to secure its circulation. The Company's troops were also so distributed in connexion with his Majesty's, as to render the latter an efficient check upon the former, and all the availing corps of the central division of the army were concentrated in the vicinity of the seat of Government.

The majority of the officers, even of those whose loyalty and moderation had never been doubted, declined to sign the test, and were consequently removed from their stations.[2] The appeal to the native officers and men was very generally successful. Wherever the orders of the Government reached them, they expressed their resolution to remain faithful to their vows of allegiance, and to obey no commands but such as they should receive from Government direct, or from officers whom the Government should set over them. This separation of the men from their officers was calculated to relax the reins of discipline, and sow the seeds of disorganization in the native army; but the Indian soldier is of a plastic nature, which, where his own immediate interests or prejudices are not concerned, soon takes and soon parts with impressions. The only situations in which the agitation was not suppressed without recourse to more stringent correctives, were Mysore and Hyderabad.

In the former of these districts, the officers of the garrison of Seringapatam, rendered desperate by the measures

[1] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 C. p. 30.

[2] Observations of Sir John Malcolm, p. 32. Colonel Bannerman states that the published returns show but one hundred and fifty signatures, out of thirteen hundred officers on the strength of the Madras Army.—Dissent, Parl. Papers, April, 1811, 4. 23.

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of the Government for separating the native soldiers from their officers, rushed into unbridled violence and open rebellion. Compelling a small detachment of his Majesty's troops to withdraw from the fort, they seized upon the public treasure, drew up the bridges, and placed themselves in an attitude of defiance; disobeying the orders of Colonel Davies, commanding in Mysore, and disregarding the remonstrances of the Political Resident, Mr. Cole. A detachment consisting of the 25th dragoons, a regiment of native cavalry, with a regiment of his Majesty's foot, and a native battalion, commanded by Colonel Gibbs, marched to Seringapatam, where they encamped; while a corps of Mysore horse, which had been supplied by the Dewan, was detached to intercept the advance of two battalions which were on their way from Chittledroog to reinforce the garrison. The Mysore horse met the battalions at some distance from Seringapatam, about the 7th of August. No forcible opposition was offered until the 11th, when the Chittledroog force was in sight of the walls of Seringapatam, and of the camp of the detachment by which the fortress was observed. Encouraged by the proximity of the latter, the Mysoreans began to harass the march of the battalions, and were fired upon. The resistance was, however, feeble; for, upon the approach of the dragoons, the Chittledroog battalions broke and dispersed. The greater part effected their escape into the fort, the garrison of which had made a demonstration in their favour. The officer who commanded was wounded and taken prisoner; another died of fatigue and anxiety after reaching the fort. More than two hundred Sipahis and followers were said to have been killed and wounded.[1] Of the dragoons, one officer was wounded slightly. During the night the fortress cannonaded the encampment; and, although no great mischief was done, it was necessary to remove the tents to a safer distance. No further hostility was offered by either party.

[1] The returns give nine killed, one hundred and fifty wounded, and two hundred and eighty-one missing. The officers of the Chittledroog battalion affirm that the men were ordered not to fire upon the Europeans, but only to defend themselves against the Mysore horse. The absence of all casualties among the dragoons, with the exception of one officer wounded, which was possibly the consequence of a misunderstanding, is a strong corroboration of this assertion.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 O. p. 40; also 2 F. p. 33, &c.; also Trial of Colonel J. Bell; Parl. Papers, April, 1811.

Hoping that the personal character of Colonel Close, the Resident at Poona, and his great popularity with the native soldiery, might enable him to exercise a salutary influence over the troops at Hyderabad, the Government called him from his political duties to take the command of the subsidiary force. He arrived at Hyderabad on the 3rd of August; and, notwithstanding some opposition, made his way to the cantonments, where he expostulated with such officers as were present, and with such of the native officers and men as showed a disposition to listen to his observations. Little effect was produced apparently by his intervention; and, having cause to apprehend personal restraint, he thought it more consistent with his own dignity and the intentions of the Government to withdraw from the cantonment to the Residency, and there await further instructions. Immediately upon his departure, the committee of officers summoned the divisions at Jalna, Masulipatam, and in the Northern Circars. The former made two marches in advance, and the latter were under orders to take the field, when, fortunately, the determinations of the officers at Hyderabad underwent a change. On the 11th of August they addressed a penitential letter to Lord Minto, who was expected to arrive at Madras; signed the test proposed by the Government of Fort St. George; and circulated to the several stations of the army a paper wherein they stated that imperious circumstances and mature reflection had induced them to sign the declaration, and they earnestly entreated their brother-officers to follow their example.[1] The defection of

[1] The motives which influenced the officers are recapitulated by Lord Minto in his letter of the 12th October, 1809, to the Secret Committee, par. 72. "They represent themselves to have proposed at no period anything beyond intimidation as a means of controuling Government, and exacting the concessions they required: they advanced from faction to sedition, from sedition to revolt, confident that each step they made towards further violence would be sufficient for their purpose. In this course they gradually arrived at the last narrow boundary which they had yet to pass before the commencement of civil war; and, while they yet hesitated on the last decisive step, the measures of Government convinced them that intimidation would fail, and, if they advanced further, the contest was actually to be maintained. They then describe their sense of the public evils incident to such a conflict, and their compunction at becoming the immediate instruments of such calamities; sentiments which terminated in a resolution to sacrifice their own objects and feelings to the public safety, and to submit themselves implicitly to the discretion of Government." Although Lord Minto doubts, to its full extent, this account of their reasons for so suddenly stopping in their course, and ascribes it, in part at least, to a seasonable fear of failure; yet he admits that very many must have been urged onwards, against their own better judgments, by the impulse of example, and that these must have rejoiced at the first overture of retreat.—Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 9.

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the Hyderabad force arrested the progress of the mutiny. The Jalna division returned to cantonments. On the 16th of August the garrison at Masulipatam tendered their adhesion, and gave up the fort to General Pater; and on the 23rd the garrison of Seringapatam submitted unconditionally, and evacuated the fortress. The declaratory test was universally signed, and a calm as profound as the agitation had been alarming was at once restored.

The causes which induced this seasonable reaction are sufficiently obvious. The officers had hitherto rushed forward in the blindness of their anger, without seeing whither it was likely to lead them; but they now arrived at the very verge of the precipice, and another step would have consigned them to irretrievable infamy and ruin. It is impossible to believe that the most daring and desperate did not at this moment wish for an excuse to go no farther. The senior officers in almost every command had throughout acted with so much moderation and judgment as to have secured the respect, although they had not always been able to repress the violence, of those subordinate to them; and their representations contributed to awaken in the minds of their younger brethren a truer perception of the perilous situation in which they stood. It is also little to be doubted that the disposition to retract derived confirmation from the apprehension of failure in advancing, and from a general belief that the native soldiery would fall off from their officers if the quarrel with the Government were urged to actual warfare.[1] These reflections had been for some time at work. Even in the almost universal rejection of the test, the indication of a returning sense of duty was manifested; as the chief ground of refusal was not its general purport, but the possibility of its placing those who signed it in open hostility to those with whom they had been so far engaged in a common cause. Most of the officers declared themselves from the first willing to sign it, with the reservation that they should not be required to take up arms against

[1] In several of the pamphlets published by the friends of the officers, it is asserted that "the Sipahis adhered to the officers to the last." Lord Minto observes, that "the officers never allowed themselves to doubt of the adherence of the Sepoy battalions."—Letter, 12th October, par. 16; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, p. 2. In general, however, the native officers and troops manifested little inclination to support their European officers against the Government.

their brother-officers. The readiness with which they acquiesced in their removal from their regiments and stations evinced a similar state of feeling; and it wanted only a beginning, an example of sufficient weight, for the change of sentiment to be universally and unequivocally exhibited. This was supplied by the conduct of the Hyderabad force, which had been foremost and most vehement in its opposition, and, having therefore the greatest sacrifice of personal feeling to make in yielding obedience, was the more deserving of imitation. With regard to the officers of the subsidiary force, they were of course influenced by the same motives as their companions in arms; and there is every liklihood that the arguments and advice and the character of Colonel Close materially affected their feelings, aided their judgment, and decided their determination. Another and very important circumstance came opportunely to alleviate the pain and efface the discredit of such a departure from their previous declarations. It had been known for some time past that it was the intention of the Governor-General to repair to Madras,[1] and assume in person an investigation into the proceedings of the army. It was now ascertained that he was on his way. To his justice and impartiality the officers looked with confidence, and felt assured that they had nothing to apprehend in him from personal resentment. Although they signed the test of the Madras Government, yet it was to Lord Minto, and not to Sir George Barlow, that the officers at Hyderabad, Masulipatam, and Seringapatam addressed their submission.[2]

Not that the officers of the Madras army had any reason to anticipate from the Governor-General a favourable award. His sentiments were known to be in accordance with those of the Governor in Council of Fort St. George. Communications of their proceedings, from the latter to the former, had drawn from the Supreme Government a review of the whole of the discussions, an elaborate vindication of the course pursued by the Government of Madras, and an unqualified condemnation of the insub-

[1] General Orders, Fort William, 20th July, 1809.

[2] Address from the officers at Hyderabad to Lord Minto, 11th August; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, 2 F. 1. Declaration of those at Masulipatam; ibid, p. 12. Address of those at Seringapatam, 21st August; ibid. p. 46.

ordinate and seditious spirit which the officers had displayed.[1] The letter had been published at Madras, and circulated to the army; but, notwithstanding its general tenor, there was a calmness in its tone, and a reasonableness in its arguments, which opened a prospect of considerate as well as just decision. Whatever might be the sentence of the Governor-General, the sting of personality was removed; and it was the functionary, not the individual, who was expected to pronounce judgment.

It had been the purpose of Lord Minto to have sailed for Madras before the end of July; but his departure was delayed by the assurance, which the Madras Government, with that singularly imperfect knowledge which it had on other occasions evinced of the real state of things, conveyed to him, that the agitation was rapidly subsiding, and that a fair prospect existed of the army's returning to a sense of duty.[2] As soon as he ascertained that the information was incorrect, he embarked, and reached Madras on the 11th of September. All parties anxiously waited his fiat. It was not long delayed.[3] On the 25th of the same month a general order announced to the army the Governor-General's reprobation of their past conduct, and his resolution to inflict such punishment as might be commensurate with the offences committed. This determination was expressed in language designed and calculated to assuage all irritated feeling, and it was too evidently grounded upon the nature of the past transaction for its justice to be called into question. The necessity of vindicating the authority of the Government was based entirely upon abstract and incontrovertible principles, and the manner in which that vindication was to be exercised was qualified with the utmost possible leniency. The decision of the Governor-General was also distinguished by one remarkable peculiarity,—the more remarkable from the contrast which it presented to the whole course of Sir George Barlow's proceedings,—the non-exercise of absolute power; the abeyance of the right of the Governor-

[1] Letter from the Supreme Government to the Governor in Council, Fort St. George, 27th May, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iii.

[2] Letter from the Governor-General to the Secret Committee, 10th October, 1809, par. 37: also Minute of Governor-General, 15th July, 1809; Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv.: and MS. Records.

[3] Parl. Papers, May, 1810, No. iv. p. 14.

General to decree punishment of his own will and pleasure; and the reference of those who were charged with the highest degree of culpability to the judgment of their peers. A few only of the offenders were selected; such as officers in command of stations or of bodies of troops, commandants of corps, and individuals conspicuous for violent and forward behaviour. For the two first, courts-martial were ordered; to the others, the alternative was offered of investigation before the same tribunal, or dismissal from the service. The whole of the officers of the Hyderabad force were pardoned, in consideration of the important example which they had set of submission. Only three officers came under the first class, eighteen only under the latter; a general amnesty tranquillised the rest. The order wound up with expressions of affectionate solicitude for the character and welfare of the Coast army, which sunk deep into minds that had so long been used to the language of unbending sternness and unqualified reproof, and which now laboured under the humiliating consciousness that personal resentment, however provoked, was no excuse for a dereliction of the first principles of military duty,—obedience to constituted authority, and allegiance to the state.

Shortly after the promulgation of this order, the trials commenced. Lieutenant-Colonel John Bell, the commandant of the garrison of Seringapatam, was charged with joining, and with heading, the mutiny of the troops. The defence set up was, that he had consented to take the command only to prevent excesses; that he exercised no real authority in the fort; that he had signed the test without hesitation himself, and that it was through his influence the officers also finally signed it, and that the garrison finally surrendered the fort in a peaceable manner. He was pronounced guilty, and sentenced to be cashiered. A like charge and sentence characterised the trial of Major Storey, who had consented to hold the command at Masulipatam, upon the arrest, by his brother-officers, of Colonel Innes, their common superior. A similar defence was offered, and the prisoner was recommended to the mercy of the Commander-in-chief. In both cases, the sentences were held to be too lenient, and were sent back for revision; but they were adhered to

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by the courts, and eventually confirmed. Lieutenant-Colonel Doveton was charged with having moved his detachment from Jalna with a mutinous and seditious design against the Government of Madras. The defence was the same. Colonel Doveton, it was affirmed, had only ostensibly participated in a movement which he could not hinder, with a view so to controul it as to render it inoffensive: he also produced a private letter from the Resident at Hyderabad, sanctioning his accompanying the troops, if he could not prevent their march. He was consequently fully and honourably acquitted. This sentence also was disapproved of by the Commander of the forces, but was confirmed by the court. Colonel Doveton was nevertheless suspended by the Governor-General from the service pending a reference to the pleasure of the Court of Directors. Of the second class of officers, two, Lieutenant-Colonel Munro and Major Kenny, stood a trial, and were cashiered: the rest accepted the alternative of dismissal.[1] Until the termination of the trials, Lord Minto continued at the Presidency of Madras; and when he quitted it, early in 1810, his authority was in some measure replaced by the presence of General Hewett, the Commander-in-chief of the Bengal army, who assumed the command of the army of Madras. At the end of 1810, General Sir Samuel Auchmuty relieved General Hewett from his duty, and, with the command of the army, took his place as member of Council; the Court of Directors having learnt too late from the recent dissensions how essential was the possession of dignity, so vainly coveted by General Macdowall, to the cordial co-operation of their chief civil and military functionaries.

Thus terminated a struggle which at one period was thought to threaten the constitution of the Madras Presidency, and endanger the existence of the British empire in India. The danger, though not visionary, was perhaps exaggerated. The quarrel was less between public bodies than between individuals; and the army readily yielded to Lord Minto the allegiance which it had withheld from, and ultimately conceded with an ill grace to, Sir George

[1] Report of the Trials; Parl. Papers, 1st April, 1811, No. vii. Letter from Lord Minto to the Secret Committee, 15th April, 1830; ibid. No. ix. p. 353.

Barlow. However unreasonable the aversion thus cherished, and however indefensible the extremities to which it hurried unthinking men, it cannot be affirmed that the feelings so widely spread were wholly without extenuation, or that the measures and character of the Governor were not calculated to provoke, although not to justify, disobedience. The Indian Governments of Sir George Barlow's day where wholly unaccustomed to have their proceedings canvassed or their wisdom impugned, and they were intolerant of opposition. This had been particularly the case in Bengal, where the imperious rule of Lord Wellesley, relieved by the brilliant results of his public policy, had been long accustomed to demand and receive prompt and unquestioning submission. Brought up in his school, it is not to be wondered at that Sir George Barlow carried with him to Madras the same exalted notions of the authority entrusted to him; and when, from the concurrent causes which have been adverted to, he found, both in the civil and military branches of his government, contravention and resistance, he not unnaturally referred them to unworthy motives, and stigmatised them as personal and factious. That much of the opposition which he encountered was personal was undoubtedly true; but it was not at first personal in a sense relating to him, so much as to the individuals themselves, advocating their own interests, and smarting under mistaken, perhaps, but not the less bitter, feelings of injury and injustice. These feelings might have been soothed, and their mischievous consequences prevented, by kindly consideration and temperate forbearance. General Macdowall had no right to complain of the Government of Madras for his exclusion from the Council; that was the act of the Court of Directors: but he had reason to feel aggrieved when Government gave that exclusion practical effect, constructing the plan of a campaign without consulting him; or consulting him tardily and reservedly, and encroaching upon his pretensions to military patronage. Had he been treated with the same deference as if he had filled a seat at the council-board, all cause of offence would possibly have been removed; for, although warm and precipitate, his temper does not appear to have been unsusceptible of conciliation. When

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the season of friendly intercourse had passed, and General Macdowall had placed himself in the wrong by his unjustifiable violence in the case of Colonel Munro, the cancelling of the arrest was so necessary and so sufficient a vindication of the authority of the Government, that it must have ensured, after the first heats were allayed, the concurrence of the whole army. The annulment of the General's parting order was also a measure the propriety of which would have been little questioned, although the language of the order was undignified and intemperate. But the measures that ensued bore a different character, and were hasty and imprudent, and in some respects unjust. The suspension of the officers of the Adjutant-General's department for obeying the commands of their military superior; the condemnation of officers without charge or trial, upon private information; and their severe punishment for an unperpetrated offence — the intended transmission of a memorial which was never sent; all originated in that spirit of official despotism which conceived that its own judgment superseded all need of hesitation, all occasion for inquiry or trial. That Sir George Barlow conscientiously considered the station in which he was placed to be endowed with such prerogatives; that it was the dignity, not so much of his own person or power, as of that of the office of Governor in Council of Fort St. George, may be granted: but the removal of Major Boles was regarded even by the Government of Bengal and the Court of Directors as unjust; and no less so were the orders of the 1st of May, which pronounced sentence upon meritorious officers for an uncommitted crime, upon private intelligence and without a trial. That they were most impolitic was proved by the irritation which they excited; and which, from a smouldering fire that might have burnt itself out among its own ashes, was thus fanned into a fierce and formidable flame. In the subsequent transactions, although the army was most deeply to blame, yet the Government was not exempt from fault. The stern unfeeling tone of its general orders, and the absence of all attempts at explanation or conciliation, were preserved in stoical consistency to the last; until the Government of Bengal introduced a new style, and did not disdain to blend the language of

affectionate and paternal solicitude with the assertion of authority; and until, which was still more important, it condescended to lay aside the sword of justice, and send the accused to those tribunals to which they acknowledged themselves to be amenable. That a profound sense of public duty was the chief moving principle of Sir George Barlow's conduct it was impossible to doubt; but he trusted too exclusively to one only method of discharging that duty,—the exercise of absolute power.

Although anticipating the course of events, yet, in order to dispose finally of an unpleasant subject, it will be advisable to advert in this place to the proceedings in England, to which the transactions at Madras gave rise. The public was speedily inundated by the statements of the opposite parties;[1] but the interest excited was inconsiderable, as attention was absorbed by the great interests of European politics. Several motions for papers were made in the House of Commons, and the documents were printed; but no ulterior proceedings were based upon them. It was rather different at the India House. The Court of Directors first upheld the measures of the Government of Madras, and still more cordially approved of those of the Governor-General; but when the alarm had subsided, and the transactions were more calmly considered, a serious difference of opinion respecting the merits of Sir G. Barlow, urged with no little warmth and acerbity, divided the Court. The first struggle took place upon the appointment of the new Commander-in-chief to a seat in Council, which involved the question of displacing one of the actual members. After several days of debate, on one of which the Court was so equally divided, that, agreeably to law, the Treasurer determined the question by lot, Mr. Petrie, who had been opposed on many important points to Sir George Barlow, was removed. The dissents of those members of the Court who disap-

[1] In addition to the publications of Mr. Marsh, a gentleman of the legal profession, who, while at Madras, had been generally the adviser and advocate of Sir George Barlow's opponents, and of Colonel Malcolm, with the observations and replies which they produced, the principal authorities on either side are the following: 1. A View of the Policy of Sir George Barlow; in a series of Letters by Indus, 1810. 2. Letter from an Officer, at Madras. 3. An Accurate and Authentic Narrative of the Dissensions at Madras. 4. Narrative of the late Trials, &c. 5. Account of the Discontents of the Madras Army. The two principal Reviews, also, took different sides of the question.

proved of the decision, and the reply of those who supported it, took a review of the whole of the transactions, and with equal ability and earnestness commended or condemned the policy of Sir George Barlow.[1] Similar discussions attended the appeals made by the dismissed or suspended officers; and at different dates their dismission was both confirmed and cancelled. The milder counsels at last prevailed, and all who had been suspended or dismissed were pardoned or restored to the service.[2] In July, 1811, a motion was made for the recall of Sir George Barlow, but it was defeated under strong protests from some of the Court.[3] The same motion was renewed and carried at the end of the following year, and was equally the subject of a protest by those members of the Court who had uniformly supported his measures and vindicated his reputation.[4]

[1] The proceedings and the dissents of Messrs. Bannerman, Baring, Inglis, Huddlestone, Elphinstone, and Patterson, with the reply of Messrs. Grant and Astell, are printed in the Parl. Papers, 1811, No. iv.

[2] Most of the suspended officers were restored in 1811; those cashiered or dismissed, at subsequent dates.

[3] The dissents of Messrs. Parry, Smith, Astell, Bebb, and Grant were published by Sir Robert Barlow, the brother of Sir George. Murray, 1813.

[4] Little occasion now exists, perhaps, for an appeal to authority to determine the character of the proceedings of the Madras army; but there is very high military authority on the subject, that of the Duke of Wellington, who, amid the anxieties of his position in Spain at the end of 1809, felt a warm interest in the troops whom he had so often led to victory. The following passages occur in a letter, dated Badajoz, 3rd December, 1809, addressed to Colonel Malcolm.

"You cannot conceive how much I have felt for what has passed on the Madras Establishment. I scarcely recognise in those transactions the men for whom I entertained so much respect, and had so much regard, a few years back; and I can only lament that they, and the army, and the affairs of that Presidency in general, have been so mismanaged. These transactions, and their causes, prove that it is not always the man who has the character of being the best natured, and one of the easiest disposition, who will agree best with those placed in authority over him, or those with whom he is to co-operate. They owe their origin to the disputes of the persons in authority in India, that is to say, between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief. Both, but principally the latter, looked for partizans and supporters; and these have ended by throwing off all subordination, by relinquishing all habits of obedience, and almost by open resistance. Nothing can be more absurd than the pretext for this conduct.

"Colonel Munro's opinion might be erroneous, and might have been harsh towards his brother-officers; but not only ought he not to have been brought to a court-martial for giving that opinion, but he ought to have been brought to a court-martial if he had refrained from giving it, when he was called upon by the Commander-in-chief to make him a report on a subject referred to his official consideration. The officers of the army are equally wrong in the part they have taken in the subsequent part of the question, which is one between the Governor and the Commander-in-chief, whether the former had a right to protect Colonel Munro from the acts of the latter, upon which question no man can have a doubt who has any knowledge of the constitution of Great Britain, and particularly of that of the Indian

CHAPTER VI.

Foreign Policy of Lord Minto's Administration.— Invasion of Berar by Amir Khan.—A Force sent to the Aid of the Raja.— Amir Khan's Defeat by the Berar Troops,— Retires before the British.— Disputes between the Peshwa and the Southern Jagirdars.— Compulsory Adjustment. —Suppression of Piracy by the States of Wari and Kolapur.— Expedition against the Pirates of the Persian Gulph. — Joasmis — their Ferocity. — Destruction of Ras-al-Khaima and other Pirate Stations. —Expedition to Macao.— Operations against the French and Dutch Colonies in the Indian Seas.— Successful Depredations of the French Cruizers. — Expedition against Rodriguez,— its Occupation.— Descent upon Bourbon.— Garrison of Rodriguez reinforced. —Second Descent upon Bourbon, and Capture.— Naval Transactions at the Isle of France. —French Frigates in the Harbour of Grand Port attacked by the English Squadron.— Destruction of the English Vessels.— Naval Actions off the Islands between the Blockading Ships and the French Frigates.— Arrival of the Armaments from Bengal and Madras.— Landing of the Forces in Grande Baye,— march to Port Louis.— Capitulation with the French Governor.— Blockade of

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Governments. I, who have arrived pretty nearly at the top of the tree, should be the last man to give up any point of military right or etiquette. But I have no doubt whatever, not only that it was the right, but that it was the duty, of the Governor in Council to interfere to save Colonel Munro; and that if he had not done so, and the public had sustained any loss or inconvenience from his trial, or if the public attention had been drawn to the injustice of his trial, the Governor would have been severely responsible for the omission to perform his duty.

"So far for my opinion upon the main points of the question. As for the others, the conduct of officers upon the addresses, the orders issued, the resolutions entered into, the resignations of their offices, &c., &c., they are consequences of the first error; that is, of persons in authority making partizans of those placed under them, instead of making all obey the constituted authorities of the state. This conduct in the officers of the army would have been wrong, even if the cause had been just, and the Commander-in-chief had wished to screen Colonel Munro from the persecution of the Government; and it is really not worth while to take up my time in describing, or yours in perusing, a description of the folly, the inconsistency, or the breaches of discipline and subordination contained in all those documents. I have so much regard for the Madras army, to which I owe much, that I would sacrifice a great deal to have it in my power to restore them to that state of discipline, union, and respectability in which I left them in the year 1805; and I assure you that I shall rejoice most sincerely when I shall hear that their good sense and good temper have predominated over their feelings of party and their prejudices."— Despatches of the Duke of Wellington; Supplementary volume to the three first Parts, p. 231.

the Dutch Islands. — Expedition against the Moluccas. — Capture of Amboyna, — of Banda, — and of Ternate. — Expedition against Java, — accompanied by Lord Minto. — Difficulties of the Voyage — overcome. — Former Operations. — Destruction of Dutch Vessels at Gresik. — Measures of General Daendels and of his Successor, General Jansens. — Arrival of the Fleet in the Roads of Batavia. — Landing of the Troops. — Occupation of Batavia. — Advance to Weltevreeden. — Strength of Fort Cornelis. — Assault. — March of Colonel Gillespie's Column, — Surprise of the Outwork, — Defences Forced. — Explosion of a Redoubt, — the Fort taken, — the Pursuit and Dispersion of the Enemy. — Churbon and Madura occupied. — Final Defeat of General Jansens. — Surrender of Java and its Dependencies. — Mr. Raffles appointed Governor. — Colonel Gillespie Commander of the Forces. — Capture of Yodhyakarta. — Expedition against Palembang. — Sultan deposed. — Views of the Court of Directors. — Beneficial Results of the British Administration in Java.

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NO events of any great political importance took place on the continent of India, the occurrence of which was likely to aggravate the anxiety experienced by the British Government from the dissensions that prevailed at Madras; but, during the same period, various occasions of minor moment had arisen for the exercise of its interference and the manifestation of its power. Of this character were the proceedings consequent upon the conduct of Amir Khan, of whom mention has been made in our preceding pages, and who provoked at this time the hostility of the Government of Bengal. Left without controul by the insanity of Holkar, and keeping together a numerous body of troops, for the payment of which he possessed no means of his own, Amir Khan, after exhausting the resources of the Rajput princes, was compelled to look abroad for plunder, and enlarge the field of his depredations. The Raja of Berar was selected as the victim of his necessities.

In the commencement of his political career, Jeswant Rao Holkar had been detained for some time as a prisoner at Nagpore, and according to his own assertions, was pil-

laged by the Raja of jewels of very great value. Amir Khan now demanded, in the name of Holkar, the restitution of the jewels[1] or their price; and, as the demand was not complied with, he moved, in January 1809, to the frontiers of Berar with all his force, swelled to a large amount by the accession of the predatory or Pindari bands,[2] who had long spread terror through the dominions of the Bhonsla Raja by their daring and devastating incursions. No serious opposition was offered to Amir Khan's advance: he crossed the Nerbudda and proceeded to Jubbulpore, a considerable city of Berar, of which and of the surrounding country he took possession.

Although not bound by the terms of the existing treaty to give military aid to the Raja of Nagpore against his enemies, yet the aggression of Amir Khan was considered by the Bengal Government to demand its vigorous interposition. There were grounds for suspecting that his movements were not unconnected with the discontent of the Subahdar of Hyderabad: and although the assertions of his envoys at Nagpore, that their master had been induced to invade the country by the invitation of the Nizam, who had offered to defray the cost of a still more formidable armament, might not be deserving of implicit credit, yet the known sympathies of the parties rendered such a league between them far from improbable. The interests of the British power were therefore implicated with those of the Raja of Berar. "The question was not," as Lord Minto observed, "whether it was just and expedient to aid the Raja in the defence and recovery of his dominions, although in point of policy the essential change in the political state of India which would be occasioned by the extinction of one of the substantive powers of the Dekhin might warrant and require our interference; but whether an enterprising and ambitious Mussulman chief, at the head of a numerous army, irresistible by any power except that of the Company, should be permitted to establish his authority on the ruins of the Raja's dominions, over territories contiguous to those of the

[1] MS. Records. Amir Khan mentions the manner in which Holkar became possessed of these jewels; but states that they were sold, and the produce was expended in raising troops, when he was seized by the Bhonsla Raja. — Life, p. 91.

[2] He states his force at 40,000 horse and 24,000 Pindaris.

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Nizam, with whom community of religion, combined with local power and resources, might lead to the formation of projects probably not uncongenial to the mind of the Nizam himself, and certainly consistent with the views and hopes of a powerful party in his court, for the subversion of the British alliance. Of such a question there could be but one solution;"[1] this was, the determination to defend the Raja of Nagpore: and Colonel Close was ordered to march with a competent division to expel Amir Khan from the Berar territory. As the objects of the expedition were in an essential degree British, the assistance was wholly gratuitous, no compensation being demanded from the Raja. Amir Khan protested vehemently against the interposition; and appealed with unanswerable justice, although with no avail, to the stipulations of the existing treaty with Holkar, on whose behalf he pretended to act, which engaged that the British Government would not in any manner whatever interfere in his affairs: and, in a letter addressed by him to Colonel Close, he argued that the conduct of the Government was a manifest infraction of the treaty, and a breach of the solemn promises made to Jeswant Rao, that it would not meddle with his claims upon the Raja of Berar, nor oppose his exaction of contributions from any princes not in alliance with it. These representations were no longer likely to be of any weight. It was not at present a matter of deliberation whether a helpless Raja of Jaypur should be abandoned to the grasp of the spoiler, rather than a passing inconvenience should be encountered; but whether the desertion of a friendly power might not involve an injury to British interests, and a still greater injury to British reputation.

An army was accordingly assembled towards the end of 1809 on the eastern frontier of Berar, composed chiefly of the subsidiary troops from Jalna and Hyderabad; and another, of sufficient strength not only to protect the province from danger, but to undertake offensive operations if necessary, was collected in Bundelkhand. Before either force, however, could be fully formed and brought into acton, the invader had been checked by the unaided troops

[1] Minute of Governor-General, Oct. 1809; Malcolm's Political History, i. 402.

of Nagpore. Whilst yet halting at Jubbulpore, Amir Khan was threatened by the approach of a considerable force, under Sadik Ali Khan, to Srinagar, within twenty miles of his encampment. Placing more confidence in intrigue than in arms, the Nagpore general entered into a negociation with Amir Khan, and engaged to pay him thirteen lakhs of rupees as the price of his retreat. The Raja, emboldened by the promised support of the British Government, refused to ratify the disgraceful bargain, and commanded Sadik Ali forcibly to compel Amir Khan's departure. And at the same time a letter was delivered to that chief from the Governor-General, announcing his purpose of despatching an army against him unless he immediately quitted Berar. Although not disposed to relinquish his prey without a struggle, yet Amir Khan found himself unable to contend with the Berar force brought against him. The Pindaris, who had been dismissed for the rainy season, had not rejoined; and part of his troops had been sent to the rear, under the impression that a pacific arrangement was about to be made. Hostages had been given him as a security for the payment of the stipulated contribution; and it was so confidently believed by several of his principal captains that part of the money also had been paid, that they had insisted upon their shares, and refused to fight unless they obtained a portion of the spoil. Weakened by their defection and the reduction of his force, Amir Khan attempted to retreat to Bhopal. He was pursued by Sadik Ali, and overtaken, on the 17th of November, in a disadvantageous position at Jabra Ghat, when an engagement of several hours' duration took place; in which, after the loss of several of his best officers, and exposure to imminent personal peril, Amir Khan was completely defeated. He effected, however, his escape to Bhopal.

Being joined by Vizir Mohammed, and reinforced by the Pindaris, Amir Khan was soon in a condition to resume the offensive: he accordingly marched against Sadik Ali, who had fallen back to the strong post of Chouragerh, one stage to the south-west of Jubbulpore. The Berar troops were drawn up, with the fort of Chouragerh in their rear and a rivulet in their front, the approach to which was rendered difficult by deep ravines and much

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thorny jungle. Disregarding the advice of Vizir Mohammed to turn the position, Amir Khan attacked the enemy in front. Their line was defended by a numerous artillery, the fire of which told heavily upon the assailants as they slowly toiled to make good their way over the rough and broken ground. After suffering severely from this cause, Amir Khan was compelled to desist from the attack, and to retire once more into the friendly territory of Bhopal. Sadik Ali refrained from following up his advantage, being probably little desirous of its prosecution.[1] This was of no consequence, as the contest was virtually at an end. Foes more formidable were now approaching the scene of action; Colonel Close had arrived at Amravati on the 1st of December, and Colonel Martindell had moved to the confines of Bundelkhand; the former crossed the Nerbudda early in January. Well aware of his inability to cope with such enemies, Amir Khan divided his army, and sending off his main body by a different route, marched from Bhopal to Bhilsa and Seronj. He was followed to the latter town by Colonel Close, but to no purpose. Pretending that his presence was urgently required by Tulasi Bai, Amir Khan abandoned his troops and set off hastily for Indore. All danger of a further invasion of Berar had therefore evidently ceased; and although for a season it was in contemplation to continue military operations until the complete destruction of Amir Khan's power should have been effected, yet the probability that the prosecution of this policy might lead to a protracted and expensive series of hostilities induced the Governor-General to depart from his original design, and content himself with the accomplishment of the main object of the armament. The troops were therefore recalled to their several stations in the Company's territories or those of their allies;[2]

[1] Memoirs of Amir Khan, p. 368. According to his own shewing, he returned to Chouragerh after his second defeat; and so closely blockaded the Hyderabad force in its entrenchments there, "that the enemy could not breathe or scratch his head:" at the same time the Pindaris scoured the country in all directions. The descriptions of the different actions are animated, and, with some allowance for Amir Khan's personal exploits and perils, are in the main apparently accurate.

[2] Colonel Close was invested with a discretionary power of acting upon his first instructions, but he was not disposed to take upon himself a responsibility from which the Governor-General shrank. The Court of Directors were "not satisfied with the expediency of abstaining from disabling any power, against whom we may have been compelled to take up arms, from renewing its aggressions."— Letter from Secret Committee; Malcolm, Pol. Hist. i. 405.

the campaign having served to display the power and the spirit of the Government, and the necessity of its interference for the preservation of a state, once held to be of primary consideration in the political scale of Indian potentates, against the attacks of a mere soldier of fortune and his predatory cohorts.

The state of affairs at Poona demanded also about the same period the demonstration of the military power of the British Government. A spirit of reciprocal aversion had long subsisted between the Peshwa Baji Rao and the members of the Putwurdun family, who held extensive Jagirs in the southern portion of the Mahratta country on the frontiers of Mysore. These Jagirdars were the sons or relatives of Parushram Bhao, the distinguished officer who commanded the Mahratta army in the first war with Tippoo; and who, as the friend and colleague of Nana Furnavese, had borne a leading part in the expulsion of Baji Rao's father, Raghunath Rao, from the Peshwaship, and had been an active agent in a plot for the exclusion of Baji Rao himself from the succession.[1] A reconciliation had been effected, but little cordiality had been restored; and, after the death of Parushram, his descendants, engaged in constant and destructive hostilities with their neighbours, ascribed their sufferings to the continued animosity and intrigues of the Peshwa.[2] On the advance of the British army to reinstate Baji Rao, the elder brother, Apa Saheb, was induced, by his regard for General Wellesley, to accompany him to Poona, and to contribute to the Peshwa's re-establishment.[3] A seeming renewal of friendly intercourse was in consequence effected under Sir Arthur Wellesley's mediation; but the reconciliation was as insincere as before. It was not in the nature of Baji Rao to forgive an injury, and the Putwur-

[1] In 1796; Grant Duff's Mahratta History, iii. 134.

[2] "Since 1800, when I was in this country before, it has been one continued contest for power and plunder between the different chiefs who have armies under their command: between the Putwurdun family and Gokla in the countries bordering on the Toombuddra, the Werda, and Malpoorba; between the Putwurduns and the Raja of Kolapore in those bordering on the Gutpurba and the Kishna."—Wellington Despatches, i. 124. At this time, the beginning of 1803, the heads of the family were three brothers, sons of Parushram, Appa Saheb, Baba Saheb, and Dada Saheb, and their cousin, Chintaman Rao; each of whom commanded a force of about seven thousand horse and foot, with some guns.—Ibid. i. 93.

[3] Wellington Despatches, i. 145, 173, 174.

duns were too well acquainted with his character to place any faith in his professions. They accordingly remained neutral in the following war, declining to send their contingents upon the Peshwa's requisition; but their neutrality was considered by General Wellesley to have been an important object for the Company's possessions, and to have been capable of extenuation by natural and excusable sentiments of nationality. This omission was made one ground of an application from the Peshwa after the war for the assistance of the British troops to dispossess the Putwurduns, and transfer their lands to one of his own officers, Bapooji Gokla; but Sir Arthur Wellesley firmly opposed the application, not only on account of the claims of the family to the regard of the British Government for the many proofs of attachment which they had exhibited, but on account of its manifest impolicy and injustice.[1] In conformity to his suggestions, the principles to be followed in adjusting the differences between the Putwurduns and the Peshwa were, to interfere in a certain degree, to ascertain the extent of the service to which the Peshwa was entitled from the southern Jagirdars, to oblige them to afford it; and, on the other hand, to protect them from the oppression of the Peshwa's government, and to guarantee to them their possessions as long as they should continue to serve the Peshwa with fidelity.[2] Both parties were interested in preventing the practical adoption of these principles, and the final adjustment of the differences between them was long delayed.

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1811. The interposition of the British Government had at once been effectual in arresting the attempts of the Peshwa to crush the Jagirdars: the subsidiary force afforded his only hope of accomplishing his purpose; and, its employment as the mere instrument of his revenge being prohibited, his power was paralyzed. It was not so easy to bring the Jagirdars to reason; especially as they were required to surrender certain lands which were not comprised in their original grants, and to which they were not legally entitled. Their obstinacy was only overcome by

[1] See the conference with Bapooji Gokla; Wellington Despatches, ii. 121: and afterwards with the Peshwa's ministers, on the 1st March, 1804; ii. 140.

[2] Wellington Despatches, ii. 149.

the movement of the subsidiary force to the Krishna; when, finding that the British Government was determined to uphold the rightful claims of the Peshwa, the chiefs consented to meet the Resident and Baji Rao at Punderpur, and attended them to Poona, where everything was definitively settled. The result was less satisfactory to Baji Rao than to the Putwurduns, as he had long hesitated to accede to any proposition which did not comprehend the entire resumption of their Jagirs, and the annihilation of a powerful and obnoxious family.[1] 1812.

The presence of the troops in the field afforded a favourable occasion for the suppression of the piratical practices of the two petty Mahratta states, Wari and Kolapur, both possessing ports on the coast of the Concan, from which their vessels were accustomed to commit depredations on native commerce. Their lawless proceedings had been imperfectly repressed by the occasional presence of one of the Company's ships of war; but it was now resolved to put an end to the system, by depriving their rulers of the harbours which gave shelter to the pirates. The approach of the British troops soon awed them, however turbulently disposed, to submission; and the Desai of Wari was compelled to cede the fort of Vingorla, with its port and limits; while the harbour of Malwan, which included the forts and island of Severndroog and its dependencies, was given up by the Raja of Kolapur. Both states were bound to renounce piracy and to permit no armed vessels to issue from their ports.[2]

It had been found necessary at a previous period to undertake operations for the suppression of piracy of a more formidable description, and in the year 1809 an armament was despatched from the western side of India to the Persian Gulph. Oman, the south-eastern province of Arabia, forms a triangle, the base of which borders upon the deserts; whilst one arm extends along the Indian ocean to Cape Musendom, and is met at that point by the other, which lies within the gulph. The former or eastern coast is subject to the Imam of Muscat, and is occupied 1809.

[1] Malcolm's Political History of India, i. 396.

[2] Grant Duff's Mahratta History, iii. 350: also Treaties with the Rajas of Kolapore and Sawant Waree; Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818.

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by a well-disposed and commercial people. The inhabitants of the latter or western shore, thinly scattered from Cape Musendom through a distance of nearly four hundred miles, had, from a remote period, been so notorious for piratical habits, as to have secured for their territory the denomination of the Pirate coast. Among these tribes the Joasmis were distinguished by their audacity and cruelty. They had recently embraced the reformation which Abd-ul-wahab had some years before introduced into Mohammedanism, and united to the fierceness of their lawless trade the ferocity of fanaticism. Profession of the faith of Islam, or instant death, was the fate of their captives. Their vessels, known as daos or bugalas, varying from one hundred and fifty to three hundred and fifty tons' burthen, and carrying from one hundred and fifty to two hundred men, were clumsily built, with a single mast, and mounted but a few guns. Singly, they were little formidable; but they usually sailed together in small fleets, from which a merchant-vessel was rarely able to extricate herself. For a considerable period they refrained from molesting English ships. The Company's armed vessels were instructed to exercise similar forbearance, and to confine themselves to repelling aggression. Emboldened by this policy, and impelled by their religious ardour, the Joasmis departed from the caution they had hitherto preserved, and no longer paid any respect to the British flag. In 1808, the Sylph, a small ship of only one hundred tons, having on board the native Persian secretary of Sir Harford Jones, was attacked and captured in sight of the Nereide frigate; by which she was retaken, and the pirate vessels were sunk. In the next year the Minerva, a large merchant-ship, fell in with a fleet of daos, and, after a running fight of two days, was carried by boarding. The resistance and loss they had suffered had so exasperated the pirates, that every male Christian on board was murdered. It was no longer possible to permit the perpetration of such outrages; and it was determined to seek the Joasmis in their chief port, Ras-al-Khaima, inflict upon them a deserved punishment for their past crimes, and impair, if not annihilate, the means of future mischief.[1]

[1] Account of the Wahabis, by Sir Harford Jones, p. 211; Travels in Arabia,

The expedition consisted of two of his Majesty's frigates, the Chiffonne and Clorinde, and six of the Company's armed vessels, in which nine hundred European soldiers and five hundred Sipahis were embarked. The flotilla was commanded by Captain Wainwright of the Chiffonne; the land division by Lieutenant-Colonel Smith, of his Majesty's 65th. The armament left Bombay on the 4th September. Off Cape Musendom, it fell in with a fleet of twenty-seven daos: one was sunk, the others were dispersed. The force then proceeded to Muscat, the Imam of which, equally hostile to the Joasmis as pirates and as Wahabis, gave prompt assistance to the objects of the expedition. The squadron arrived off Ras-al-Khaima on the 12th of November. Notwithstanding its designation of Ras or head-land, the town was found to be situated on a low sandy peninsula, nearly a mile in length. The neck of the isthmus was defended by a wall, and the sea-face by batteries and entrenchments. It was also secure from the near approach of vessels of war by the shallowness of the water.

In consequence of this difficulty, the bombardment of the town was impracticable, and it was determined to carry it by assault. By a skilful disposition, the landing of the troops on the neck of the isthmus was effected at daybreak on the 13th of November; and, in spite of a vigorous resistance, the wall was escaladed. Guns were then brought up, and, under the cover of their fire, the troops penetrated into the town. All the principal houses, as usual in Asiatic cities, were flat-roofed; and from their roofs, and loop-holes in their walls, a murderous fire of matchlocks checked for a while the progress of the assailants. Their perseverance, however, triumphed: the town was abandoned by its surviving defenders, and by two o'clock Ras-al-Khaima was in the possession of the British. Although the place was filled with valuable merchandize, the spoil of piratical expeditions, no plunder was per-

by Lieutenant Wellsted of the Indian navy, i. 243. Both mention that the prisoners, not Mohammedans, were brought singly to the gangway, where one of the pirates cut their throats, with the exclamation, Allah Akbar! God is great! According to Lieutenant Wellsted, the name, properly Johasmis, was derived from Johasm, a Mohammedan saint, who had pitched his tent on the promontory where their chief port was built, hence called Ras-al-Khaima, the Cape of Tents, i. 256.

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mitted: the dwellings and magazines were set on fire, and the whole was consumed, together with forty-eight large daos and a number of smaller vessels. Several towns of inferior note along the pirate coast shared the same fortune. Some escaped it by the sacrifice of their boats; but in general the Arabs exhibited striking proofs of their national spirit. At the attack of the castle of Shinas, in particular, the most determined resistance was encountered. After a breach had been made, and the place was carried, the garrison retiring into two of the towers refused to surrender. Offers of quarter were made repeatedly to them in vain. They maintained an unceasing fire upon their enemies, and tossed back with the most deliberate resolution the hand-grenades and fire-balls showered upon them without giving them time to explode. Guns were brought to bear upon their defences, and the towers soon became a mass of ruins. At length one of the number gave himself up, and through his agency his companions were induced to believe that their lives would be spared, and to desist from a resistance which had been animated by a notion that no more mercy would be shown to them than they were accustomed to exercise towards their captives.[1] Above four hundred were killed. The others were protected with difficulty from the fury of the troops of the Imam of Muscat, of whom four thousand had joined the detachment, and who mostly belonged to a tribe which was at deadly feud with the Joasmis. The place was delivered to the Imam. At Luft, also, on the island of Kishme, a desperate opposition was experienced, by which an officer and ten men were killed, and many of the men were wounded.

The success of these operations struck a salutary terror into the pirate tribes of the coast of Oman, and procured for some years security for the commerce of the Persian Gulph. The habits, the native daring, and the fanaticism of these barbarians, gradually, however, resumed their influence, and impelled them to the revival of their pre-

[1] "After the destruction of one of their forts, several of the Arabs were brought on board our ships as prisoners: while uncertain of their fate, and before their wounds were dressed, they were asked what fate they anticipated. 'The same immediate death as we should have inflicted on you had your fortune been ours,' was the stern and characteristic reply."—Wellsted's Travels, i. 219.

datory courses, which provoked a severer chastisement and more effectual suppression. This will be the subject of a future narrative. The armament employed on the present occasion returned to Bombay, and received the merited acknowledgments of the local and supreme Governments.[1]

While thus busily and anxiously engaged in appeasing internal dissension, and in asserting the ascendancy of the British empire of India over the nations of Asia, the attention of Lord Minto was earnestly fixed upon objects of European as well as of Indian interest growing out of the war which raged in the Western hemisphere. Upon the occupation of Portugal by the French, and the flight of the Prince Regent to Brazil, the Bengal Government received orders from England to take military occupation of the Portuguese settlements in the East, to prevent their following the fate of the parent country. Goa had some time previously been partly under the protection of the British troops, the civil administration being left entirely to the Portuguese authorities; and it was deemed expedient to provide in a similar manner for the security of Macao. A small expedition was accordingly embarked in June and July from Madras and Calcutta, the troops of which were commanded by Major Weguelin of the Bengal European regiment, and the ships by Rear-Admiral Drury.[2] The Madras division, with the Admiral, arrived off Macao on the 11th September. Their coming was unexpected, and by no means acceptable to their allies. Reluctant to part with any portion of their brief authority, and fearful of giving offence to the Chinese, the Portuguese authorities availed themselves of the absence of instructions from their own Court, to resist as long as they could the disembarkation of the troops. Fortified with the sanction of the Viceroy of Goa, and determined to execute the instructions of the Government of Bengal, Admiral Drury dis-

[1] Asiatic Annual Registers, vol. xi. Chron. 161, and vol. xii. Chron. 122; Account of the Expedition against the Pirates of the Gulph of Persia in 1809; Asiatic Monthly Journal, vol. ii. 341.

[2] The troops from Madras consisted of two companies of his Majesty's 30th regiment, and were embarked on the Russell and Greyhound ships of war: the former of which carried the Admiral. From Bengal, two companies of the European regiment and six hundred Sipahis were embarked in transports, and his Majesty's vessels Dover, Phaeton, Jaseur, and Dédaigneux.

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regarded the remonstrances and procrastination of the Governor of Macao; and, by landing the troops without his acquiescence, extorted from him a reluctant assent to the military possession of the defences of the town.

There was, however, a still more potential voice to be consulted — that of the Chinese. In some measure instigated by the intrigues of the Portuguese, but still more by becoming feelings of national dignity, the provincial Mandarins immediately objected in the strongest terms to the landing of the British troops. The Select Committee of Supracargoes had induced the Governor-General to believe that the Chinese would be indifferent to the temporary occupation of Macao, and would consider it immaterial whether it was guarded by the troops of Portugal or Great Britain. They had not, however, ascertained the sentiments of the Chinese, and their conjectures were erroneous. The local officers were still more vigorously upheld by their principals at Canton; and the Viceroy, declaring that the unlicensed entrance of foreign soldiers into the territories of the Celestial dynasty was a violation of the laws of the empire, commanded their immediate withdrawal. It was in vain urged that Macao had been ceded to the Portuguese, that the English came as their allies, and that their only purpose was to defend it against the attacks of their common enemy, the French. The Viceroy replied, that Macao was in all respects a part of the empire, that the British should have applied for permission to the Emperor before they landed their troops, and that it was as absurd as it was disrespectful to presume that their aid was required to protect any part of the Emperor's dominions from foreign aggression. He repeated his orders for the re-embarkation of the troops; and, finding that obedience was delayed, first put a stop to the trade with the Company's ships, several of which were at the time taking in cargoes, and then prohibited their being furnished with provisions and supplies.

Thinking that the objections of the Government might be overcome by persisting in the course pursued, the supracargoes prevailed upon the Admiral, against his own judgment, to repeat his applications, and to repair in person to Canton, and demand an interview with the Viceroy. That functionary, though he declined to receive

the Admiral, sent some Mandarins of rank to confer with his officers, and wrote a reply to his letters. The tenor of his declarations was unchanged: the withdrawal of the troops was insisted on as preliminary to all other discussion. The Admiral returned indignantly to his ships, and, still acting upon the suggestions of the supracargoes, threatened to blockade the port, and commanded all the Europeans to leave Canton. These measures were unavailing. An order arrived from Pekin, whither information of the transaction had been despatched, approving of the Viceroy's conduct, and commanding him, if necessary, to expel the intruders by force. The imperial commands were communicated to the Admiral: troops began to collect in considerable numbers along the shores of the Canton river, boats passing to the ships were fired upon, and everything indicated hostile proceedings unless the armament was withdrawn. Major Weguelin, who, with the Bengal detachment, had joined on the 20th October, concurred with the Admiral in conceiving that they were not warranted in carrying their instructions into effect, in direct contravention of the commands of the Emperor; and the supracargoes, sensible that further obstinacy might lead to more serious consequences than they had anticipated, at last counselled acquiescence. The troops were accordingly re-embarked on the 23rd December, after three months had been expended in the vain attempt to overcome the reasonable opposition of the Chinese to the unauthorized establishment of foreign troops upon their coasts. The reason of the case was not only clearly on their side, but their conduct exhibited a remarkable combination of firmness and forbearance. However unyielding in their resolution, no violence was resorted to; and, as soon as the ships and troops had departed, the trade was resumed, and carried on as quietly as if no interruption had occurred.

The failure of the expedition to Macao was more than redeemed by the success which attended the employment of the resources of British India in the furtherance of other objects of greater national importance; and it was reserved for Lord Minto's administration to accomplish the extirpation of those remains of the colonial possessions of France in the Eastern hemisphere, that had so

long been suffered to inflict humiliation and injury upon the subjects of a power which had only to will their extinction, and they ceased to be. The measures which led to the conquest of the Isles of France and of Java, have now to be described.

It has been already noticed, that, notwithstanding the presence of a powerful naval armament in the Indian ocean,[1] armed vessels issuing from the French islands of Mauritius and Bourbon had throughout the war preyed upon the maritime trade of India almost with impunity: occasionally, indeed, they fell victims to their audacity,[2] and were made to feel the superiority of British skill and prowess; but although they swept the seas from Madagascar to Java, and sometimes carried their depredations to the immediate vicinity of the British harbours,[3] they were for the most part singularly fortunate in avoiding the track of English frigates and men-of-war.[4] Their principal spoil arose from the capture of the merchant-ships employed in the trade of the Eastern seas, whose cargoes, often of considerable value, they carried for sale to the ports from which they had sallied; but they also inflicted serious damage upon the Company's commerce, and from time to time valuable Indiamen fell into their hands.[5] The equipments of these vessels, which were well

[1] In 1807, Admiral Pellew had under his orders, in different parts of the Indian seas, six ships of the line, sixteen frigates, and six sloops.

[2] Amongst the most gallant actions was one fought in the Balasore Roads in February, 1798, between La Forte, a frigate of the largest class, and the Sybille of forty-four guns, Captain Cooke, which ended in the capture of the former, although Captain Cooke was killed; and one between La Piedmontaise and San Fiorenzo, of about equal force, in March, 1808. In this also, which was a desperately contested engagement, renewed for three days successively, and terminating in the capture of La Piedmontaise, the commander of the English frigate, Captain Hardinge, fell. Asiatic Annual Register, vol. ii. Chron. 87, and vol. x. Chron. 191. The official reports are given in both.

[3] The Kent East-Indiaman, Captain Rivington, was captured at the mouth of the Hoogly river by the Confiance privateer, M. Surcouf, in October, 1800, after an action of an hour and forty-seven minutes: her captain was killed. M. Surcouf for several years was distinguished for his intrepidity and successful enterprise: most of his prizes, and they were numerous, were taken in the upper part of the bay and along the Madras coast.—Asiatic Annual Register, vol. ii. Chron. 141.

[4] The merchants of Calcutta presented a petition to his Majesty's Government, imputing to the navy some degree of disinclination to exert themselves for the protection of the trade.

[5] It was computed in October 1807, that in the course of six weeks the losses by capture to the port of Calcutta alone exceeded thirty lakhs of rupees (£300,000). Between 1792 and 1810, the Company lost thirty vessels by capture: the cargoes of twenty-four of the number are stated to have been worth above £800,000.—Commons' Committee, 1830; First Report, App. vi.

armed, and on the outward-bound voyage well manned, enabled them sometimes to resist successfully the attacks of their enemies; and, on one memorable occasion, a fleet of merchant-ships returning from China, under its senior captain, Captain Dance,[1] beat off a French squadron of vessels of war commanded by Admiral Linois. In some actions between single vessels a similar result reflected honour upon the Company's officers: but in general the merchantmen were unequal to contend with a French cruizer of respectable force; especially on their homeward voyage, when they had been weakened by the impressment of many of their best men on board his Majesty's ships of war. Latterly cases of this nature had become more frequent. In 1809, the Company's regular Indiamen, Europe and Streatham, were taken on their homeward voyage by the French frigate La Caroline; and the Charlton and United Kingdom, by La Venus. In the following year, the Windham, Ceylon, and Astell, outward bound, were met off the island of Johanna, by the French frigates Bellone and Minerve, and Victor corvette, and after an action which lasted from 2 P.M. until dark, the two former struck. The Astell escaped under cover of the night. It was high time to rescue the commerce of India from the risk and peril to which it was exposed, and to vindicate the pretensions of the British navy to the undisputed sovereignty of the ocean.

The most obvious means of paralysing the energies of the naval power of France, which still lingered in the East, was to take from her ships those places in the Indian ocean where they found a shelter and obtained supplies. This might have been effected at a much earlier date; but, for reasons not easily comprehensible, the Company's Governments had been interdicted from engaging in any expedition against the islands, as involving a certain expense both for their reduction and maintenance:[2] a piece

[1] The China fleet, consisting of sixteen ships, on the 14th of February, 1804, off Palo Aor, in the Straits of Malacca, fell in with the French squadron under Admiral Linois, consisting of the Marengo of seventy-four guns, two frigates of forty-four guns each, and two brigs. On the 15th, after some manœuvring, and the exchange of a short fire between the French line and the headmost ships, Admiral Linois stood off under all sail, deterred from a closer contest by the gallant bearing of the China ships. — Asiatic Annual Register, vol. vi. Chron. 102; Brenton's Naval History, iii. 336.

[2] "At the commencement of the present war, intimation had been given to the East India Company to guard them against expending large sums in expe-

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of parsimonious prodigality, in which even the pecuniary saving bore no ratio to the pecuniary loss; as the value of the captured ships, and the charges of their convoy and equipments, far outbalanced in the end the cost which, in the beginning, would have been incurred by the conquest of the colonies. The views of the home administration at this period underwent a change, and the Government of Bengal, and the chief naval officers in the Eastern seas, were authorized to adopt arrangements of a more enterprising description. It was at first proposed to attempt nothing more than a rigorous blockade of the Isle of France and Bourbon, by the squadron at the Cape of Good Hope, under Admiral Bertie; but, as this was impracticable, as long as the blockading ships depended upon the distant settlements of the Cape or of Bombay for their supplies, it was determined to occupy the small island of Rodriguez, lying about one hundred leagues east of the Isle of France, and establish upon it magazines, with stores and provisions, for the refitting and revictualling of the blockading squadron. A small force of two hundred Europeans, and an equal number of natives, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, was despatched from Bombay, under convoy of his Majesty's ship Belliqueux, Commodore Byng. They arrived off the island on the 4th of August, and found upon it only three Frenchmen, engaged in growing vegetables for the use of the larger islands. Rodriguez was about fifteen miles long, from east to west, and seven from north to south. Wood and water were plentiful, and various vegetables were raised. The stores were landed, and additional supplies were sent for; and Colonel Keating adopted all necessary precautions in order to strengthen himself in his position. The captures made in 1809 and 1810, however, showed that, whatever benefits might ultimately result from the occupation of Rodriguez, it was not followed by that of an effectual blockade of the French islands. French frigates had continued to sail from their ports, and returned to them with splendid and valuable trophies of victory.

Although the position thus taken up proved inadequate

peditions against the French islands."—Speech of the Chancellor of the Exchequer, 10th January, 1812; Hansard's Debates.

to the entire prevention of maritime depredation, yet it had the advantage of enabling the English men of war to remain more steadily and continuously in those seas, cramping the enemy's operations, occasioning frequent distress in the islands for want of supplies, and affording a salient point from which to harass and annoy them by occasional demonstrations or actual inroads. With this purpose, as well as to determine how far ulterior and more definite measures were practicable, the forces at Rodriguez, both military and naval, were strengthened; and in September, 1809, an expedition proceeded from Rodriguez to the Isle de Bourbon.

A body of four hundred European and native troops were embarked in his Majesty's ships Nereide and Otter, and the Company's cruizer Wasp. Off Port Louis, in the Isle of France, they were joined by his Majesty's ships, the Raisonnable, Commodore Rowley, and the Sirius, Captain Pym. The whole proceeded to Bourbon, off the eastern extremity of which they arrived on the morning of the 20th of September. In the evening, a detachment, raised to six hundred men, by the addition of seamen and marines, was disembarked to the southward of Point de Galotte, about seven miles from St. Paul, the chief town on the western side of the island. The disembarkation was unperceived by the enemy; and the troops had marched, and were in possession of two of the principal batteries on the east of the town, commanding the shipping, before their approach was apprehended. On the advance of a column to storm a third battery, they came upon the garrison, now collected, and reinforced by a hundred men of the troops of the line, serving on board the frigate La Caroline, then lying in the bay with her prizes. The position of the enemy was strong, and was supported by eight pieces of artillery. Their defence was resolute; and it was not until the main body of the assailants was concentrated, that they gave way. By half-past eight, the whole of the batteries, and the town and magazines, were in the hands of the English; and, the escape of the ships being prevented by the squadron, they were obliged to surrender. The French ships taken were the Caroline frigate, of forty-six guns, and some small trading vessels; but, besides a gun-brig, and some

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small traders, two Indiamen, the Streatham and Europe were recovered. The troops were then re-embarked.

Upon hearing of this attack, a body of troops, under the command of General Des Bruslys, the Governor of Bourbon, marched from St. Denis, and made their appearance on the hills on the evening of the 23rd. Finding St. Paul in possession of the English, they retired during the night, rendering it useless to continue the preparations which had been made for the relanding of the troops. A convention was then concluded between the English commander and the commandant of St. Paul, for a suspension of hostilities for three days, during which the English were to remain unmolested in the occupation of the town. The death of Des Bruslys, who destroyed himself,[1] occasioned the prolongation of the armistice; during which the public property was, agreeably to the stipulated convention, put on board the ships; and, the objects of the expedition having been accomplished, the squadron, with the captured vessels, returned to Rodriguez.[2]

The success which had attended the proceeding of so feeble an armament confirmed the determination of the Government of Bengal to attempt, without waiting for specific instructions from home, the complete reduction of the French islands; and, in the beginning of 1810, a reinforcement of sixteen hundred European, and as many native troops, was despatched to Colonel Keating, to enable him to undertake the complete subjugation of the Isle de Bourbon. The expedition arrived at Rodriguez on the 20th of June, but, from the unfavourable state of the weather, they were unable to proceed to their destination until the 3rd of July. They were then conveyed to Bourbon, under convoy of a strong squadron of his Majesty's navy, consisting of the Sirius, the Iphigenia, the Magicienne, and the Nereide, commanded by Commodore Rowley, in the Boadicea, and arrived off the point of debarkation on the 6th. Colonel Keating on this occasion had determined to proceed at once against St. Denis, the

[1] He left a paper intimating his having committed suicide, to avoid death on the scaffold; and recommending his wife and children to Providence, and those who could feel for them. His family, at the request of his widow, was sent with a cartel to the Mauritius.

[2] Official report, and other details; Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xi. Chron. 155.

capital, in the hope of preventing protracted operations in the interior of the country, consisting chiefly of rugged, and in part inaccessible, mountains. The squadron accordingly sailed to the northern coast, where the forces, previously distributed into four brigades, were appointed to land at two different points: the first brigade, under Lieutenant-Colonel Fraser, being directed to debark at Grande Chaloupe, and proceed by the mountains against the west side of the town; whilst the other three brigades, under Colonel Keating himself, were intended to land on the east of it, at Rivière de Pluies, and to cross the rear of the town to the river St. Denis.

About two o'clock, on the 7th of July, the ships having reached their stations, the landing of the principal divisions was commenced, and about three hundred men of the 3rd and 4th brigades, under Colonels Campbell and Macleod, with a party of seamen under Captain Willoughby, of the Nereide, were landed. The weather, which had hitherto been moderate, became suddenly tempestuous: the surf rose with such violence, that the boats were stove in pieces on nearing the shore, and the disembarkation of the rest of the troops became impracticable. The division on shore was necessarily left without support; but, after a communication from the Commander-in-chief,[1] Colonel Macleod advanced to a battery on the Breton river at Ste. Marie, which he carried, and where he was unmolested during the night.

The attempt to land at this spot was seen from the town, but the debarkation was considered to be impossible, from the fury of the surf; and the principal attention of the enemy was directed to the division under Colonel Fraser. His brigade, which was composed of his Majesty's 86th regiment, and part of the 6th regiment of Madras native infantry, with a small detail of artillery and pioneers, on board of his Majesty's ship Sirius, had been more fortunate. They reached their destination off Grande Chaloupe early on the forenoon of the 7th July, and immediately effected a landing without loss, although exposed to a harassing fire from the light troops of the enemy. As

[1] Lieutenant Foulstone, of his Majesty's 69th, volunteered to be the bearer of Colonel Keating's orders: he was carried in a boat to the edge of the surf, and then swam through it to the shore.

soon as the landing was accomplished, Colonel Fraser pushed on with his Europeans alone to the vicinity of the town, and occupied the heights above it to the westward, so as to cut off all communication between the capital and St. Paul. In the meantime, the Magicienne and Boadicea, with the 2nd and 4th brigades, and the chief military stores and artillery, finding little chance of effecting a landing at Rivière, sailed to Grande Chaloupe in the night, and early on the 8th landed the troops on board. Before they could move forward in force, the business had been decided. The courage and activity of Colonel Frasers' division had reaped the full harvest of that good fortune which had given them the lead in the attack upon St. Denis.

Having been joined during the night of the 7th by the rest of his force, Colonel Fraser, on the morning of the 8th, leaving the Sipahis to protect his rear, descended from the hill with the Europeans, and soon fell in with the enemy, drawn up in two columns, each with a field-piece, on the plain, supported by the heavy cannon of a strong redoubt upon their flank. On reaching the plain, the regiment was ordered to charge, when they immediately rushed upon the enemy with the bayonet, and broke them. The French attempted to form behind the parapet of the redoubt; but they were pushed so closely that they were unable to make good their footing, and left the redoubt in the possession of the British, who turned some of the guns found in it against the town, and were enabled more effectually to reply to the batteries by which the latter was defended. At four o'clock in the afternoon a flag of truce was sent out from the town to negociate for its surrender. By that time the bulk of the expedition, which had been sent on to Grande Chaloupe, had arrived, and advanced to St. Denis, whilst the 3rd brigade had also come up from the east to take its part in the assault.[1] Dispositions for storming were made, when it was prevented by the submission of the Commandant, Colonel St. Susanne. By the terms of the capitulation

[1] There is a slight difference between the report of Colonel Keating and that of Colonel Fraser: the latter says that Colonel Drummond joined him at four with the 2nd brigade; the former, that he himself arrived at that time, and commanded dispositions to be made for a general attack.

which ensued, the whole of the island was ceded to the British with all public property; the troops of the line surrendered themselves prisoners of war, to be sent to the Cape or to England. Colonel St. Susanne was allowed to proceed to the Isle of France on parole; and Mr. Farquhar, of the Bengal Civil service, who had been appointed by Lord Minto in the confidence of success to the government of the island, assumed charge of its administration. Proclamations were issued by him, assuring to the inhabitants the secure possession of their property on their remaining peaceable and obedient, and promising them the provisional observance of the established forms of law and government, and the maintenance of the established religion of the colony. This important acquisition was effected with little loss; or eighteen killed and fifty-nine wounded. One officer only, Lieutenant J. S. Munro, of his Majesty's 56th, was amongst the former.[1]

The capture of Bourbon, so creditable to both the military and naval forces employed, for the judgment by which it had been planned and the spirit by which it had been accomplished, was followed by a series of singular disasters suffered by the navy, ascribable to no deficiency of courage or conduct, but to an imperfect acquaintance with the scene of action, and the want of sufficiently experienced pilotage. The achievements which were projected would no doubt have been successful, could they have been executed with the promptitude with which they were conceived.

The operations against Bourbon had been carried on without any attempt at interruption from the Isle of France, in consequence of the absence of the principal naval strength of the French. On the 20th of August, the Bellone, Minerve, and Victor returned, bringing with them the captured Indiamen, the Windham and Ceylon. Finding Port St. Louis blockaded, they made for the harbour of Grand Port, also called Port Impérial, on the south-eastern or windward side of the island. On nearing the Isle de la Passe,[2] a small islet with a fort lying off the mouth of the harbour about three miles from the

[1] Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii; Official details, Chron. pp. 27, 117.

[2] It had been taken on the 14th of August by the boats of the Sirius and Iphigenia, and was garrisoned by one hundred and thirty men from Bourbon.

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land, which had been taken, and was now occupied by a small detachment from Bourbon, the French squadron was surprised by a hostile fire from the guns of the fort, and of the Nereide frigate which had been stationed off the island. With some loss, the French vessels made their way into the harbour; but their prize, the Windham, not keeping up with the rest, was recaptured by Captain Pym with the boats of the Sirius, which was cruising in the neighbourhood in maintenance of the blockade. Sending off his prize to Bourbon, Captain Pym, in communication with Captain Willoughby of the Nereide, determined to attack the French ships in the harbour, and on the 22nd of August the two frigates stood in for that purpose. Unfortunately the Sirius grounded, and could not be got off until the next day, when the Iphigenia and Magicienne, under Captains Lambert and Curtis, arrived to take part in the engagement. The delay that had occurred had afforded the governor, General Decaen, time to reinforce the crews of the vessels with seamen and soldiers, and to strengthen the batteries which had been erected on this part of the coast since the capture of the Isle de la Passe, and which mounted sixty guns. These were fully manned, and were supported by all the troops that could be assembled, and a numerous body of militia and volunteers.

The firing commenced at a little after 5 P.M. on the 23rd. The Nereide anchored within half pistol-shot of the Bellone and Victor. The Magicienne, in following her, grounded in such an attitude that very few of her guns could bear upon the Minerve, to whom she was opposed; but the Iphigenia anchored on her larboard quarter, and relieved her of her antagonist. The Sirius again unluckily took the ground nearly out of gun-shot, and was disabled from rendering effectual aid. The French ships were soon driven out of their line, but into a position which enabled them to work their guns with advantage. Their loss of men was constantly repaired by troops from the shore; and the batteries and musketry on land poured a galling fire upon the British vessels, which were incapable of management.

The contest was nevertheless continued until after dark. At ten o'clock, the Nereide, which also had previ-

ously grounded, having most of her guns disabled, the greater part of her crew killed or wounded, and being exposed to the fire of the land-batteries as well as of the shipping, struck her colours;[1] but the French, not noticing or not perceiving that this was the case, continued firing upon her for some hours, until not a man on board remained unhurt. The firing continued with occasional interruption through the night. On the morning of the 24th, all hope of success being necessarily abandoned, it was determined to endeavour to retreat. The Magicienne being unmanageable, and on the point of sinking, was quitted by her crew, who set her on fire and retired on board the Iphigenia. On the 25th, the Iphigenia warped out of the action, and attempted to extricate the Sirius; but finding this impracticable, she also was set on fire in the evening, and exploded. The Iphigenia, the sole remaining ship, contrived by extraordinary exertion to get back to the Isle de la Passe, where she landed the surviving crews of the other vessels. In this situation, without provisions, and surrounded by a vastly superior force of the enemy — the Astrea, Venus, and La Manche frigates, with the Entreprenant sloop, having on the 27th come round from Port Louis, whilst those recently engaged were rapidly refitting — Captain Lambert found himself under the necessity of capitulating, and surrendered to Captain Hamelin, the commodore of the French squadron. It was stipulated that the crews should be prisoners of war, but to be sent immediately on parole or in exchange to one of his Britannic Majesty's forts. The convention was ratified by General Decaen, the governor of the Isle of France, so far, that he consented to send the prisoners, after the expiration of a month, to England or the Cape of Good Hope upon condition of their not serving again until exchanged.[2]

[1] The report published by order of the Government of Bengal, Calcutta Government Gazette, 18th Oct. 1810, states that the Nereide drifted on shore, and was taken possession of by the enemy: the account in the text is from the Nereide's log.—Brenton's Naval History, iv. 468. The French account asserts that her colours were flying at daybreak, but that information of her helpless situation had been previously received from a French prisoner on board, who made his escape and swam to the Minerve, and that from that time she was not fired on.

[2] Asiatic Annual Register, vol. xii; History, p. 8, Chron. 65: Brenton's Naval History, iv. 465. A translation of General Decaen's official proclamation after the action is published in the Calcutta Government Gazette Extraordinary,

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The only British ship of war now left of the blockading squadron was the Boadicea; and Commodore Rowley was unable to prevent the blockade of the Isle de Bourbon, which was established by the French frigates, Astrea and Iphigenia, who intercepted several of the transports arriving with troops and stores for the destined expedition against the Isle of France. On the 12th of September, however, the Africaine frigate, Captain Corbett, arrived from England; and Commodore Rowley, thus reinforced, immediately put to sea. The French frigates fled, and the English gave chase. The Boadicea being a heavy sailer, the French vessels soon shot far a-head, followed closely by the Africaine. Captain Corbett, apprehending the escape of the enemy, brought them to action, whilst the Boadicea was five miles astern. The wind died away. the Africaine was overpowered: the captain was killed, and the senior lieutenant was obliged to strike his colours. The balance of strength again turned in favour of the French; but the Boadicea, being joined by the Otter sloop and Staunch gun-brig, continued the chase. The enemy's frigates were little inclined to renew the contest; and, having taken out such of her crew as were unhurt, they abandoned the Africaine in a crippled condition. Rowley returned with her to St. Paul on the 18th of September.

Commodore Rowley had not been many hours at anchor when three sail appeared in the offing, two of which had suffered in their masts and rigging. He immediately made sail in pursuit of them, attended by the Otter and Staunch. The vessel that appeared not to be disabled had another ship in tow, which she cast off, to save herself by flight. The third, having no top-masts, bore up to assist her consort, but was soon obliged to strike to the superior force of the Boadicea; whilst the crippled vessel yielded at once to the Otter. The former proved to be the French frigate Venus; the latter, the Ceylon, an armed Indiaman

25th November, 1810. Some gasconading was excusable on such an occasion, but in the main the account is candid and temperate: the loss of the French is probably undervalued at four officers and thirty-three men killed, and one hundred and twelve wounded; the latter included M. Du Perrée, the captain of the Bellone. In the Néréide alone, one hundred and sixteen were killed, and many of the wounded died on landing. Captain Willoughby was wounded, but recovered with the loss of an eye.

from Madras, which had been captured that morning, after a smart engagement, by the Venus and the Victor corvette, the vessel that had escaped. The resolute resistance made by the Ceylon, and the damage she had inflicted upon the Venus, were the main causes of her own recovery, and of the capture of the Venus. On board the Ceylon was Major-General Abercrombie, who commanded the expedition now on its way from India.

The struggle thus far honourably maintained by the French was now soon to terminate; and an effort proportioned to the object was about to put an end to their maritime depredations in the seas of India. Shortly after the action last noticed, or early in October, Vice-Admiral Bertie in the Nisus frigate arrived from the Cape of Good Hope in the bay of St. Paul. Great exertions had been made to refit and equip the vessels which had been captured; and eleven days after the Vice-Admiral's arrival he was able to put to sea with the Boadicea, Nisus, Africaine, Venus, now named the Nereide, and the Ceylon, well manned and supplied. With this squadron he proceeded to Port Louis, off which he arrived on the 19th October. Finding that of the enemy's vessels lying in the harbour, not more than two were ready for sea, he left the Boadicea, Nisus, and Nereide, to maintain the blockade, and resumed his voyage to Rodriguez, to join the expedition which had been directed to rendezvous at that island. On his way he fell in with the squadron from India under Rear-Admiral Drury, proceeding to the same destination, and in company with them arrived at Rodriguez on the 3rd of November. The division from Bombay was already present, and that from Madras made its appearance three days afterwards. It was not until the 21st October that the armament from Bengal arrived. As the season was far advanced, and the period was approaching when the winds in these latitudes become variable, and violent hurricanes occur, the commander of the expedition considered it of the utmost importance that no further time should be lost; and accordingly preparations had been made for the embarkation of the troops that had previously arrived, and for the supply of the vessels from Bengal with such stores as they might require without their dropping anchor. As soon as this operation was effected, the whole

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of the fleet was under weigh, and early on the 29th November came to anchor off the point selected for debarkation in Grande Baye, near the north-east extremity of the island, about fifteen miles north from the capital, where it had been previously ascertained that a fleet might be anchored in the narrow passage between a small island called from its outline Gunner's Quoin, and the main-land, and where openings in the reefs allowed many boats to enter abreast. A landing in force at this place had been deemed impracticable, as it was supposed that vessels of burthen could neither make their way through the reefs of rocks which formed the exterior barrier of the bay, nor find anchorage outside, from the great depth of water close to the rocks. It had been, however, ascertained by the officers of the navy, that a passage between the rocks could be accomplished, and that a fleet might lie at anchor in the situation to which it had been actually conducted. No opposition was experienced, and the whole of the force was landed by three o'clock in the afternoon. The troops had been distributed into five brigades.[1] The first, under Colonel Picton, consisted of his Majesty's 12th and 22nd regiments, and the right wing of the Madras volunteer battalion; the second, under Colonel Gibbs, of his Majesty's 59th, with three hundred of the 89th and a company of the 87th, and of the left wing of the Madras volunteers; the third brigade, under Lieutenant Colonel Kelso, was formed of the 14th regiment and the second battalion of the Bengal volunteers; and the fourth, commanded by Colonel Macleod, of the 69th regiment, of the Madras native flank battalion, with three hundred marines; the fifth brigade was composed of his Majesty's 65th, a troop of the 26th dragoons, and the first battalion of the Bengal native volunteers. There was also a reserve division, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, comprising the 84th regiment, the flank companies of some other

[1] The European force was composed of his Majesty's regiments, the 12th, 14th, 22nd, 56th, 59th, 65th, 69th, 84th, and 89th, the Bengal and Madras artillery, and a company of the 26th dragoons; six thousand three hundred strong: and two thousand seamen and marines. The native troops from Bengal and Madras consisted of four volunteer battalions and a party of Madras pioneers, three thousand men: altogether, eleven thousand three hundred. The squadron consisted of the Illustrious 74, and the frigates Cornwallis, Africaine, Boadicea, Nisus, Clorinde, Cornelia, Menelaus, Psyche, Ceylon, Nereide, Phœbe, Doris, and Vesper, besides sloops and gun-brigs.

corps, and the Bombay native troops. These, with the artillery and a large body of seamen, formed a force of about eleven thousand men. To oppose them General Decaen had not more than two thousand Europeans, including the crews of the ships of war, a considerable number of colonists, and a body of African slaves, without discipline, and badly armed.

As soon as the troops could be formed, the force moved towards Port Louis. The road followed the direction of the coast for the first five miles, passing through a thick wood much entangled with brushwood, through which the men made their way with great difficulty and fatigue No enemy was seen until, on clearing the wood, the heads of the columns were fired upon by a small picquet, by which Lieutenant-Colonel Keating, Lieutenant Ashe, and some men of the advance, were wounded. The enemy were quickly dispersed, and greater injury was inflicted by the excessive heat of the weather and want of water. Several of the officers and men employed in the laborious duty of bringing on the artillery and stores sunk under their exertions, and fell dead on the march.[1] After clearing the wood, the army bivouacked for the night.

On the following morning the march was resumed, with the purpose of reaching the capital; but the excessive heat and scanty supply of water compelled General Abercrombie to halt, about five miles short of Port Louis upon the bed of the Pamplemousse river. On the 31st, the force again advanced, and, soon after it had moved, came upon the enemy, who had taken up an advantageous position in front with several field-pieces. The European flank battalion, which formed the advance, was led against them by Colonel Campbell of the 33rd; and, by a spirited charge, put them to flight, with the loss of their guns. The success was dearly purchased; Colonel Campbell, and Major O'Keefe of the 12th regiment, being killed whilst gallantly leading their men to the charge. After the repulse of the enemy, the army resumed its march, and drew up in front of the lines defending Port Louis, preparatory to an assault on the following morning, whilst the ships of war, which had now come round to the

[1] Among those who perished from heat and fatigue were Lieutenant Dove of his Majesty's 14th, and Captain Yates of the City of London Indiaman.

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harbour, should cannonade the town from the sea. This catastrophe was prevented by the offer of General Decaen to capitulate; and, the terms of his surrender being agreed upon, the Isle of France became subject to the British crown. The advanced period of the season rendering it unadvisable to protract the contest, terms more favourable than were merited, although less so than those demanded,[1] were granted. The troops of the garrison and crews of the ships of war were to be conveyed in English ships to European France, instead of becoming prisoners of war; taking with them all property declared to be private. The ships in the harbour, with all stores and public property, fell to the captors. The inhabitants were secured in the continuance of their religion, laws, and customs.[2] Thus instantaneously disappeared the fancied strength of the Isle of France when once the vigour of British India emancipated itself from the visionary obstacles which the selfish fears of the British Cabinet had opposed, and the imperfect information of the Indian Government had encouraged. The very effort that was ultimately made evinced the strength of the misconception that had invested the capture of the Mauritius with such unreal danger; and the conquest, although creditable to the spirit with which it was undertaken, reflected but little honour on the British arms. The Isle of Bourbon was restored to France at the peace. The Isle of France, or the Mauritius, as it was originally designated, is still subject to Great Britain.

The settlements of Holland in the Eastern Archipelago had never, even after their enforced submission in common with the parent country to France, afforded to any great extent the means of harrssing the trade of India. French privateers only occasionally haunted the roads of Batavia or cruized amongst the islands of the Archipelago. Still,

[1] Decaen had the effrontery to demand that the French frigates, with all their crews and appointments, should be relinquished for the conveyance of the troops to France. "Que pour ce transport je conserverai les quatre frégates de S. M. l'Empereur. La Manche, La Bellone, L'Astrée, et La Minerve, ainsi que les corvettes La Victoire et L'Entreprenante, avec leurs officiers et équipages, armements et munitions, et approvisionnement." He must have expected the reply, "Altogether inadmissible." — Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9, 1811.

[2] Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, p. 15: Calcutta Government Gazette, February 9th, 1811: London Gazette Extraordinary, February 13. 1811.

however, they constituted a rallying point, which was likely to become of more consideration after the destruction of those asylums which lay more in the route of the Indian trade; and it was incompatible with the interests of India and the policy of England longer to permit the presence of an enemy in any part of the Eastern hemisphere. The first measures for this purpose that were sanctioned contemplated only a rigorous blockade of Java and the Spice islands; but it was soon found that the instructions of the home authorities, issued in ignorance both of the localities of the islands and political relations of India with the principalities on the east of the bay of Bengal, were impracticable and mischievous. The numerous and intricate channels among the islands of the Archipelago could be effectually blocked up only by the employment of the whole of the naval armament in the Indian seas; and the enforcement of laws so unintelligible to the plain sense of the Burmese and Malays as those of blockade, could have no other effect than that of irritating and alarming them, and interrupting their traffic with our own settlements, even if it did not lead to a piratical warfare against the country trade. It was judged, therefore, by Lord Minto and Admiral Drury to be the more safe as well as more honourable plan, to adopt a decided course, and, instead of confining their attempts to an unavailing blockade of the Dutch islands, attempt their annexation to the Crown of England. No great difficulty in accomplishing this object was anticipated; as, although reinforcements had arrived at Java from Europe, and the island was commanded by an officer in the interest of France, yet the Moluccas it was known were indifferently prepared for resistance, and among the Dutch colonists at Batavia there existed a strong party who preferred open conquest by Britain to their insidious subjugation by the Emperor of France.

In conformity to these views, an expedition on a small scale was fitted out from Madras against the Molucca islands, consisting of his Majesty's ships Dover, Cornwallis, and Samarang, having on board part of the Madras European regiment and a small body of artillery: the troops were commanded by Captain Court, the squadron by Captain Tucker of the Dover. They left Madras on the

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9th October, 1809, and by the middle of the following February arrived off the island of Amboyna, the most considerable of the Dutch Spice islands and seat of government. The vessels anchored off the town, situated at the bottom of a small bay, beneath a line of low hills, and defended by batteries along the beach as well as on some of the neighbouring heights, and by Fort Victoria, mounting a number of heavy ordnance. As the elevations on the left and in the rear of the town commanded its defences, it was determined to carry them; and, whilst the squadron occupied the attention of the enemy by a vigorous cannonade, the troops, aided by seamen and marines, were landed on the right of the bay unnoticed. The party consisted of about four hundred men, and were divided into two bodies; one led by Captain Phillips, the other by Captain Court. The first stormed a battery erected upon an elevation near at hand, the hill of Wanitu, and carried it after a resolute resistance, in which the Dutch officer commanding the post was killed. Captain Court's party had to make a circuitous détour to the south of the town, and were further delayed by the rugged surface of the country. By sunset they reached their destination, a height above Fort Victoria, surmounted by a redoubt, which was abandoned as they entered it from the rear. During these operations, the ships had kept up a brisk cannonade on the sea-face of the town, and had been exposed to a cross-fire from the batteries in front, or on either side of it, from which the evening land-breeze enabled them to draw off. On the following morning, the batteries in the possession of the British opened on the town and fort, and soon silenced their fire. A summons to surrender was thereupon sent to the Dutch governor, and was promptly obeyed. A capitulation was entered into, by which the garrison, composed of more than thirteen hundred Europeans and Malays, laid down their arms to a third of their number. The Dutch troops were sent to Java, where the commandant was tried and shot by order of General Daendels. The Malays were taken into the British service, and were advantageously employed in some of the succeeding operations. Amboyna, once the scene of British disgrace and suffering, acknowledged their authority during the remainder of the war.[1]

[1] Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, p. 21.

During the winter and spring months succeeding the conquest of Amboyna, Captain Tucker reduced the smaller islands in its vicinity. In the commencement of the year, the Caroline and Piedmontaise frigates, and Baracouta brig, under the command of Captain Cole of the Caroline, with additional details of the Madras European regiment, commanded by Captain Nixon, were despatched to reinforce the troops at Amboyna, and provide for its security. Captain Cole was authorised, if he saw a reasonable prospect of success, to make a descent upon the Bandas, a cluster of small volcanic islands south-east of Amboyna; the principal of which were Great Banda, or Banda proper, and Banda Neira, separated by a narrow strait. The latter was selected for attack, although defended by two forts—Forts Belgica and Nassau, by batteries mounting one hundred and twenty pieces of cannon, and by a force of above seven hundred regular troops besides militia. These were stationed towards the northern extremity of the island, where a landing had been effected in 1801, when the place was taken by Admiral Rainier, and where it was expected the disembarkation would be repeated; but Captain Cole landed, with a party of two hundred seamen and soldiers, on the eastern side during the night, in a heavy squall of wind and rain, which effectually concealed his movements. A battery close to the landing-place was surprised, and its defenders made prisoners, without firing a shot; and, a guide having been procured, Captain Cole directed his march to Fort Belgica, about half a mile distant. The men advanced in profound silence, reached the foot of the ramparts unperceived, applied their scaling-ladders, and cleared the wall. The greater part of the garrison had been drawn off to strengthen the main body of the troops of the island, and but few men with the Governor had been left in the fortress. These, after a feeble resistance, endeavoured to escape by the gate, but they were met by a party of sailors; and, in the conflict which ensued, the Governor and several of his men were killed. When the day dawned, the British flag waved over Fort Belgica, which completely commanded the town and its defences. Upon the threat of Captain Cole to lay the former in ashes, the officer who was second in command agreed to surrender the island.

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A valuable booty rewarded the intrepidity and conduct which had so brilliantly achieved a valuable acquisition without suffering any loss.

At the same time, Ternate was taken by Captain Tucker with a detachment of Europeans, the seamen and marines of the Dover, and some of the newly enlisted Amboyna corps. Captain Tucker arrived off the island on the 25th August; but light and baffling winds kept him off the shore, and a landing was not practicable before the 28th. A hundred and seventy men were landed in the night with intent to surprise the forts and batteries which guarded the bay. The difficulties of the approach frustrated the scheme, and the men were re-embarked. Early in the morning they were again put on shore; and, whilst the frigate engrossed the attention of the enemy, they proceeded unobserved to an eminence supposed to command the Fort of Kayomaira, the principal Dutch post.... They arrived on the hill at noon; but to their great vexation they found that the fort was screened from their view by an intervening forest. They then endeavoured to proceed by an inland route, but, after incessant exertion throughout the day, it was found impossible to disencumber the path of the immense trees which had been cut down and piled across it. Turning to the right, they followed the course of a rivulet which led to the beach, and brought them about ten o'clock within eight hundred yards of the fort before they were discovered. Disregarding a smart fire of grape and musketry, they rushed forward, escaladed the walls, and carried the fort. On the following morning the combined operations of the detachment and frigate overpowered the other defences of the bay, and by the evening the town and island were surrendered. Few casualties impaired the exultation of the victors. Their conquest completed the reduction of the Moluccas, and Java with its dependencies alone remained in the possession of the Dutch.[1]

Prior to the Departure of Lord Minto for Madras, the practicability of the subjugation of Java had been brought under his consideration by Mr. Raffles, originally a member of the Penang Government, but who had attracted

[1] Asiatic Annual Register, xii.; History, 27; Chronicle, 80; Official Despatches.

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the notice of the Governor-General by his acquaintance with the languages, and political circumstances of the tribes of the Archipelago, and had been in consequence appointed the Governor-General's agent at Malacca. After Lord Minto's return to Bengal, the subject was resumed: Mr. Raffles came round to Calcutta for the sake of its more commodious investigation, and his statements so entirely satisfied the Governor-General of the feasibility of the measure, that he determined to undertake it upon his own responsibility. Its execution was, however, deferred until the result of the expedition against the French islands should be known; and in the interval the design received the prospective sanction of the authorities in England. No time was lost in preparing for the expedition. The King's regiments, which had returned to Madras[1] from the Mauritius, were immediately re-embarked, with the addition of the 78th regiment of foot and a portion of the 22nd dragoons; whilst in Bengal his Majesty's 59th, four battalions of Sipahi volunteers, the 20th, or marine regiment, details of pioneers, and artillery, horse and foot, with the Governor-General's body-guard, were assembled under the command of Colonel Wood. The command of the whole was vested in Sir Samuel Auchmuty, the Commander-in-chief at Madras. The Bengal troops sailed early in March, and reached the appointed rendezvous at Malacca by the end of April. Lord Minto accompanied them in the Modeste frigate, in the capacity, as he expressed himself, of a volunteer. The Madras force sailed in two divisions: the first, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gillespie, on the 18th of April; and the second, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gibbs, on the 29th. At the same time Sir Samuel Auchmuty embarked in the Akbar frigate, and Commodore Broughton commanding the fleet sailed in the Illustrious. It was fortunate that their departure had not been delayed, for on the 3rd of May a tremendous hurricane set in at Madras, in which a great number of vessels, including the Dover frigate, were driven ashore and lost. The fleet had reached the outer edge of the vortex, and felt but little of the violence of the storm. The whole of the expedition was collected at Malacca by the 1st of June: but this was

[1] The 14th, 69th, and 89th: the Madras pioneers were also re-embarked.

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much later than had been intended, the period having been delayed by the necessity of awaiting the return of the troops and transports from the Mauritius; and it now became a question of some anxiety whether and by what route the fleet could proceed.

The setting in of the south-west monsoon rendered it highly inexpedient to attempt the usual navigation through the Straits of Banca. Besides the danger to which the ships might be exposed from tempestuous weather, it was certain that the passage would be tedious; and the commencement of military operations in Java could not take place earlier than the rainy season of October and November, when the climate would become unhealthy, and the troops be disabled by sickness. The same objections applied to the track round the north-east of Borneo; and there remained only the passage along the south-west coast of that island, in which the fleet would be sheltered from the fury of the monsoon, and would be assisted on their way by the breezes from the land. This route was accordingly strongly recommended by Mr. Raffles, upon the authority of Captain Greigh, of the Minto brig, by whom it had been surveyed. It was as strongly objected to by the chief naval authorities, who pronounced it to be impracticable; but Lord Minto, confiding in the information of Mr. Raffles, decided the controversy in favour of the inner passage, and led the way in the Modeste. The difficulties were easily surmounted under Mr. Greigh's skilful pilotage. In six weeks the fleet cleared the intricate channels, through which it had passed without a single accident, crossed the sea from the point of Sambas, and anchored on the 2nd of August on the north coast of Java. Had not the presence of the Governor-General decided the question, we have his own testimony that the enterprise must have been suspended until the following year.[1]

The island of Java had for some time been almost lost sight of amid the convulsive revolutions which had shaken the parent country. The last of these pretended to ex-

[1] Parliamentary Debates, 10th January, 1812; Thanks to the army and navy, and to Lord Minto. Life of Sir Thomas S. Raffles, p. 90. Lord Minto remarks in a letter to the Court, "The attempt must have been abandoned for the present year, if I had yielded to the predicted difficulties of the passage."

tinguish the national integrity of Holland, and reduce it to an integral department of France. Such a degradation could not fail to excite deep dissatisfaction both at home and abroad; and the inhabitants of the Dutch colonies more removed from the influence of the French Government than their countrymen in Europe, were in general more abhorrent of the alteration. Apprised of the prevalence of these feelings, and of the weakness of administration of Java, Sir Edward Pellew had, in 1807, urgently pressed Sir George Barlow to sanction an expedition against the island; for the reduction of which he required no more than a thousand Europeans, and as many native troops, in addition to the resources of the vessels under his own command. The economical policy of the Bengal Government was, however, averse to any undertaking which involved expense; and the disinclination was fortified by the prohibitory orders of the Court of Directors against embarking in enterprises which possibly they regarded as affecting the interests of the nation more immediately than those of the Company. The Admiral was permitted, however, to amuse himself with a simple demonstration. Taking on board five hundred men and some artillery at Madras, Sir E. Pellew sailed on the 20th of October, 1807, with his squadron,[1] for Gresik, a harbour on the east coast of Java, where it was known that several Dutch vessels of war were laid up. He arrived off Point Parko on the 5th of December, and pursued his course with little opposition to Gresik, where he burnt three line-of-battle ships and an Indiaman, and destroyed the fort and batteries. By a convention with the Council of Surabaya the fleet abstained from doing further damage, on condition of being furnished with supplies, which were accordingly provided. The facility with which this success was achieved demonstrated the feebleness of the Dutch force in Java, and the favourable disposition of the inhabitants.

The impunity with which the demonstration had been followed, awakened the attention of the French Emperor to the condition of Java; and he immediately ordered

[1] The squadron consisted of the Culloden and Powerful seventy-fours, Caroline and Fox frigates, and Victoria, Samarang, Seaflower, and Jaseur sloops.

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arrangements to be instituted, in order to place it in a state of greater security. Reinforcements were sent out; and General Daendels, an officer of tried activity and resolution, was appointed governor. Unchecked by any respect for private rights, and unscrupulous in the means by which his ends were attained, General Daendels studied only how to improve the military attitude of the island, and prepare it for a contest of which he anticipated the approach. Every consideration gave way to this design, and the inhabitants were compelled to submit to enormous exactions, in order to raise funds by which the army might be reorganized and recruited, the existing fortresses repaired, new and formidable works erected in the vicinity of the capital, and ample provision made for a vigorous defence against future invasion. He was not, however, allowed to test the efficiency of his foresight: on the eve of the arrival of the expedition, he had been recalled to France, and was succeeded by General Jansens, who had been governor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English, and had recently arrived at Batavia with a reinforcement of several frigates, and a body of one thousand European troops.[1] The whole of the troops on the island were estimated at seventeen thousand men, natives and Europeans, of whom thirteen thousand were concentrated in the lines of Cornelis, a position strong both by nature and art, about eight miles from Batavia.

The fleet, the command of which had been assumed by Rear-Admiral Stopford, in the Scipio, and which with transports and brigs mustered above ninety sail, having on board about twelve thousand troops, European and Indian, in nearly equal proportions, anchored in the bay of Batavia on the 4th of August. A landing was immediately effected at Chilingyi, a village ten miles east of Batavia. No opposition was met with, disembarkation at this point not having been anticipated. The army was moved forwards two miles, in two divisions; one on the

[1] The removal of Daendels was a source of great mortification to him, and he was urgent with his successor to abstain from the assumption of authority until after the expedition should have arrived, and been, as he confidently asserted, defeated. Although it is possible that his military talents might have enhanced the difficulty of the conquest, and delayed its accomplishment, yet the number and equipment of the invading force, and the resources at the command of the Government of India, ensured ultimate success.

road to Cornelis, the other fronting that to Batavia. No effort of any importance was made to disturb them; and, the horses and guns having been landed on the 5th, a general advance was ordered towards the capital. On the night of the 7th, the van, commanded by Colonel Gillespie, crossed the Anjole river by a bridge of boats, and by dawn hutted near the suburbs. In the course of the day a small detachment was sent into the city; by whose presence the work of plunder commenced by the Malays and Javanese was arrested, and large stores of colonial goods were saved from the flames. Many of the principal inhabitants had been compelled by General Jansens to quit Batavia; but those who remained, readily submitted. In the evening, a large part of the advance was quartered in the town. During the night an attempt at surprise was made by the enemy; but, finding the place occupied in greater force than they expected, they speedily retired.

On the morning of the 10th of August, the advanced division marched out of Batavia towards the cantonments of Weltevreeden, which they reached by daybreak. The cantonments were abandoned; but a division of the Dutch army, under General Jumel, the second in command, had taken up a strong position about a mile from Weltevreeden, on the road to Cornelis. Their right was protected by a canal called the Slokan: their left was exposed; but the approach both in front and on the flank was embarrassed by pepper plantations and marshy ground, as well as defended by an abattis, with which the enemy had blocked up the road. From behind this entrenchment they opened a fire of four horse-artillery guns with grape; whilst the infantry, posted in two villages, kept up a brisk fire of musketry on the advancing columns. The guns were answered with effect by those of the British artillery, and the musketry was replied to by the skirmishers, whilst an attempt was made to turn the enemy's left flank. After some delay, arising from the nature of the ground, the attempt succeeded. The villages were set in flames, and the British troops rushed forward to the charge. The enemy broke, and were pursued with vigour until they took shelter under the guns of Cornelis.[1] The main body

[1] Their loss was severe; that of the British was inconsiderable: but several officers were wounded; of whom Lieutenant Duffield of the horse

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of the army came up towards the close of the engagement, and took post at Weltevreeden; having secured a free communication with the town and shipping, a healthy and commodious station for the troops, and the command of the resources of the country. Three hundred guns were found in the arsenal at Weltevreeden, besides great quantities of ammunition and military stores.

Preparations were immediately made for an attack upon Cornelis, which General Jansens expected to be able to maintain against all assaults until the rainy season should set in, and sickness should compel the retreat of the invaders. His post was an entrenched camp between two rivers, the Slokan on the east, and the river of Batavia on the west. The latter was unfordable, and the banks were steep and overrun with jungle: the former was more practicable, but it was defended by powerful batteries and redoubts; one of which was on the near side of the river, for the protection of the only bridge that had been left standing. The space between the rivers in front, above six hundred yards, was guarded by strong entrenchments and redoubts, and was difficult of access from the ruggedness of the ground. A like space in the rear of the works was still more strongly fortified. The whole circumference of the lines extended nearly five miles, and was defended by two hundred and eighty pieces of cannon.

Although the necessity of an ultimate assault was anticipated by the Commander-in-chief, yet he thought it expedient to try the effect of regular approaches; and a battering train having been landed, and batteries constructed, the army broke ground on the night of the 20th of August. It was not till the morning of the 24th that the batteries could be opened with effect, and during the interval a furious cannonade was kept upon the works by the enemy, by which some loss was sustained. On the 24th the guns opened upon the enemy's lines, and, notwithstanding the greater number of their ordnance, with much more decided effect. The principal redoubt was repeatedly silenced, and many of the guns in their batteries were dismounted. On the 25th the cannonade was

artillery died of his wounds. Lieutenant Munro of his Majesty's 78th was killed.

resumed, and returned with spirit: but although the enemy suffered severely both in men and guns, yet it was evident that no practicable breach could be made until the batteries were considerably advanced; an operation involving delay, and demanding from the seamen and troops an amount of exertion to which, from the heat of the weather and the excessive labour they would have to undergo, they were unequal. In the mean time, the enemy were daily adding to their defences, and using every means to render them impregnable. The period therefore had arrived at which the place must be carried by storm, or a protracted and exhausting course of warfare would become inevitable.

The comparative facility of an approach on the enemy's right by the Slokan, and the possibility of carrying by a *coup de main* both the redoubt which was on this side of the river, and the bridge by which the river was crossed, recommended the principal attack to be made in that direction. The assault was intrusted to Colonel Gillespie, having under his orders the infantry of the advance, and a part of the right brigade of the line commanded by Colonel Gibbs. At the same time two other attacks were to be made upon the enemy's line; one, under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod, against the principal redoubt in the angle of the enemy's front and left; and the other, under Major Yule, upon the bridge leading to the rear: whilst the main body of the army threatened the front.[1]

Colonel Gillespie's column marched soon after midnight on the 26th. The troops had to make a considerable détour through a difficult country, intersected by ravines, and parcelled out in pepper plantations and betel gardens. The darkness of the night aggravated the intricacy of the

[1] The troops under Colonel Gillespie were the two flank battalions, consisting of the grenadiers of the 78th regiment, and of the 5th and 6th native volunteer battalions, the light companies of the 14th, 59th, 69th, 78th, and of the light infantry battalion and 4th native volunteers, the rifle companies of the 14th, 59th, and 78th, five companies of the 89th, dismounted dragoons and body-guard, a body of marines, and Madras pioneers. Colonel Gibbs' column was formed of the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th, first battalion of the 59th, and 4th and light infantry volunteer battalions. Colonel Macleod led the 69th regiment. Major Yule had under his orders the grenadiers of the 20th native infantry, two companies of his Majesty's 69th, the flank battalion of the reserve, with a detachment of the Madras pioneers and artillery, and a troop of the 22nd dragoons.

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path; and when, towards morning, the head of the column had approached near to the works, information was brought to Colonel Gillespie that the rear division had fallen behind. A short halt was ordered; but as it was impossible to remain unobserved after daybreak, and a retreat in the presence of the enemy might hazard the success of the expedition, Colonel Gillespie determined to make the assault at once, trusting that the strayed column would be guided aright by the firing, and would be in time to support him before he was seriously engaged.

The morning dawn showed the enemy's videttes at hand, and the column was challenged. The men, as commanded, reserving their fire, rushed forward with the bayonet; and the picquets were destroyed, and the advanced redoubt was carried as soon as the alarm was given. At the same moment, the grenadiers of the 78th, under a heavy fire from the enemy, carried the bridge over the Slokan, a slight structure which might with ease have been demolished. As soon as the passage was effected, Colonel Gillespie, turning to the left, stormed a second redoubt, which was within the lines; and notwithstanding the superior numbers of the enemy, and a spirited resistance, which caused the loss of many brave officers and men, carried it at the point of the bayonet. Each of these redoubts mounted twenty eighteen-pounders, besides several twenty-four and thirty-two-pounders.

The division of Colonel Gibbs having, as was anticipated, been guided to the scene of action by the cannonade, had hastened on to take their share in the conflict; and, having crossed the Slokan, the grenadiers of the 14th, 59th, and 69th regiments moved against a redoubt on the right, which they stormed, and carried with the bayonet in the most gallant manner. They had scarcely gained possession, when the powder magazine,[1] attached to it, exploded with a stunning sound, and scattered piecemeal the mutilated limbs of both defenders and assailants. This awful occurrence was followed by a momentary pause; but the batteries of the enemy soon opened again upon the attacking column. The assailants had, however, now

[1] It was said to have been purposely fired by some of the enemy's officers, who perished in the explosion. No advantage accrued to the enemy from the catastrophe.

gained a firm footing within the lines, and proceeded with renewed spirit to storm the remaining redoubts to their right and left.

In the meantime an active cannonade had been maintained on the front, where the enemy had erroneously expected the main attack would have been made; and under this persuasion had refrained from reinforcing their troops on the right. The column directed to the rear was unable to cross the river, as the bridge was burnt, and obliged to remain contented with firing upon the enemy from the opposite bank. The detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Macleod carried the redoubt against which they had been sent, but, unfortunately, with the loss of their commander. The success of the assault on the right, however, soon opened a free access to the entrenchment, and the British entered Cornelis in every direction.

When most of the redoubts had been stormed, and daylight rendered objects distinct, the enemy's reserve, composed of several battalions, with twenty pieces of horse artillery, besides heavy guns, and a large body of cavalry, was seen drawn up on the plains in front of the barracks and lesser fort of Cornelis, the guns of which commanded the approach. The duty of dispersing these was consigned to the 59th, and was gallantly effected by that corps, who not only drove them from their position, but captured the fort. The dragoons and horse artillery then coming up, Colonel Gillespie placed himself at their head, and pursued the fugitives for ten miles, cutting off great numbers, and completing the disorganization of their army. Those who sought refuge in the thickets, were killed or dispersed by the 14th regiment and detachments of the Bengal volunteers. The efforts of their officers to keep them together as far as Beutenzorg, where entrenchments had been thrown up, and a second stand was to have been made, entirely failed, and the fate of Java was decided. Six thousand prisoners were taken, mostly European troops, including a regiment of voltigeurs recently arrived from France. The loss of the enemy in killed and wounded was likewise very considerable. The victory was not won without loss also to the assailants. In the previous operations, and in the assault of Cornelis, the

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1811. Although the dispositions of the Commander-in-chief rendered the fall of Cornelis little doubtful, yet that it was accomplished so quickly, and with a loss which, though severe, was disproportionate to the strength of the position and the importance of the capture, was mainly attributable to the decision and activity of Colonel Gillespie. Had he paused for the junction of the rear division, had he delayed an instant to attack the exterior redoubt, and make good his passage over the Slokan, the difficulties of the attempt would have been immeasurably enhanced, and success would have demanded infinitely greater sacrifices. The same promptitude and courage characterised his subsequent movements. The defeat of the reserve and the pursuit of the flying foe; the final dispersion of the enemy's troops, and the impossibility of again concentrating a force of any consideration, were mainly attributable to his exertions. That the troops he commanded were worthy of their leader is an additional proof of his military merit.

After the annihilation of his army, General Jansens, with a small body of horse, retired to the eastern districts of Java. A squadron of frigates, with the marines and a Bengal battalion under Colonel Wood, was immediately dispatched to Cheribon, and arrived there two days after General Jansens had passed. The place was immediately surrendered. Another expedition proceeded to Madura, off the north-eastern extremity of Java, and occupied that island. On the 5th of September, Sir S. Auchmuty proceeded against General Jansens, who had assembled a force, consisting chiefly of native horse, and taken up a strong and fortified position at Jatu, about six miles from Samarang. The vessels arrived off the latter port on the 12th, and the troops were landed on the following day, the town being abandoned. On the 16th, they came in sight of the enemy, about eight thousand strong, princi-

[1] The officers who were killed, or who died of their wounds, were Lieutenant-Colonel C. Macleod, his Majesty's 69th, and Lieutenant-Colonel Campbell, 78th: Captains Kennedy, 14th; Oliphant, 59th; and Ross 69th; Lieutenants Hutchins, 22nd dragoons; Waring, Lloyd, Litton, and Macpherson, 59th; Hipkins, 69th; Coghlan, 14th; Macdonald, 5th battalion volunteers; and Murrall, ditto 6th: and Ensign Wolfe of his Majesty's 59th.

pally natives, with twenty pieces of cannon, drawn up on some high and rugged hills, forming the southern boundary of a valley across which lay the road. The troops with Sir S. Auchmuty were not above one thousand in number, consisting of the 14th and 78th regiments, with the grenadier company of the 3rd volunteer native battalion, and details of artillery and pioneers, with six field-pieces. Having established his guns on the heights facing the enemy, so as to keep down their fire, Sir S. Auchmuty directed the troops to cross the valley and ascend the hills opposite. The advance was made with the greatest alacrity and firmness; the valley was traversed with little loss; and, as soon as the heights were ascended, the enemy retreated in confusion. As they consisted chiefly of cavalry, they easily outstripped pursuit; but on learning that they showed an inclination to rally under the cannon of the small fort of Onarang, about four miles from the field of battle, Sir S. Auchmuty marched thither without halting, again put them to flight, and occupied the fort. This was the last effort made by General Jansens. Finding that no dependance could be placed on the only troops he was now able to collect, he proposed immediately after the action to treat for a capitulation. A cessation of arms for twenty-four hours was allowed him; and, after some hesitation on the part of General Jansens, a treaty was signed. By this it was stipulated, that Java and its dependencies should be surrendered to Great Britain; that all the military should be prisoners of war; and that the British governor should be left unfettered in regard to the future administration of the island, the guarantee of the public debt, and the liquidation of the paper money.[1]

Thus, as Lord Minto observed, an empire, which for three centuries had contributed greatly to the power, prosperity, and grandeur of one of the principal and most respected states of Europe, had been wrested from the short usurpation of France and added to the dominion of

[1] General Jansens had been formerly governor of the Cape of Good Hope when it was taken by the English. Adverting to this disaster, the French Emperor, on his departure for the government of Java, significantly remarked, "Souvenez-vous, Monsieur, qu'un Général François ne se laisse pas prendre une seconde fois." He had little reason to look for much favourable consideration on his return to France.

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the British crown, and converted from a seat of hostile machination and commercial competition into an augmentation of British power and prosperity. The reduction of Java left the Eastern seas without an enemy,[1] and the merchant-vessels of Great Britain and of British India were at liberty to pursue their peaceful and beneficent course without dread of molestation or fear of plunder. The value of the conquest was perhaps inadequately appreciated in England, but the acknowledgments of the Prince Regent were conveyed to the army and navy.[1] Medals were bestowed upon the King's and Company's officers who had distinguished themselves in the expedition, and Lord Minto was raised to the dignity of Earl of Minto.

After the reduction of Java, the government of the island was placed in the hands of Mr. Raffles, with the designation of Lieutenant-Governor of Java and its dependencies, and the command of the troops left on the island was conferred upon Colonel Gillespie. Some time elapsed before the authority of the new government was established. The Dutch colonists, who could have no particular affection for the French, and who had experienced the overbearing and extortionary spirit of that military rule which was modelled upon the despotism to which France was subject, were for the most part well pleased with the change; but some of the native chiefs, deeming the season propitious for the subversion of all European ascendancy, manifested a hostile disposition which it became necessary to suppress. Among these chiefs, one of the most powerful was the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, who declared open war against the British, and called upon his countrymen to join him for their expulsion. Having in vain attempted to come to a friendly understanding with the Sultan, Colonel Gillespie conducted a force against his capital, and carried it by storm. The Sultan was taken prisoner and exiled to Penang, and his son was placed on the throne. The capture of Yodhyakarta, a place of great extent and some strength, defended

[1] In the debate in the Commons on the vote of thanks to Lord Minto and the army and navy for the reduction of the Isles of France and Java, Sheridan and Whitbread professed to doubt if the acquisitions were worth the cost of money and life by which they had been made. These doubts were clearly the mere effusions of party spleen.

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by one hundred thousand troops, who, although defective in arms and discipline, were not wanting in intrepidity and fierceness, added another laurel to the wreath won by British valour, and intimidated the native princes into a peaceable submission to a government whose conciliatory policy they had subsequently occasion to compare with the oppression which they had been accustomed to suffer from the Dutch.

Previously to the contest with the Sultan of Yodhyakarta, it had been found advisable to despatch an expedition against the Sultan of Palembang, a state on the north-east coast of Sumatra. Shortly after the conquest of Java, commissioners had been sent to the Sultan to renew the engagements in which he was held by the Dutch. They had been obliged to return without effecting their object: the Sultan denied that any such engagements had ever existed, and asserted that the Dutch factory had been abandoned before the reduction of Java. To remove living evidence of the falsehood of this assertion, he razed the Dutch fort and factory, and caused the members of the factory of Palembang, now become the subjects of the British Government of Java, to be murdered. To punish this atrocity, and enforce the stipulation which had long been maintained in regard to the trade with Banca especially, a force was sent against the Sultan in March, 1812, commanded by Colonel Gillespie. He arrived off the Palembang river on the 18th of April, and the troops ascended the river in boats. No resistance was offered; and, upon the approach of the detachment to Palembang, the Sultan fled, leaving his capital and principality at the disposal of the victors. Colonel Gillespie with a small party landed on the night of the 25th of April; and, being joined by the principal part of his force on the following morning, commenced an investigation into the character and behaviour of the fugitive prince. The process seems to have been summary. Upon the depositions of two natives who had been sent to Palembang by the British Government of Java, and who accused the Sultan of the murder of the Dutch, he was declared to have forfeited his sovereignty by various acts of rapine, treachery, and barbarity, contrary to the laws of nations and his existing engagements with the Dutch,

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to whose right the English Company had succeeded in virtue of the cession of Java and its dependencies. A proclamation to this effect in the Malay language was read. At the same time it was announced that the Commander of the forces had selected Pangerang Adipati, the Sultan's brother, in consideration of his virtues, and the love, esteem, and veneration with which he was regarded by the people of the country, to fill the vacant throne. This person was accordingly declared true and lawful Sultan of Palembang and its dependencies, under the title of Sultan Ratu Ahmed Najam-ud-din. The first use made of his power by the new Sultan was to enter into a treaty by which he ceded the island of Banca, a dependency of Palembang, valuable for its mines of tin, in absolute and perpetual sovereignty and possession to the English. On the 18th of May, Colonel Gillespie, leaving with the prince whom he had crowned a hundred men for his defence, returned to Java, taking possession of Banca on his way. The measures thus adopted by Mr. Raffles were approved of by the Governor of Bengal.[1]

Although the Court of Directors had sanctioned the expedition against Java, their views did not go beyond the expulsion or reduction of the Dutch power, the destruction of their fortifications, the distribution of their arms and stores to the natives, and the evacuation of the island. Lord Minto, however, was not prepared to expose the Dutch colonists without a government or without arms to the vindictive passions of the Javanese;[2] to consign a rich and prosperous island to an indefinite perpetuation of the elements of disorder and bloodshed; or to throw away the advantages, both commercial and political, which the occupation of Java ensured to British India and to Great Britain. He therefore recommended to the Court a reconsideration of their orders; and, upon the conquest of the island, committed it to a government composed partly of the civil and military officers of the Company, and partly of respectable colonists well affected to the English. Under their combined administration Java soon came to enjoy an

[1] Most of the particulars given in the text are derived from Thorn's Conquest of Java. Major Thorn served as Deputy Quarter-Master-General to the forces in Java.

[2] Letter from Lord Minto to Mr. Raffles, February, 1811; Life of Raffles, p. 23.

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unprecedented amount of tranquillity and prosperity. The country was divided into districts, each of which was placed under the management of a European Resident, who was charged with the general collection of the revenue, and the distribution of justice according to such laws as were in force, and which were unexceptionable in principle. The infliction of torture and mutilation was at once abolished; and natives were admitted to juries, from which they had under the Dutch regime been excluded. The farming of the revenues and imposts was abandoned, and the collections were made directly by the officers of the Government according to fixed rates. The arbitrary exaction of an undefined proportion of the crops was discontinued, and a settlement of a specified amount for a given period entered into with the occupants of the land. All forced requisitions of labour were prohibited, transit duties were abrogated, and the duties on external trade equalised. It were foreign to the scope of this work to dwell longer upon the improvements effected in Java whilst under British authority; but the prevalence of undisturbed internal order and peace, concurrently with the improving resources of the state, evinced a material advance in the productive industry of the people, and an amelioration of their condition.[1]

The question of retaining Java as a colony of the Crown, or of leaving it under the government of the East India Company, had been left undetermined by the British Administration, amid the mighty transactions which at this period involved the destinies of the world. One of their results was the re-establishment of the Netherlands as an independent monarchy, and the revival of those relations of amity, which had at various intervals united Great Britain and Holland. In the spirit of the connexion thus re-established, the British Government, without weighing with sufficient deliberation the circumstances which the altered political condition of Europe had created, and with a dereliction more liberal than politic of its own interests, hastened to replace the Dutch in their ancient Eastern

[1] The revenues of Java realised, in 1805-6, rupees 492,128. General Daendels, in 1809, raised them to 800,000. In 1814 they amounted to 5,368,065. For this and other facts, see "Substance of a Minute recorded by Sir Thomas S. Raffles, with Appendix; printed (not published) by Black and Co., London 1814: also his Life, and History of Java.

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possessions; and by a convention with the United Netherlands, dated 13th of August, 1814, engaged to restore all the colonies, with exception of the Cape of Good Hope and some places in the West Indies. Java was consequently among the cessions. The more pressing calls at home upon the attention of the Batavian Government, delayed its availing itself immediately of the generosity of its ally; and Java did not reassume the character of a Dutch colony until the end of 1816, five years after it had been conquered by the armament from Bengal. Sir T. Raffles was spared the pain of resigning his power to the Dutch commissioners, by the appointment of Mr. Fendall, of the Bengal service to the government of Java in the beginning of the same year.[1]

CHAPTER VII.

Return of the Governor-General from Java. — Internal Administration. — Indications of future Hostilities. — Relations with Hyderabad and Nagpore. — Misgovernment of Oude. — Interference of the Government of Bengal. Differences between the Nawab and the Resident. — The latter supported by Lord Minto. — Defects in the Judicial and Revenue Systems of the British Government. — Mohammedan and latter Hindu Systems. — Concentration of Functions. — Judicial officers. — Circumstances counteracting defective Administration. — State of Civil and Criminal Justice. — Consequences of establishing Civil Courts, — Multiplication of Suits, — Arrears of Decisions, — no Effective Remedy applied. — State of Criminal Judicature, — Similar Arrears. — State of Police — Classes of Robbers, — Prevalence of Dakoiti, or Gang Robbery, —

[1] Some measures of the administration of Mr. Raffles had been disapproved of by the Court of Directors, particularly his alienation of the public domains in order to raise funds, in place of re-issuing a greatly depreciated paper currency, under an emergent demand for money, and the inexpedience of drawing on Bengal. Charges implicating his integrity had also been preferred against him; which, although acknowledged in most unqualified terms by the Court to be utterly unfounded, seem to have produced a bias unfavourable to him in the mind of Lord Moira, and to have had some influence in his supersession. His provisional appointment, by Lord Minto, to be Resident at Bencoolen was confirmed, and he repaired thither after a visit to England, where he received the honour of knighthood in the end of 1817.—Life, p. 290.

Atrocities Perpetrated, — Difficulty of Detection and Conviction.— Evils of Excluding Native Co-operation,— Attempts to recover it, — Failures. — Superintendents of Police and Special Magistrates appointed.—Employment of Informers. — Diminution of Dakoiti.— Revenue System,—Review of.— Proprietary Right of the Sovereign not of Hindu but of Mohammedan Origin.— Doctrines of the latter.—Notions of the People.— Nature and Extent of Public Demand under the Hindus and Mohammedans in Earlier and Later Times.— from whom demanded.— Variety of Proprietary Rights.— Village Communities,— their Origin,— Legislation,— Colonisation,— Conquest.— Traces of Property Extinguished by the Exactions of the Government, and Village Communities destroyed, — in some Provinces, — not in all.— Variety of Organization, different Rights of the Members,— Peculiarities of Constitution,—General Identity.— Classes of Tenants.— Perpetual, — Temporary.—The Public Revenue how realized. — Revenue Officers.— Head-men of Villages,— Modifications of the Office.—Function of Zemindar,— Degree of his Proprietary Right,— Contingent Advantages,— Consideration among the People.— Course adopted by the British Government.— Permanent Zemindari Settlement ordered for Madras.— Commencement of Ryotwar Settlement. — Principles of Assessment urged by Lord W. Bentinck,— Abandoned by the Government of Madras.— Village Settlements formed.— Perpetual Settlement at Madras prohibited by the Court of Directors.— Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces of Bengal.— Commission of Inquiry,— Recommend Delay of a Permanent Assessment, — Recommendation disregarded by the Government.— Expected Advantages of Permanency, not Realisable,— Illusory Nature of the Provision,— Moderate Assessment all that is essential,— Principle discountenanced in England.— Permanent Settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces forbidden.— Regulations for the Protection of the Ryots.— House-tax,— Resistance at Benares,— Repealed.— Religious Riot at Benares.— Missionaries in Bengal,— Established at Serampore,— Checked by the Government.— Lord Minto's Encouragement of Oriental Literature,— Interest in the

College of Fort William.—Financial Operations.—Close of Lord Minto's Administration.

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THE Governor-General returned from Java to Calcutta towards the end of 1811; and the remaining period of his administration was occupied with the resumption and prosecution of measures affecting the welfare of British India in its amicable relations with the neighbouring states and its allies, and in the promotion of its internal prosperity.

The peace of India remained undisturbed; but various indications occurred of an approaching necessity for departing from the pacific principles which had generally regulated the policy of the Government. On the north, the Court of Nepaul had asserted claims to territory within the Company's boundaries which were questioned or denied; and had instigated, or allowed its subjects to commit, encroachments and outrages which demanded serious notice. In the south, the style assumed by the officers of the King of Burma in their intercourse with the English functionaries at Chittagong, arising out of insurrections in the intermediate province of Aracan, lately conquered by the Burmese, revealed an arrogant and usurping spirit which it would probably require force to repress. On the western frontier, the banditti known as Pindaris, were becoming daily more confident and daring; and in 1812 a party of them violated the integrity of the British dominions, broke through the boundaries, and advanced to the wealthy commercial city of Mirzapore, which they threatened to plunder. The approach of troops saved it from destruction, and the Pindaris retired. To prevent the repetition of a similar irruption, treaties were formed with the Rajas of Tehri and Rewa,[1] by which they were bound to close the passes in their several principalities against the Pindari incursions, and a cordon of troops was stationed along the frontier from Bundelkhand to Midnapore. At the same time that these precautions were taken, it was foreseen that they would be mere palliatives; and a time was contemplated when

[1] Treaty with Raja Bikramajit of Tehri, 23rd December, 1812. The treaties with the Rewa Raja have been previously referred to.—Treaties with Native Chiefs, xlix.

it would be necessary to undertake a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil.[1] The period was not long deferred: but the arrangements adopted belong to a different administration. The same was the case with the course that was ultimately pursued with respect to Nepaul and Burma; and we may therefore suspend their consideration until the power of the British Government was exerted to place its rights beyond dispute, to secure its confines from aggression, and to eradicate the predatory pestilence which had so long preyed upon the strength, and wasted the energies, of Central India.

The subsidiary alliance with Hyderabad had undergone no material alteration since the interference of the Government of Bengal in the appointment of a minister. The Nizam, discontented and sullen, took little concern in public business, and sought consolation for wounded pride in sensual indulgence. His minister, Munir-al-Mulk, equally indolent and incapable, followed his sovereign's example; and all the labour, but with it much of the authority, devolved upon the Hindu subordinate, Chandu Lal. Strong also in the assured support of the Resident, the Dewan made but an indifferent use of his responsibility, and to his own purposes and emolument sacrificed the interests of the prince and the prosperity of the people. At the recommendation of the Resident, Chandu Lal consented to the reorganisation of the military contingent which the Nizam was bound by treaty to furnish, and, instead of a body of irregulars, to maintain a standing disciplined force under British officers. This was gradually increased to above twelve thousand men, horse and foot, and proved itself of eminent service in the subsequent war. Its chief value in the estimation of the minister was the weight which it gave him in his dealings with the Court, and the coercive means it enabled him to employ against refractory landholders, and farmers of the revenue, on occasions when the aid of the subsidiary brigades was withheld. The sanction of the Government was given to the arrangement. A similar plan was recommended to the Peshwa, and he

[1] Secret Letter from Bengal, 2nd October, 1812; Papers, Pindari War, p. 14.

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also assented to the formation of a disciplined brigade under British officers.[1]

The necessity which has been described of interfering for the defence of the Raja of Nagpore, naturally directed the attention of the Governent to the permanent maintenance at his expense of a military force. Negotiations with this view were opened; but the objections of the Raja to a subsidiary alliance were not to be overcome, and the arrangement was deferred.[2]

A long, and occasionally an uneasy, discussion with the Nawab of Oude, engaged at this time in an especial manner the deliberations of the Government and the Court of Directors. The frequent applications made by the Nawab for the services of the subsidiary force in the compulsive collection of the revenues of Oude had occasioned extreme dissatisfaction in the minds of both the local and the home authorities, as they were well aware that the troops were in this manner often employed on duties incompatible with their military character, and were converted into instruments of extortion and oppression. Supported by the sanction and injunctions of the Court of Directors, the Governor-General determined, towards the close of 1810, to express to the Nawab in an unqualified manner, the sentiments with which his fiscal administration was regarded, and the conclusions of the Bengal Government, that a change of system was indispensably necessary. A letter was accordingly addressed to him by Lord Minto, earnestly recommending to him to institute a reform which should be based upon the fundamental principles of a moderate assessment, to be made by the officers of the Government immediately with the landholders, without the intervention of a contractor or farmer of the revenue. The settlements were to be made for a fixed term of years, and the occupants of the land were to be guaranteed in their occupancy as long as the amount of the assessment was regularly discharged. Other reforms, relating to the police and the administration of justice, were suggested at the same time; and the Resident was instructed to use an urgent and decided tone in pressing these recommendations upon the consideration of the Nawab.

[1] Report, Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, pp. 133, 266.
[2] Ibid. p. 227.

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The interference which was thus exercised by the Government of Bengal in the internal regulation of the affairs of Oude, was grounded upon the article of the treaty of 1801, in which the Nawab "engaged to establish in his reserved dominions such a system of administration, to be carried into effect by his own officers, as should be conducive to the prosperity of his subjects, and calculated to secure the lives and property of the inhabitants; and that his Excellency would always advise with, and act in conformity to, the counsel of the officers of the Honourable Company." The explanation subsequently given by Lord Wellesley to the Nawab of the principles which were to regulate the intercourse between the two states amplified the expressions of this article; and whilst it declared that the Resident was to be the representative of the Governor-General, and the channel by which the sentiments and counsels of the British Government were to be communicated, enjoined that functionary to treat the Nawab with the utmost degree of respect, conciliation, and attention, and to maintain cordial union and harmony in all transactions.

How was this to be accomplished when the sentiments of the Nawab differed from those of the Resident? what security was provided for the acquiescence of the former in the counsels of the latter? who was to determine whether the counsels of the British Government and of its representative were really calculated to promote the interests of the prince and his people? and by what means compliance was to be enforced consistently with the degree of independence which the Nawab was allowed to retain? were questions which the vague and indefinite phraseology of both treaty and explanation left for the embarrassment of Lord Wellesley's successors.

On the present occasion, all these sources of perplexity occurred. Professing himself willing and desirous to defer to the advice of the British Government, the Nawab entertained insuperable and not unreasonable objections to the propositions submitted to him. It was recommended to him to take as a model, the arrangements introduced into the Ceded provinces with, it was affirmed, entire success; to relinquish the practice of farming the revenues; to institute an inquiry into the productiveness

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of the lands; and, upon a determination of their value, to settle with the proprietors a moderate rate of assessment for a period of three years. To these recommendations the Nawab at first gave his assent; but he started doubts as to the practicability of their execution, the delays and difficulties which would attend the valuation of the lands, and the impossibility of finding functionaries qualified and fit to form settlements with the landholders. On the other hand, the Resident, Major Baillie, sanguine in his expectations of success, treated the Nawab's doubts as evasive, and, instead of observing the conciliatory course prescribed by Lord Wellesley, pressed the reform with a degree of positiveness and importunity which furnished the Nawab with a fresh cause of alarm, and led him to apprehend that the Resident's objects were to take into his own hands the nomination of the revenue officers and an inquisitorial scrutiny into his revenues. Each charged the other with a virtual infraction of the treaty; the Resident accusing the Nawab of disregarding the advice of the British Government, and the Nawab complaining that he was not permitted to judge what measures were conducive to the prosperity of his people, or carry them into effect through the agency of his own servants. There were several other sources of disagreement, arising chiefly out of the advocacy by the Resident of the rights and claims of the members of the Nawab's family, or of individuals taken under his especial protection, in opposition to the wishes of the Nawab. In most of these cases the conduct of the Resident might be defended, either by existing or implied engagements with the British Government; but it necessarily reminded the Nawab of the unreality of the independence with which Lord Wellesley had pretended to invest him in all matters of a private and domestic nature.

After much lengthy correspondence and various personal conferences, in which the Nawab under the operation of fluctuating feelings repeatedly promised acquiescence, and as often evaded the fulfilment of his promises, the Government of Bengal, then administered by General Hewett as Vice-President during Lord Minto's absence at Java, determined to refrain from urging the question of reform further. They argued that it would be of little

avail to enforce the Nawab's adoption of a plan, the execution of which he could easily, and would most certainly, frustrate; that his objections to any particular scheme of reform could not be construed into a systematic disregard of the counsels of the British Government, for which, on the contrary, he professed the utmost deference; and that, consequently, to have recourse to the only method of compulsion which could be contemplated, that of denying him the services of the subsidiary force for the suppression of insubordination and resistance to his authority, would be an unjustifiable departure from the conditions of the alliance. Whilst expressing, therefore, extreme dissatisfaction with the Nawab for the insincerity and prevarication which he had displayed, the Resident was instructed to relinquish for the time all further efforts to obtain his consent to the proposed reform.[1] With regard to the employment of British troops against refractory Zemindars at the requisition of the Nawab's collectors, the Government confirmed a resolution to which they had previously come, of not allowing their employment without an investigation by the Resident of the occasion which demanded it.

The question of reform remained unagitated during part of 1812; but causes of disagreement were not wanting. In the commencement of the year, an application was made by the Nawab for troops to put down an insurrection; but the Resident, ascertaining that the disturbance was of no importance, and was connected, as usual, with the exactions of the farmers of the revenues, insisted on the prior investigation of the merits of the case, or the deputation of his own agents for the purpose. The Nawab declined compliance, and no troops were sent. Shortly afterwards, some of the Nawab's proceedings encroaching on the rights of the Bhao Begum of Fyzabad, the widow of his father, were opposed to the Resident, as these rights had been guaranteed by treaty. This interference in his domestic concerns was a source of severe mortification to

[1] Letter from the Bengal Government to the Court of Directors, 15th October, 1811, in which the negotiations with the Nawab are detailed: Report Select Committee, 1832; Political Appendix, 414. The correspondence between the Nawab, the Resident, and the Government are printed also in the "Oude Papers," printed for the proprietors of East India Stock, June, 1824.

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the Nawab, and he strenuously denied the right of the Resident to interpose. Towards the close of the same year, the Government of Bengal had its attention called to outrages and robberies committed on the British frontiers by marauding gangs from Oude, whom the Nawab's officers were either unable or unwilling to restrain. As this evil had been the frequent topic of unavailing representation, it was now announced to the Nawab that the plunderers would be pursued into his country by the British troops without his permission if his acquiescence were withheld. All these sources of vexation produced a formal complaint of the Nawab against the Resident for insolent and arrogant behaviour: the charge was met by the Resident's denial, and a recriminatory accusation of an improper want of respect to the British representative in the tone and style of the Nawab's correspondence. The Government pronounced their entire approbation of the Resident's conduct, and required the Nawab to adopt a more deferential style of address.

These proceedings for a while intimidated the Nawab into professing his resolution to conform to the wishes of the Government in all things: but the imperfect execution of his promise drew from Lord Minto,[1] in July, 1813, an address of remonstrance and expostulation, reminding him that the British Government had a right, founded upon the basis of the subsidiary treaty, to propose such reforms in his internal government as it deemed essential, and that he was held by the same treaty under an obligation to follow such advice; that he had admitted the necessity, and both verbally and in writing had given assurances of his acquiescence in a manner little less authentic and formal than if they had been reduced to the form of a treaty, and equally binding on his honour and good faith; notwithstanding which, he had retracted his consent, and opposed the most determined resistance to the efforts made by the Resident, acting under the positive orders of the Government, to induce him to abide by the terms of his engagements. Lord Minto declared also, that, upon receiving the Nawab's acquiescence, the British Government would have been entitled, and was

[1] Letter from the Governor-General to the Nawab Vizir, 2nd July, 1813; Onde Papers, p. 506.

perhaps required, to insist on his carrying the proposed plan into effect at once; and instances the patience and respect with which his objections had been listened to and refuted, as undeniable proofs of its forbearance and moderation. Not a single argument against the plan had been adduced, but had been respectfully entertained, deliberately examined, and successfully combated; and the doubts and fears still professed by the Nawab could be ascribed to no other motives than a decided resolution to oppose the introduction of reform altogether, in the vain hope that the Government would ultimately abandon the question in despair. The Nawab was assured that no lapse of time, no change of circumstances, would ever induce the British Government to relinquish a measure which it considered essential to the happiness and prosperity of Oude, the ease and reputation of the Nawab, and the best interests of both states. He was also warned, that, if he persisted in his refusal, he would violate an express stipulation of the treaty; and he was requested seriously to consider the consequences in which he might involve himself by such a course of conduct. Lord Minto therefore expressed his confident expectation that the reform recommended would be carried into effect without further opposition or delay. The Governor-General explained his views upon the other points under discussion in a like peremptory strain.

Fortified with the decision of the Government, the Resident proceeded to insist upon the Nawab's immediate adoption of the measures proposed, and, in his ardour and impatience, demanded for the British Government a degree of participation in the ordinary administration of Oude scarcely warranted by the spirit or letter of the existing engagements, when he maintained that every act whatsoever—the lease of a district in farm, the institution of a court of justice in the capital, the change of any police regulation,—without the previous concurrence of the Governor-General, was a direct violation of the treaty, for which the Nawab might be made responsible; or, in other words, might be divested of all authority whenever it pleased the Government to call him to account. That such minute and vexatious interference was intended by the original contract, may be reasonably questioned; but

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the present discussions showed the extreme difficulty of defining the just limits of interposition, and the unavoidable tendency of all such political associations to render the will of the controuling power the sole standard of the necessity of its interference. The Nawab became alarmed, and, in the month of September, he announced his final determination to give immediate operation to the project of reform, by despatching officers to adjust an equitable assessment; and he instituted arrangements for affording satisfaction on the minor topics of dispute. Before any important results could be realized from these preliminary measures, the Government of India passed into other hands, and different views influenced the counsels of Lord Moira.

Although the countries which had been brought under British sway had derived from it the benefits of exemption from foreign invasion and internal disorder for some years, yet the progressive amelioration of the condition of the people had failed to keep pace with the expectations and hopes of their rulers. This was and is still to be ascribed to radical defects in the systems of judicature and revenue which had been introduced; and which, although they were based upon just and benevolent principles, were too entirely of a European complexion to be readily identifiable with the very different aspects of society which existed in Hindustan. They had been framed upon insufficient inquiry, and had been brought in abruptly, without having been suffered to grow up gradually and spontaneously with the continuance of the new and anomalous constitution of things to which they owed their origin. They were still only in the course of adaptation to circumstances; and it was, and has since continued to be, the anxious object of both the local and home authorities to provide a remedy for those defects which their development displays.[1] The subject has been already treated of at some length; but as the observations made in a former volume were in some degree anticipatory, and the facts on which they were founded belong to the period

[1] In 1813, the Court of Directors circulated queries regarding the working of the Judicial system in India, to several of their most distinguished servants then in England. The questions and replies are printed in the Selections from the Records at the East India House printed by order of the Court, vol. ii.

now under review, as also they were restricted to the Bengal provinces, some further notice of them here may not be superfluous or out of place.

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Whatever may have been the case when the Mohammedan and Hindu governments were in full vigour, it was undeniable that, for a considerable time before the establishment of British supremacy, the people of India had been unaccustomed to any regularly organised and administered system of law or justice. In Upper India, Mohammedan domination had left few and obscure traces of Hindu institutions; and those which they had substituted, never very pure or perfect, had almost equally disappeared in the anarchy by which Hindustan had long been distracted. The same was very much the case with the territories under the Madras Presidency that had been subject to the Mohammedans; and, if Hindu usages lingered in the Mahratta states, they had lost much of their primary character amid the irregular and arbitrary practices of the ruling authorities. The main principle that everywhere regulated the administration was the concentration of absolute authority; and the same individual was charged with the superintendence of revenue, justice, and police, with little to guide or restrain him except his own perceptions and sentiments of equity, and a prudent consideration for his own safety and advantage. Even in the best of times the sovereign, whether King or Raja, was the fountain of law and justice; and the Subahdar, the Nawab, the Jagirdar, all holding delegated or usurped authority, claimed the same prerogative. The Kazi, or Nyayadhipati, Mohammedan and Hindu expounders of the law, were sometimes retained in principal towns as judges of civil and criminal law; but their authority was ill defined, their labours were ill paid, and justice received little profit from their nomination. The police of cities was also in some places under the authority of an appointed officer, the Fojdar or Kotwal, who was responsible to the governor of the district or city; but in the villages and in the country, the village head-men, or Patéls, where such existed, and in other parts the Zemindar, who combined the character of landholder and collector of the revenue, claimed the charge of the police, and the decision of civil and criminal suits. The leading

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object of the native governments was the realisation of the largest possible amount of revenue; and all persons engaged in this duty, whether as fiscal officers or as farmers and contractors, were armed with plenary powers both as magistrates and judges: a pertinacious appeal from those whom they oppressed might sometimes reach the ears of their superiors, but in general this resource was imperfectly available, and the people were left to the uncontrolled will of individuals.[1]

Incompatible as such a state of things must be with the feelings and principles of Europeans, its effects upon the condition of the inhabitants of India were not wholly subversive of their happiness. The persons placed over them belonged to themselves, were assimilated in religion and language, conversant with their usages, and not regardless of their good opinion. Their decisions, although not guided by a code of laws, were founded upon an accurate knowledge of persons and things; and, when not

[1] All the Bengal civilians concur in stating, that, according to their belief no remains of ancient institutions existed in Bengal. Of the state of law and justice among the people, the following are some of the results of their observations: "The people had no idea of being protected by law against abuses of power. When an Aumil (a native revenue or executive officer) was guilty of gross injustice and oppression, they might endeavour to get rid of him by a clamorous remonstrance in a body to the authority to which he was accountable for his conduct; but, generally speaking, they were quite at his mercy. Probably they had no conception of a more safe and rational system until they saw the effects of the judicial regulations of 1793. The spirit of the old institutions of Hindustan survived their formal abolition as long as the Company's servants united the offices of collector, judge, and magistrate."—Ernst, Records, p. 27. "During the Mohammedan government, in Bengal, in the large Zemindaris, consisting of several pergunnas, it was usual to have pergunna Cutcheris (courts), and the Tehsildar (collector) of the pergunna, who was the Zemindar's agent, decided in civil suits; village Gomashtas (agents) also exercised the same authority, and recourse was frequently had to arbitration by their orders. The Zemindars and their Dewans also decided civil suits according to the ancient Hindu custom. In cities and large towns and in each pergunna, Kazis were appointed, who decided in civil suits. They appear to have been the judicial officers on the part of the Nawabs, but the Zemindars never gave up their right of deciding in civil suits."—"Cox, ibid. p. 47. "Every province in India is divided into small tracts called villages: the affairs of every village are managed by two head-men, the Potail and the Curnum; the Potail is the chief of the village and acts in it as judge, magistrate, and collector."—Munro, ibid. 106. "The authorities by whom civil justice was administered were the following: in the country, the Potail; over him the Mamlutdar (district collector), and Sirsubahdar (head of a large division); and above all, the Peshwa, or his minister. Jagirdars administered justice in their own lands; the great ones with little or no interference on the part of the Governments. In some towns, there was a judicial officer called the Nyáyádesi (the same as Nyáyádhipati, superintendent of Nyáya—justice), who tried causes under the Peshwa's authority; and any person whom the Peshwa pleased to authorise might conduct an investigation, subject to his highness's confirmation."—Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta Provinces; Selections from the Records, iv. p. 188.

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distorted by sinister influences, were commonly conformable to equity and good-sense. The proceedings of these self-constituted courts were simple, and their sentences summary; they were not embarrassed or retarded by complicated forms and technical pleadings; and they escaped the tax upon their money and time, which more elaborate judicature imposes. Another advantage contributed to counteract the defects of the system. In the absence of courts of justice provided by the state, the people learned to abstain from litigation; and, when disputes among them arose, submitted them to the arbitrement of judges chosen among themselves.[1] This expedient had probably descended from ancient times, in which it had been a recognised element of Hindu judiciary administration under the denomination of Panchâyat;[2] but it had fallen into desuetude in most parts of India, and subsisted, in any degree of efficiency, only in the south.[3] Although the Panchayats were not inaccessible to personal bias or corruption, and their proceedings were occasionally irregular and tedious, yet they were suited to the circumstances and congenial to the feelings of the people, and supplied the place of better organised and more solemn tribunals.[4]

[1] "With all these defects, the Mahratta country flourished, and the people seem to have been exempt from some of the evils which exist under our more perfect government: there must, therefore, have been some advantages in the system to counterbalance its obvious defects, and most of them appear to me to have originated in one fact; that the Government, although it did little to obtain justice for the people, left them the means of procuring it for themselves."— Elphinstone; Selections, iv. 194.

[2] From the Sanscrit word pancha, or puncha; πεντε, quinque, five: the court being originally, perhaps, formed of that number, but in common practice it was exceeded. Mr. Elphinstone says, "The number was never less than five, but it has been known to be as great as fifty."— Elphinstone; Selections, 189.

[3] Sir Henry Strachey says, "I do not recollect any remains of ancient Hindu institutions, not even the Punchayet; but, the term being well known in Bengal, it is probable that the thing exists in some parts of the Bengal provinces, and that it is occasionally resorted to voluntarily by the Hindus in disputes concerning caste, and perhaps in matters of village accounts and boundary disputes. I remember no instance of parties in a suit proposing a reference to the Punchayet. Our civil courts never discourage any kind of arbitration; they constantly recommend it to the parties, who will never agree to it."— Answers; Selections, p. 53. All the Bengal civilians state the same. Mr. J. A. Grant, of Bombay, says of the Panchayats on that side of India, "They direct their attention chiefly, I believe, to matters of discipline and ceremonial observance, connected with the customs and usages of their several sects. They exercise no judicial authority."— Selections, ii. 192.

[4] It was especially in the Mahratta provinces that "the Punchayet might be considered as the great instrument in the administration of justice.— Elphinstone. Mr. Elphinstone, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker speak favourably of their operation, although, from the details specified, they seem to have

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Upon the establishment of regular courts of justice under the government of the East India Company, the novelty of a channel exclusively dedicated to the hearing and determining of complaints, and a belief that they would be investigated in an upright and impartial spirit, produced inconveniences which had not been foreseen. Every one who had, or fancied he had, a wrong to redress, resorted to the court; and the numbers of the suitors speedily became so numerous, that the means of hearing and adjudicating their cases were wholly insufficient.[1] The jurisdiction of each court comprehended an extent of country and an amount of population vastly beyond the powers of a single establishment. The very qualities which constituted the peculiar recommendations of the new courts added to their insufficiency.[2] As little as possible was left to individual discretion. Deliberate forms and prescribed modes of procedure, whilst they secured exactness, impeded despatch. Reference to the regulations of the Government, and to the written authorities of Hindu and Mohammedan law, retarded decision; and the multiplication of opportunities of appeal from one tribunal to another encouraged and perpetuated litigation. The unavoidable deficiencies of laws which, whether Hindu, Mo-

been clumsy instruments. The members were selected by the parties, and were not uninfluenced by the hope of presents from one or both: the attendance of the members was very irregular, and there seem to have been no efficient means of compelling punctuality; "it was generally effected by the intreaties of the parties interested." Proceedings were seldom recorded: "in villages the Punchayet was often conducted in the way of conversation, and nothing was written but the decision, and not always that." "Throughout the whole proceedings the Punchayets appear to have been guided by their own notions of justice; they consulted no books, and it was only on particular points of Hindu law that they referred to a Sastri (one learned in the law) for his opinion." The Panchayat had no power to enforce its decrees; they required to be confirmed and executed by an officer of Government, to whom "for this cause frequent references were required, and he exercised a considerable influence on the progress of the trial." Notwithstanding these imperfections, the Panchayat must have exercised a beneficial influence, as it enjoyed great popularity; as is proved by the current phrase, "Panch-Parameswara," Panchayet is God Almighty.—Elphinstone; Selections, iv. 191.

[1] In 1797, the number of suits instituted was 330,977, although the western provinces had not been acquired: they began to decrease from 1803, and in 1813 were only 184,790.—Selections from the Records, iv. 34.

[2] In the Bengal Presidency the population subject to a Zilla court was generally about a million. The Zilla of Midnapore was one hundred and thirty miles long by forty to fifty broad.—Sir Henry Strachey and others. At Madras the Zillas were more compact, and generally contained about half a million inhabitants.—Cockburn. "The Ceded districts, at first divided into three, since into two, Zillas, contain about twenty-nine thousand square miles,—about the extent of Scotland, but more populous."—Thackeray; Answers to Queries. Selections.

hammedan, or English, were devised for wholly different conditions of society, and had not yet become adapted to the changes still in progress, with the unfitness of some of the European judges, from their imperfect knowledge of the languages of the country and the habits of the people,[1] as well as their ignorance of the principles of law and their occasional negligence, contributed to aggravate the defects of the system, and to obstruct the course of judgment. Arrears became in consequence so numerous, and decisions were so long delayed, as to amount to a virtual denial of justice. Attempts were made from time to time to remedy these imperfections: charges and fees were imposed, in order to render justice more expensive and discourage litigation; additional courts were established, at a cost which became burthensome to the state; additional powers were given to the judges, and the privilege of appeal was subject to new limitations; — measures in some respects exceptionable, and in all inoperative; and the accumulation of arrears, although to a less extent, still continued to constitute a serious evil.[2] To the most obvious remedy, the multiplication of courts and judicial functionaries in an equally progressive ratio, was opposed the heavy expense of adding to the number of European magistrates.[3] Any considerable augmentation of native judges, who were employed to a limited extent, and whose services were much more economical, was resisted by a violent prejudice against their agency. Their fitness for the office, as far as it required ability and knowledge, was generally admitted; but it was maintained that their notorious want of integrity rendered it impossible that justice could be distributed to the people through so corrupt and impure a channel.[4] The imputation was not

[1] "There is a want of something like professional knowledge, that is, knowledge of the general principles of law, in both the Zilla and provincial judges; and part of the persons in the judicial line are not fit for that part of the service."—Dorin; Selections.

[2] The suits depending in Bengal at the end of 1802 were 170,706; at the end of 1813, 145,168: for the clearance of which it was estimated that three years would be required in the Zillah, and four in the provincial courts.—Commons' Committee, 1832; Judicial; Appendix, vii. 479.

[3] The annual expense of the judicial establishment in Bengal was calculated by Lord Cornwallis at 306,000*l*. In 1809-10 it had risen to 806,000*l*. The whole cost at the three Presidencies was at that time 1,260,840. In 1813 it was 1,572,492.

[4] "I think it quite out of the question to trust the natives with any principal part in the administration of justice. I am not aware that they want the

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perhaps wholly unmerited, but the charge was much too unqualified, and the evils anticipated were greatly exaggerated. Nor was it sufficiently considered by what means they might be remedied: whether they might not be checked, if not prevented, by better pay, higher dignity, vigilant superintendance, and occasional disgrace; whether natives might not be influenced as well as Europeans by the hope of reward and fear of punishment. Corruption could not be universal. The temptation could not in every case outweigh the risk; and no account was made of the force of public opinion, to which the natives of India are not insensible. It seems also to have been forgotten, that, for centuries prior to the introduction of European agency, law and justice had been administered solely by natives; yet society had been held together: and there had been times when, according to the testimony of travellers and historians, India had been populous and flourishing, the people thriving and happy. This was

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ability sufficient to decide ordinary questions with tolerable skill, but even the better sort of them are notoriously open to corruption; there is scarcely any thing like principle among them. I know there are some who think these native judges do more harm than good, and should be dispensed with altogether."—Dorin. "The natives can rarely, I fear, be exclusively trusted with the administration of justice; and, in any part of the judicial system allotted to their execution, they must be superintended by Europeans."—Falconer. Sir Henry Strachey, Colonel Munro, and Colonel Walker entertain different views. "It is my opinion that all the judicial functions of Bengal might gradually be thrown into the hands of natives, and that the business would be as well conducted under our regulations by the natives as Europeans; in some respects better, and at one tenth of the expense." And again: "I am of opinion that, with respect to integrity and diligence, the natives may be trusted with the administration of justice. I think no superintendance of Europeans necessary." "We place the European beyond the reach of temptation; to the native we assign some ministerial office with a poor stipend of twenty to thirty rupees a month: then we pronounce that the Indians are corrupt, and that no race of men but the Company's servants are fit to govern them."—Sir H. Strachey. "In a civilized populous country like India, justice can be well dispensed only through the natives themselves. It is absurd to suppose that they are so corrupt as to be altogether unfit to be entrusted with the discharge of this important duty: if they were so, there would be no remedy for the evil; their place could never be supplied by a few foreigners imperfectly acquainted with their customs and language. Again: "Give a native judge from five hundred to one thousand rupees a month, he will decide thrice as many causes as a European. He might be corrupt; turn him out and try another, and another. Make it worth his while to retain his post, and he will cease to risk its forfeiture. If we pay the same price for integrity, we shall find it as readily amongst natives as Europeans."—Munro. "The aim of the preceding observations has been to show that the natives of India may, in respect to integrity, be trusted with the administration of justice; and that some of the civil offices of government may be confided to them with safety and advantage."—Walker; Answers to Queries; Selections, vol. ii. There will be subsequently occasion to advert to later opinions on this subject.

still the case in some parts of the country; and, if it was not so more generally, the cause was to be found in the absence of good government and the prevalence of internal disorder, in which all institutions had been overturned, and principles as well as the practice of justice had disappeared. It was taking a narrow and ungenerous view of the question to draw a conclusion unfavourable to the native character from the state in which it had been left by the recent times of trouble, and, overlooking what it had been in better days, deny the probability of its amelioration under more propitious circumstances. The truth was beginning to be discerned; and, amid the prevalence of a contrary opinion, some few of the Company's servants warmly advocated the extended employment of the natives in the administration of justice as the only practicable means of proportioning the supply to the demand. The question continued in suspense, and little advance was made in the improvement of the judicial system in Bengal during Lord Minto's government. Measures were, however, in progress which were brought to maturity under his successor. Changes of more considerable magnitude took place at Madras, but they also underwent important modifications at a shortly subsequent period.[1]

[1] Bengal Regulation xiii. of 1808 enacted that the origination of civil suits of five thousand rupees and upwards should be transferred from the Zilla to the provincial courts; and Regulation xiii. of 1810 provided that decrees might be passed by one judge in sundry cases where two had been necessary, and that the fees on the institution of suits should be partly or wholly returned when the parties settled the cause by arbitration. At Madras, in 1808, Regulation v. enacted the payment of fees on the institution and trial of suits. Regulation vi. empowered the senior judge of the courts of circuit and appeal to take his tour of circuit duty. Regulations viii. to xiii. effected a new arrangement of the jurisdiction of the Zilla courts in the different divisions of the Madras provinces, and established four courts of appeal and circuit. In 1809, Regulation vii. provided for the occasional appointment of Zillah judges, extended the jurisdiction of the registers, limited appeals, and provided head native commissioners in certain cases. Regulation viii. defined the duties and powers of judges of the provincial courts acting singly. Regulation x. increased the number of powers of native commissioners; and Regulation xii. limited and regulated the right of appeal. Up to the year 1808, the Regulations of the Bombay Presidency were framed as nearly conformable to those of Bengal as circumstances would admit, with the exception that, while the Mohammedan law was there alone applicable to the decision of criminal trials, the Hindus under the Bombay Presidency were allowed the benefit of the laws of their religion in all trials, of whatsoever description, wherein they were the defendant or accused parties. At this period the Government of Bombay exercised the right, with which it was invested by the 47th of George III. sect. iii. chap. 68, of making Regulations of its own authority; and in this and subsequent years, the following Regulations provided for the more effective administration of civil and criminal justice: 1808, Regulation ii.; 1812, Regulations iii. to xi.; 1813, Regulations ii. iv. vii. ix.

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Delays of a similar nature, although not to a like extent were found to prevail in the administration of criminal justice; and, in a great measure from a like cause, the inadequacy of the provision made for its distribution. An evil of a still more pernicious tendency originated in the assignment of the duty of magistrate to the city or district judge. If as judge he devoted his attention to the civil suits in arrear, the business of the magistrate was necessarily interrupted, and an interval might intervene between the apprehension of a prisoner and his commitment, which sometimes subjected the innocent to the punishment of the guilty, and detained for an indefinite period a person in confinement against whom no charge could be substantiated.[1] The same remedy that was applicable to the former case was here also obvious, and the separation of incompatible duties was a necessary preliminary to their effective discharge. For this purpose, the Bengal Government associated the Zilla and city judges in some instances with magistrates having a special or joint jurisdiction in criminal matters only, or gave them the aid of assistant magistrates, acting in general subordinately to, but upon emergencies independently of, the judges. Other enactments were passed for the more effective conduct of previous investigation by the local officers, for admission to bail upon charges not of a heinous nature, for the dismissal of frivolous complaints, and the avoidance of all unnecessary delay between the apprehension of a person accused and his examination before the magistrate.[2] The criminal, as well as the civil judicature, was the object of progressive legislation.[3]

The state of the police formed in Bengal a more immediate subject of solicitude than even the defects of the administration of civil or criminal justice. The Lower provinces of the Presidency were infested by the increasing numbers and audacity of various classes of robbers, who,

[1] Fifth Report, p. 69.

[2] Regulation xvi. of 1810.

[3] Regulations ix. 1807, and iii. 1812. Madras Regulation i. 1810 provided for the apprehension and punishment of persons resisting or evading the processes of the courts: Reg. i. of 1811 directed quarterly jail deliveries to be held in certain Zillas: Reg. iv. of 1811 had for its general scope the objects of the Bengal Regulations: Regs. iv. of 1807, and iii. of 1812, the more speedy trial and punishment, or acquittal, of persons charged with offences not of a heinous nature; this also enjoined the Zilla magistrates to furnish an annual report of all cases depending on the 31st of December before them or their assistants. The Bombay Regulations are cited above.

under the designations of Dakoits, Choars, Kuzzaks, Budhuks, or Thugs, infested the country, and not unfrequently added murder to robbery. The Kuzzaks were mounted robbers, who occasionally singly beset the high roads, or, having collected in parties, attacked and plundered whole villages. The Budhuks and Thugs were distinguished by their practice of strangling unsuspecting travellers, with whom they contrived to fall in upon a journey. The Dakoits and Choars were robbers who assembled in gangs, and, entering the villages by night, attacked the house of some one person reputed to possess valuables or money. These last were the most formidable. Their depredations were first noticed in 1772, when they were described by the Committee of Circuit as individuals not driven to such courses by want, but robbers by profession, and even by birth, following the profession from father to son. But, however true this may have been at the period of the report, there was no doubt that latterly many of the members of the several gangs were not professional banditti, but were urged by necessity to enlist in the gangs, or sometimes were compelled by force or fear to join them.[1] Aided by such recruits from the peasantry, the Dakoits acquired greater strength and confidence, and from 1800 to 1810 kept the country in perpetual alarm.[2] Extraordinary efforts became necessary for their suppression.

[1] "In accounting for Decoity or robbery in a Zilla, our first step ought to be to examine the condition of the Ryots, and we shall always find in their poverty and oppression the chief cause of this evil."—Tytler, Considerations on the State of India, i. 374. "A gang of Decoits does not consist entirely of professed robbers: many of the party are poor honest industrious people who are seized for the service of the night."—Letter from E. Strachey, Judge of Rajshahi; Fifth Report, App. 588.

[2] In the language of Lord Minto, "a monstrous and disorganised state of society existed under the eye of the supreme British authorities, and almost at the very seat of that Government to which the country might justly look for safety and protection. The mischief could not wait for a slow remedy; the people were perishing almost in our sight; every week's delay was a doom of slaughter and torture against the defenceless inhabitants of very populous countries."—Minute, 24th Nov. 1810; Parl. Papers, 1st July, 1819, p. 23. His lordship's language, and that which was generally employed on this occasion by the members of the Government and by the judges, is liable to the charge of exaggeration. At this very time, when it was said by the judicial secretary that "there was no protection of person or property to the people of India," it was very possible for an individual unconnected with the judicial department to be scarcely aware that such a crime as gang-robbery existed. In dwelling upon the absolute amount of crime, its proportional ratio to the population is imperfectly adverted to. According to official returns, the total number of murders, including those committed by Dakoits, in the Lower provinces, was in the year 1813 two hundred and ten, the population being above thirty-seven millions.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. Judicial, p. 506.

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The Dakoits, although in their aggregation and in their following acknowledged leaders or Sirdars they bore an analogy to the brigands of the south of Europe, or the banditti of the middle ages, yet resembled more nearly some of the illegal confederations which have been organised in modern days and more civilised communities in Europe, in their assembling by night only, and dispersing and following peaceable occupations during the day, most of them being engaged in the cultivation of the soil or following mechanical trades. Individuals among them were well known as Sirdars, by whom their expeditions were projected, and by whose orders the gang was assembled at an appointed spot, generally a grove near the village to be attacked. The members of the gang, who were secretly known to the Sirdars, and sometimes to each other, repaired to the place, variously armed, chiefly with swords, clubs, and pikes, and some with matchlocks. Their numbers varied from ten or fifteen to fifty or sixty. When collected, their marauding excursion was usually preluded by a religious ceremony, the worship of the goddess Durgá, the patroness of thieves, typified by a water-pot or a few blades of grass. The ceremony was conducted by a Brahman of degraded condition and dissolute life. Having propitiated the goddess by the promise of a portion of their spoil, they marched with lighted torches, and little attempt at concealment beyond disguising their faces by pigment, or covering them with masks, to the object of their expedition, usually the dwelling of some shop-keeper or money-changer, in which it was expected to discover treasure. Occasionally the motive of the attack was vengeance; and information given by the householder, or some of his family, against any of the members of the gang, brought upon him the resentment of the whole fraternity.[1] Upon entering the village it was customary to fire a gun, as a signal to the inhabitants to keep within their dwellings: the house against which the operation was designed was then surrounded; and, whilst some of the gang forced an entrance, others remained as a guard without. Unless exasperated by resistance, or instigated by revenge, the Dakoits did not

[1] Mr. Secretary Dowdeswell's Report, Sept. 1809. Of the three cases of which he gives the trials in abstract, one of which has been cited by Mr. Mill, v. 390, two originated in revenge.—Fifth Report, App. 604.

commonly proceed to murder; but they perpetrated atrocious cruelties upon such persons as refused, or were unable, to give them information regarding property which they suspected of having been concealed, burning them with lighted torches or blazing straw, or wrapping cloth or flax steeped in oil round their limbs and setting it on fire, or inflicting various tortures, which caused immediate or speedy death.[1] The object being accomplished, and the booty secured, the gang retired before daylight, and the individuals resumed their daily occupations. Such was the terror inspired by their atrocities, and such the dread of their revenge, that few of their neighbours ventured to inform or give evidence against them, although well aware of their real character and proceedings. The police, intimidated or corrupt, rarely interfered until the robbery was completed and the perpetrators had disappeared; and their interposition was far from welcome to the people, as their unprofitable and vexatious inquiries had frequently no other purpose in view than the extortion of money as the price of forbearing to drag the villagers, unwilling witnesses, before the European magistrate, or even of falsely accusing them of being accessary to the crime.[2]

The Zilla judge, who according to the existing system administered, as has been mentioned, both the criminal as well as the civil law, and was charged also with the duty of police magistrate, necessarily resided in the capital town of his jurisdiction, which might be a hundred miles remote from the scene of a robbery. Fully occupied with his other duties, it was impossible for him to pay frequent visits to places at any considerable distance from his station; and not only was local investigation therefore impracticable, but it was impossible for him to exercise a vigilant personal

[1] In one hundred and four houses attacked by Dakoits in the course of thirteen months, eight persons were wounded, three were tortured, and five killed.—Dowdeswell's Report, Ibid. 606. In 1813, the whole number of Dakoitis under the Bengal Presidency was six hundred and ninety; in which seventy-one persons were killed, two hundred and forty-six tortured and wounded. The returns show characteristic differences between the Lower and Upper provinces:

	Dakoitis.	*Murdered.*	*Tortured and Wounded.*
Lower provinces . .	505	31	149
Upper provinces . .	185	40	97

In the latter more were murdered and fewer wounded in little more than one third of the robberies; proofs of more fierceness but less cruelty.—Commons' Committee, 1832; App. p. 506.

[2] Dowdeswell's Report, and Letters of the Judges preceding.

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supervision over the officers of the police. The police jurisdictions were originally intended to include tracts of about twenty miles square; but they were of greater or less extent, according to circumstances, and usually embraced a numerous population. Each of these was under a head officer or Daroga, who had at his disposal from twenty to fifty armed men, a very inadequate force in many cases to maintain order amongst the inhabitants of the district. To render them still more ineffective, the pay of the whole, the Daroga included, was barely sufficient for their support, and they were almost of necessity corrupt. Little or no assistance was to be expected from the people. Their ancient institutions had been broken up either directly or indirectly by the regulations of the Government. The Zemindars had been formerly charged with the management of the police, and were held accountable for all acts of robbery or violence committed within their Zemindaris. They abused their power, and neglected their duty in some cases; and they were relieved of the one, and deprived of the other, in a summary manner,[1] and they were little inclined to interest themselves in a troublesome and thankless office. The instruments employed under them had been of two classes: one, under the term Paiks and Chokidars, attached to them and their agents personally; the other, known as Pasbans, Nigahbans, or Háris, connected with the villages: the former were the police of the whole district; the latter, the watchmen of their respective hamlets. Both were paid chiefly by allotments of land rent-free, or held at a low quit-rent under the Zemindar.[2] When he ceased or was forbidden to have any concern with the police, he had no inducement to keep up a police establishment; and, when it was intimated that the allowances formerly made to him for the expense were withdrawn, he either levied the same rent upon the allotments of the watchmen and Paiks as on any other of his Ryots, or he

[1] By Reg. xxii. of 1793; on the grounds that the clause in their engagements which had formerly invested them with the authority had not only been found nugatory, but in numerous instances proved the means of multiplying robberies and other disorders, from the collusion which subsisted between the perpetrators of them and the police-officers entertained by the Zemindars and farmers of the land.

[2] Their numbers may be estimated from those of one district. In Burdwan, in 1788, there were two thousand four hundred Pasbans or village constables, and nineteen thousand Paiks.—Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors, Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, 1 July, 1819, p. 48.

resumed the land. The Paiks were generally dismissed: the village watchmen lingered, but in a state of poverty and inefficiency which rendered them worse than useless. It was of little avail, therefore, to place them by law under the authority of the new Darogas, and to enact that they should be kept up and duly registered: the enactments were disregarded, and the native police establishments ceased to exist, or were in no condition to give effectual aid in preserving the public peace. They were much more likely to be in concert with its disturbers.[1]

The evil consequences of having so completely excluded native co-operation, had long been urged upon the consideration of the Government by many of its ablest officers; and one of its first remedial measures was to re-invest the Zemindars with a portion of their former authority. Regulations were accordingly enacted, by which respectable inhabitants of the several provinces were commissioned to act as Amins or superintendents of police: they were authorised to receive written charges of all offences of a heinous nature, issue warrants for the apprehension of offenders, and send the persons so apprehended to the police Darogas; to apprehend, or cause to be apprehended, without warrant, persons engaged in the actual commission of a heinous crime or flagrant breach of the peace, and have them conveyed to the nearest police thanna; they were enjoined to assist the Darogas on all occasions; to send them information, and see that the village watchmen did their duty; to obey the magistrate's orders in instituting any inquiry, and to furnish him with a monthly report of the persons whom they had apprehended; and they were declared liable to prosecution in the criminal court for any act of corruption, extortion, or oppression, done by themselves, or any person acting under their authority.[2]

In these regulations for enlisting persons of credit and influence in the preservation of the public peace, there were several radical defects which ensured their failure.

[1] Reg. i. 1793 reserved the option of resuming the whole or part of such allowances as had been made to the Zemindars for keeping up police thannas, or the produce of any lands which they might have been permitted to appropriate for the same purpose. "Extensive resumptions were made under this clause; resumptions were also made by the Zemindars; and the effect of both was to reduce the native police to a state of want, which drove them to a life of robbery and plunder for a subsistence."—Letter from the Court; Parl. Papers, 1819, p. 50.

[2] Bengal Regs. xii. and xiv. 1807.

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These police Amins were not only to give their services without pay, but, "considering the description of persons from whom they were to be selected, it was not expected that they would require any distinct establishment of public officers at the charge of Government to enable them to perform the duties required of them." They were, in fact, to pay a police as well as to perform its functions. It is not surprising that few should have been willing to accept the office. Even had these unreasonable stipulations been omitted, it was not to be expected that many persons of respectability would have been ambitious of a post which made them subordinate to the police Darogas. The regulations were rescinded in a few years;[1] and the penalties of fine and imprisonment were then imposed upon the Zemindars, and all holders of land, if they failed to give early and punctual information of the commission of any public offences, or the resort of robbers in any place within their estates; and if they afforded to such offenders food, or shelter, or concealment, they were liable to forfeit their lands to the Government.[2] Similar penalties had been previously denounced; but to so little purpose, that it was doubted if a single instance was known of their having been enforced.[3] With respect to the inferior agents, Paiks, Chokidars, and the like, they were made liable to corporal punishment by the magistrate if proved guilty of misconduct or neglect:[4] no provisions were enacted at this time for replacing them in the occupancy of their lands, to obviate the necessity which made them, according to Mr. Dowdeswell, alternately watchmen and robbers.

Actuated by that spirit of exclusive reliance upon European agency which had been engendered by the institutions of Marquis Cornwallis, the Government of Bengal strengthened the department of the police by the appointment of two superintendents of police, one for the Lower and one for the Western provinces. These officers, acting in concert with the magistrates, or, as occasion required, independently of them, were not restricted to any particular station or defined district, and were enabled

[1] Bengal Reg. v. 1810.
[2] Bengal Regs. ix. 1808; iii. 1812.
[3] Dowdeswell's Report; Fifth Report, App. 614.
[4] Reg. iii. 1812.

to exercise a more immediate supervision over the Darogas and police establishments, and to apprehend and punish offenders in a more prompt and vigorous manner.[1] The arrangement was beneficial. But, besides these officers, magistrates were appointed with special powers to suppress the crime of gang-robbery in the districts adjacent to Calcutta, which were its principal seats. Selected for their personal intelligence and activity, and for their knowledge of the languages and customs of the people, at liberty to devote their whole energies to their particular duties, and armed with large discretionary powers, they speedily arrested the mischief; but in their zeal they had recourse to unjustifiable rigour, and were almost as severe a scourge to the country as the Dakoits themselves. The inhabitants of the villages were indiscriminately apprehended upon insufficient evidence: many of them were acquitted upon trial after having been long detained in prison: some died in confinement.[2] It was argued in defence of this procedure, that, although the acquitted persons might not have been concerned in the actual offence, yet they were cognisant of its perpetration, and neither took any steps to prevent it, nor to bring the perpetrators to justice; that violent diseases required strong remedies; and that it was better that a few inno-

[1] Regs. x. 1808; viii. 1810.

[2] At Muddenpore, some treasure having been plundered by Dakoits, one hundred and ninety-two persons were apprehended upon the charge of an informer: one hundred and forty-two were released upon examination, forty-six were committed, six were pardoned upon a pretended confession; for it turned out on the trial of those committed, who were detained in prison above a year, that the whole were innocent, the charge having been a fabrication. Three of the prisoners died in jail.—Sir H. Strachey; Answers to Queries; Judicial Records, ii. 70. At Nadiya, two thousand and seventy-one persons were apprehended as Dakoits from the 20th May, 1808, to the 31st of May, 1809; of whom no less than one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight had been taken up as men of bad character and on vague suspicion, forty-four only had been convicted before the Court of Circuit during two sessions, three hundred and sixty-nine had been released by the magistrate, two hundred and sixty-eight acquitted by the court. Of those who remained in jail after the first sessions of 1809, the greater part had not been brought up for trial at the two sessions which followed, but still remained in confinement. On the 31st of May, 1809, there were no less than one thousand four hundred and seventy-seven prisoners in the Nadiya jail who had not been examined. Besides the two thousand and seventy-one prisoners above specified, a considerable number of persons had been apprehended as Dakoits during the same period by Messrs. Blacquiere and Leyden, the magistrates of the twenty-four Pergunnas and joint magistrates of Nadiya, and by their Goyendas, who, instead of being examined and tried, were sent down to the Presidency, and there kept in confinement.—Judicial Letter from the Court, 1st Oct. 1814; Parl. Papers, June 1819, p. 25.

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cent persons should suffer than the whole community live in alarm and danger. Equally exceptionable was the subordinate agency by which the objects of the magistrates were in most instances obtained — the employment of hired spies or Goyendas: it was admitted that the system was liable to abuse; that the Goyendas were unprincipled miscreants, who made their power the means of extortion, and who hesitated not to sacrifice innocent individuals to their cupidity or their revenge. But it was maintained, that their instrumentality was absolutely necessary; that no efficient police could be established in any country except upon the basis of espionage; that without the aid of hired informers the most notorious leaders of the Dakoits would not have been apprehended at all; and that the improvement manifested in the districts round Calcutta was proportionate to the skill with which this powerful engine had been wielded.[1] These were the sentiments of many of the most confidential advisers of the Government, and they predominated in its counsels. Notwithstanding this view of the case, and admitting the efficacy of the Goyenda system in the districts which were most disorganised, and in hands better adapted to a harsh than delicate handling of a public nuisance, it was shown by contemporary experience that such extreme and mischievous methods were not indispensable, and that the evil was susceptible of alleviation by a milder treatment. In one district at least, that of Burdwan, gang-robbery, once as prevalent there as in other places, was nearly extinguished in the course of a twelvemonth by very different measures. The instruments employed were the neglected and undervalued institutions of the country animated by skilful superintendence and encouragement: the landholders and headmen of the villages and of various trades were called upon to enter into engagements for the performance of those duties, which it was personally explained to them they were expected to fulfil; and the village watchmen were punished for neglect or connivance, and rewarded for courage and good conduct. Attempts to deprive them of their service-lands were sedulously resisted, and the villagers were encouraged to give them more liberal sub-

[1] Dowdeswell's Report, p. 615.

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sistence. In this instance it was unequivocally shown that the co-operation of the people was to be had, and that when had it was efficacious.[1]

Notwithstanding this evidence of the feasibility of a different system, no attempt was made to act upon it on a more extensive scale; and the only enactments of the Government, in addition to those already adverted to, placed the rewards which had been given for the apprehension of Dakoits upon safer principles. The amount payable upon conviction was augmented: it was made payable wholly, or in part, where conviction could not be established, if circumstances justified the apprehension of the prisoner; and it was to be withheld, even where conviction ensued, if it appeared that improper means had been pursued by the informer. Rewards for meritorious exertions, and remuneration for expense incurred in cases not specified, connected with the discovery and apprehension of offenders, were also authorised. The combined operation of the measures of the Government was not without effect: the crime of gang-robbery, although not wholly eradicated, was materially checked, and during the latter part of Lord Minto's administration, it became much less frequent, and was less marked by cruelty and bloodshed.

Shortly prior to the appointment of Lord Minto, a

[1] In the year 1810, Mr. Butterworth Bailey was appointed to the office of magistrate of Burdwan. In Feb. 1811, the Circuit judge reports that "gang-robbery, formerly so prevalent, had become nearly extinct; and a regular system had been introduced which promised fair to secure the co-operation of the community in the detection and apprehension of offenders." The causes of improvement are thus detailed by Mr. Bayley; "The uniform punishment and dismission from office of the village watchmen wherever there was any appearance of neglect or connivance on their part in robberies, and the rewards which were constantly given to them for any proof of bravery, activity, or good conduct in opposing or apprehending Dakoits; the exertions made by him for obtaining a more adequate subsistence for the village watchmen, by carefully preventing all attempts on the part of the Talookdars to resume any part of the Chakeran lands, and by encouraging the head villagers to subscribe a more liberal remuneration for the support of their Chokidars than had before been customary." The Mandals, who were the principal fixed residents, and were vested by long usage with considerable local authority and immunities, and the Chokidars under them, were the chief classes upon whom Mr. Bayley relied for information and aid in the improvement of the police. He however took Moochulkas not only from them, but also from the landholders, gomashtas, vendors of spirituous liquor, pawnbrokers, gold and silversmiths, &c., explaining to them personally the duties they were enjoined to perform, and the practices from which they were expected to refrain.—Letter of Court, 9th Nov. 1814; Parl. Papers, June, 1819, p. 58. In this letter the Court take a general review of the past and actual state of the police in Bengal.

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controversy had commenced between the authorities in England and in India respecting the course to be pursued with respect to the final settlement of the revenue from the land in those parts of the British territory where a settlement was yet to be effected, comprising the Ceded and Conquered provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, and the provinces in the south of India which had been annexed to the Madras Presidency by the humiliation and downfall of the Mohammedan Government of Mysore. Opinions at home had undergone a material change. Principles, which but a few years before had met with universal assent, were now called in question; and measures, which had received the sanction and commendation of the Court of Directors, the Board of Controul, and of successive administrations, and which had been eulogised by high authorities as the result of consummate wisdom and enlightened disinterestedness,[1] were now stigmatised as improvident and precipitate, as originating in defective knowledge and erroneous analogies, and as equally detrimental to the prosperity of the state and the happiness of the people. The leading members of the Bengal and Madras Governments, trained in the school of Lord Cornwallis, and, with the exception of the Governor-General himself, the instruments and coadjutors of that nobleman in framing the perpetual settlement of Bengal, and in extending its provisions to Madras, tenaciously adhered to the principles of that settlement, and strenuously urged its universal adoption. The principal authorities of England, on the contrary, influenced by the proceedings and sentiments of some distinguished revenue officers of the Presidency of Madras, first suspended, and finally pro-

[1] "The distinguished character of Lord Cornwallis, and the authority which the permanent settlement derived from the approbation of Mr. Pitt, of Mr. now Lord Grenville, and the late Lord Melville, justly clothed it with an awful veneration, which for many years precluded the agitation of any question as to its merits."—Commons' Committee, App. p. 67; Observations on the Revenue System of India, by the Right Hon. John Sullivan. In the Parliamentary Debates, House of Lords, 9th April, 1813, Lord Wellesley observed, "Every Governor of India had acknowledged the justice and policy of the principle of the permanent settlement, and he was satisfied that every person qualified to be a Governor of India must do the same. It formed the corner-stone of the Government of India, and the extension of the principle to the Conquered provinces would found a solid basis for that Government to rest upon." On the same occasion, Lord Grenville urged the insertion of a clause in any charter to be granted to the Company declaratory of the adherence of the Indian Government to the principle of permanency.

hibited, the conclusion of an assessment in perpetuity in those provinces to which it had not been extended.[1] To render this change of purpose intelligible, it will be necessary to take a brief survey of the condition of the agricultural population of India, and the principles upon which the realisation of the revenue derived from land was founded, previously to the establishment of the British Government, as well as of the proceedings of the British Government subsequently to those which have been already described in connexion with the permanent settlements made by Lord Cornwallis.

Land is the main source of the revenue of the British Government in India. That Government follows in this respect the principles and practice of its predecessors, both Mohammedan and Hindu; and, while it avails itself of a convenient and profitable means of making provision for the public charges, it consults the advantage, and conforms to the notions and feelings, of the people.[2]

[1] The Select Committee of the House of Commons, in their celebrated Fifth Report, printed July, 1812, first publicly called the principle in question, employing what Marquis Wellesley termed ambiguous words, tending, according to Lord Grenville, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. The Report is known to have been the composition of Mr. Cumming, at that time superintendent of the revenue and judicial department in the office of the Board of Controul, who was an implicit believer in the excellence of the Ryotwar settlement as advocated by Sir Thomas Munro.—Commons' Committee, 1832, App.; Revenue remarks by Mr. Sullivan. We have also the testimony of Mr. Courtenay, between fifteen and sixteen years secretary to the Board of Controul, that the opposition to the permanent Zemindari settlement originated in the Board, not in the Court: "I may here mention, that the system known by the name of Sir T. Munro's system was the work of the Board, and in many parts of it was opposed by the Court. The same observation applies to many matters concerning the revival or maintenance of ancient native institutions, and the employment of natives in public functions." And again: "When I said that Sir T. Munro's system was the work of the Board, I meant that it was taken up and countenanced by the Board rather than the Court."—Commons' Com. 1832, App.; Public answers, 292. 1585.

[2] "In India the land has always furnished the chief revenue of the state, and taxes are immediately imposed upon it."—Minute of Lord Teignmouth, Fifth Report, App. 205. "By the ancient law of the country the ruling power is entitled to a certain proportion of the produce of every beega of land, demandable in money or kind, according to local custom, unless it transfers its right thereto for a time, or in perpetuity."—Preamble to Reg. xix. 1793. "Any change from established custom in India gives rise to a great deal of dissatisfaction. The land-rent is what the people readily pay; and, although it may appear exorbitant, it is a revenue that is paid without much difficulty. A tax in any other shape, however small, is comparatively disliked"— Christian. Evidence, Lords' Committee, 1830; Question 848. "Nine-tenths probably of the revenue of the Government of India is derived from the rent of land, never appropriated to individuals, and always considered to be the property of Government: and to me that appears to be one of the most fortunate circumstances that can occur in any country; because, in consequence of this, the wants of the state are supplied really and truly with-

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But this fact being stated, there occur sundry questions, which, although repeatedly and earnestly investigated, have not yet been answered in such a manner as to secure universal acceptance. They may be briefly resolved into the following: 1. In what character did the native Governments claim a revenue from the land? 2. What were the nature and extent of their demands? 3. By what class or classes of the people were those demands discharged? 4. Upon what principles were the demands of the British Government regulated? We shall endeavour to elicit a reply to these queries from the mass of conflicting statements by which the subject has been obscured; but, as the space which can be devoted to the inquiry is unavoidably disproportionate to the quantity of unmethodised materials which have been accumulated with a view to its elucidation, it will be necessary to select for description only a few of the most important points, omitting many of less moment, though of scarcely inferior interest.[1]

I. The demand made by the Sovereign has been commonly referred to his character of proprietor of the soil. It has been maintained that it is by his permission only, and with his sanction, that the land is occupied, and that the occupant sows his seed and reaps his crops; that whatever produce is in excess of the bare subsistence of the cultivator and cost of cultivation, is the property of the king; that it is rent, not revenue, to which he is entitled, for he is the one universal landlord; that this is

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out taxation. As far as this source goes, the people of the country remain untaxed."—Mill, Evid., Select Committee of House of Commons, 1831; Question 3134. The proportion was overrated, as was subsequently remarked by the Committee; it was about six-tenths: nor, as there will be occasion to remark, was it quite correct to say that the rent of land was never appropriated to individuals.

[1] The principal authorities consulted for the following passages in the text are, The Fifth Report of the Select Committee of 1810, printed 1812, 1 vol. folio; Selections from the Revenue and Judicial Records at the India House, printed by order of the Court of Directors, 1820-1826, 4 vols. folio; Reports of the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1830, 1831, and 1832, with evidence and appendices, reprinted by order of the Court of Directors, 16 vols. 4to.; Colonel Wilks's History of the South of India; Sir J. Malcolm's Central India; Mr. Elphinstone's History of India; Rouse on the Land Tenures of India; General Briggs on the Land-tax of India; General Galloway on the Law and Constitution of India; Mr. Tucker on the Financial Situation of the East India Company; Colonel Sykes on the Land Tenures of the Dekhin; Mr. Thomason on the Revenue Settlement of Azimghur; and a variety of tracts and papers.

the character in which the sovereign appears in the laws and institutions of the Hindus, in the laws of the Mohammedan conquerors of India, and in the practice of all modern native governments, and in which he is recognised universally by the people.[1]

Notwithstanding the positiveness with which it has been affirmed that the proprietary right of the sovereign is indissolubly connected with the ancient laws and institutions of the Hindus, the accuracy of the assertion may be reasonably disputed. In adducing the authority of Hindu writers in favour of the doctrine, two sources of fallacy are discernible. No discrimination has been exercised in distinguishing ancient from modern authorities; and isolated passages have been quoted, without regard to others by which they have been qualified or explained.[2] If due attention had been paid to these considerations, it would have been found that the supposed proprietary right of the sovereign is not warranted by ancient writers; and that, while those of later date seem to incline to its admission, they do not acknowledge an exclusive right

[1] See Mill, History of India, i. 212, and notes; also Grant's Reports on the Northern Circars and the Revenues of Bengal; and the Minute of Lord Cornwallis, Fifth Report, App. 473. Colonel Munro says, "Nothing can be plainer than that private landed property has never existed in India except on the Malabar coast."—Revenue Sel. i. 94. And the Board of Revenue observe, "We concur with Colonel Munro in thinking that Government is virtually the proprietor of the soil."—Ibid. 486. Such also is Mr. Fortescue's opinion with respect to the Western provinces; and at a long subsequent date, "As to the proprietorship, my belief is, that the Government is the proprietor of the land, and that the person occupying it is well satisfied with the occupation, paying the rent."—Lords' Committee, 1830, Evid., Question 511. And on the opposite side of India, Colonel Burnewall asserts that the people in Guzerat claim no property in the soil. Government is vested with the property in the lands; and, as landlord, entitled to the rent, or a share of the produce equal to it.—Commons' Committee, 1832, Evid. 1755.

[2] As observed by Mr. Mill, i. 213 and note, the Digest of Hindú law compiled by the desire of Sir William Jones, and translated by Mr. Colebrooke, favours the proprietary right of the sovereign, particularly in stating, that, if no special engagement for a term of occupancy has been made, the occupant may at any time be dispossessed by the Raja in favour of a person offering a higher revenue.—i. 461. Colonel Wilks accuses the Pundits, who compiled the Digest, of falsifying the law; but the charge is undeserved. The original passages of the Digest are not the law, they are the opinions of the compiler as to the meaning of the law; and it is open to any one to contest or admit the interpretation according to the purport of the ancient texts, which are also given. It is also necessary to collate this passage with what follows; it will then be found that Tarka-Panchánana, the compiler, does not deny proprietary right in the subject, he only infers the co-existence of concurrent rights: "There is property," he says, "of a hundred various kinds in land:" and, when treating of sale without ownership, he observes, "The property is his who uses the land where he resides, and while he uses it; and thus, when land belonging to any person is sold by the king, it is sale without ownership."—i. 475. The sale is illegal.

but one concurrent with the right of the occupant; they acknowledge a property in the soil, not the property of the soil. In the older jurists, we find, indeed, the right of kingly power over the whole earth asserted: and the right is based, with every semblance of historical truth, upon conquest: but there is no attribution of ownership to the king, nor is there any trace of a royal property or estate.[1] Proprietary right is vested in the individual who first clears and cultivates the land; it is therefore referred to colonisation; a source which, as regards India and the Hindus, is probably in a great degree historical. The King may occupy unclaimed or uncultivated lands, as well as a subject; he has no preference: if he appropriates them, he must give away half to the Brahmans; if they are appropriated by a subject, the king claims only the share of the produce assigned to him by law. Concurrent and not incompatible rights and claims are thus clearly recognised; and the king's dues are based, not upon any indefeasible right of property, but in the first instance upon conquest, and in the second upon protection.

The notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign is

[1] The texts of Menu, which have been cited in proof of the proprietary right of the Raja, have been misunderstood. In B. viii. v. 39, the phrase rendered by Sir W. Jones "lord paramount of the soil," is Bhumer-adhipati, supreme ruler of the earth: the title Adhipati, "over-lord," no more implies ownership in this text than when it is used to denote the head-man of a village, Grámádhipati; or governor of a district, Désádhipati. In another text, in which the authority of a king is intimated to be analogous to that of a husband over a wife, the sources of property in subjects are also enunciated: "Ancient sages have called this earth (Prithivi) the wife of Prithu; they have called the field his who has cut down the thicket; the wild beast his whose shaft has slain it."—B. ix v. 44. The subjection of the earth by Prithu is clearly an allegory of its conquest by the military caste, see Vishnu Purana, p. 103. The compiler of the Digest expressly states that the king's proprietary right is "denied by some, because Menu has only declared that subjects shall be protected by the king."—i. 471. Menu then, even according to the Pundits, is not authority for this doctrine. Another ancient lawgiver, Yajnawalkya, is quoted in the Digest to show that the king has no particular property even in unclaimed or uncultivated ground; if a subject choose, he may occupy it without leave, giving the Raja his due.—i. 461. Another writer of antiquity, Jamini, the author of the Mimansa, also denies the king's ownership: "The kingly power is for the government of the realm and the extirpation of wrong, and for that purpose he receives taxes from husbandmen and levies fines from offenders; but the right of property is not thereby vested in him, else he would have property in house and land appertaining to the subjects abiding in his dominions. The earth is not the king's, but is common to all beings enjoying the fruit of their own labour."—Colebrooke on the Mimánsá Philosophy, Trans. Royal Asiatic Society, i. 458. Mr. Elphinstone justly concludes, from the Hindu laws on this subject, that as the king's share was limited to one-sixth, or at most to one-fourth, there must have been a proprietor for the other five-sixths, or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared.—History of India, i. 42.

rather of Mohammedan than Hindu origin. The doctrines of the Mohammedan jurists are somewhat at variance on this matter. Those who belong to the school which has been chiefly followed in India, maintain the right of individual ownership: yet they do so with considerable reservation, for they restrict the appropriation of all uncultivated land to the king; assign to him the property of all except arable land; authorise him to dispossess any occupant who neglects to cultivate his land, and transfer it to another;[1] and entitle him to claim the whole of the net produce of cultivation. Other Mohammedan lawyers assert unequivocally, that in all conquered countries, and India is in their estimation a conquered country, although the inhabitants may be suffered to retain the occupancy of their lands, the property of them is vested in the sovereign.[2] It is apparently to these doctrines, to the long continuance of Mohammedan domination over a large portion of India, and to the influence which it indirectly exercised over the states that remained subject to Hindu princes, that the notion of the proprietary right of the sovereign owed its general and popular acceptance.

For upon whatever system of law that impression was founded, and whether erroneous or just, there is little reason to doubt that in later times at least it has prevailed very widely amongst the people,[3] and regulated the

[1] The Hindu law, as it appears in Menu, does not go this length: it provides only, that, in case of neglect to cultivate, the owner shall be fined ten times the amount of the king's share, if his own fault; five times, if that of his servants. — B. viii. v. 243. There is not a word of confiscation or transfer.

[2] Galloway on the Law and Constitution of India, p. 101. According to this writer, a high authority in matters of Mohammedan law, the school of Abu Hanifa was that which was chiefly followed in Hindustan; and this jurist affirms that in conquered countries the people paying the legal impost preserved their proprietary rights. General Galloway also states that this is denied by the Shafia and Malikia schools; according to which the lands, although retained by the people, become the property of the sovereign. — Ibid, 45. It is worth observing, that all the authorities cited by Mill, i. 214 note, with exception of Diodorus and Strabo, whose testimony is not entitled to very great deference, derive their opinions from their observation of the state of things under the Mohammedan governments.

[3] The belief of Mr. Fortescue with regard to the opinions of the people of the Western provinces has been already cited, note, p. 295. The Abbé Dubois is a good representative of the popular notions prevailing in the Dekhin, and he says, "The lands which the Hindus cultivate are the domain of the prince, who is sole proprietor: he can resume them at pleasure, and give them to another to cultivate." — Description of the People of India, p. 496. The author has heard the same sentiment expressed repeatedly by well-informed Hindus from the Upper provinces. They have admitted the full right of the Government to dispossess any occupants whatever, although, if the customary

practice of the native governments. This gives the question its importance. Abstractedly considered, it signifies but little whether the king be called the lord of the soil, or by any other title; but, when in this capacity he superseded all other rights, it became no longer a matter of mere speculation. Acting upon this principle, the native rulers required that a formal grant should legalise the occupation of all waste land, and sequestrated estates of which the cultivation was neglected or the revenues unpaid: fixed at their pleasure from time to time the proportion of the produce which the occupant was to pay, claiming indeed the whole of the net produce as the rent; and turned out actual occupants in favour of others offering a higher amount of payment. The almost universal practice of recent times transferred these rights and powers to contractors and farmers of the revenue, from whom the prince exacted as much as he could obtain, and then left them at liberty to extort all they could, and by whatever means they could, from the people. His right to do so was not questioned, but its exercise through such instrumentality was resisted where resistance was thought likely to succeed; and the consequences of the system were such as might have been anticipated — the decline and disorganisation of the country.

The proprietary right of the sovereign derives then no warrant from the ancient laws or institutions of the Hindus, and it is not recognised by modern Hindu lawyers as exclusive, or incompatible with individual ownership. It is the doctrine of one of the schools of Mohammedan law; it has influenced the practice of the later native governments, and it had obtained a very general belief among the people. The popular belief was, however, modified by the remembrance of original rights and the remains of primitive institutions; and while in theory the people admitted the right of the prince to the lands they tilled, yet in practice they very commonly regarded them as their own as long as they paid to the sovereign his undisputed share of the produce. Unhappily for them, this share was of late rarely regulated by any other

demands were paid, such act would be considered harsh and oppressive. In Bengal the notion has probably been effaced by the Company's regulations: the Zemindars have been taught a different lesson.

standard than their ability to comply with the exactions of their rulers.

II. The ancient Hindu law enacts that the demand of the Raja shall be levied in kind. The king is to have a proportion of the grain; a twelfth, an eighth, or a sixth.[1] It is also declared, that in time of war, if he should take one-fourth, he would commit no sin.[2] A fourth of the actual crop constituted therefore the utmost limit of demand, and that only in time of war, under the ancient Hindu system; and this proportion evidently left such a share to the cultivator as was equivalent to a profit upon his cultivation, or to a rent, enabling him at his will to transfer the task of cultivation to tenant farmers, and placing him in the position of a landed proprietor as far as ownership of rent is evidence of such a tenure.[3] The Mohammedan law established a totally different proportion. It extended the claim of the Crown to the whole of the net produce; assigned to the cultivator only so much of the crop as would suffice for one year's subsistence of himself and his family, and for seed; and reduced him to the condition of a mere labourer on his own land. The whole of the profit or the rent went to the sovereign, who thus became the universal landlord.[4] The more

[1] Menu, B. vii. v. 30. The commentator explains the several rates to depend upon the quality of the land, and the labour required to bring it into cultivation; the highest rate being levied on the best, the lowest on the worst sort of land: the assessment was therefore irrespective of the actual crops.

[2] It has been argued, that this would furnish a plea to the Raja to exact a fourth at all times, as a case of necessity could always be made out; but this is not possible consistently with a due regard to the language and obvious intention of the law. The passage should be thus rendered: "A Kshatriya, in time of calamity, protecting his subjects to the utmost of his power, is liberated from sin although taking a fourth part." The verse occurs in the section which treats of the conduct of the different castes in times of distress, and is detached from the passages concerning revenue. That the distress here indicated means time of war is clear enough from the passage that immediately follows: "for battle is his duty; he should never turn his face from fight; protecting the cultivators with his sword, let him levy taxes in a lawful manner." — v. 119.

[3] Such Mr. Mill considered it, and remarked, that there was no ownership of rent in India as in Europe. — Commons' Committee, 1831; 3288. The assertion was incorrect: there was ownership of rent as long as the native Governments suffered it to continue; and there still is such ownership under the British Government, where the assessment is light.

[4] "When the Imam conquers a country, if he permits the inhabitants to remain on it, imposing the Kharáj on their lands and the Jezia on their head, the land is their property." Not very valuable property it should seem, for "Imam Mohammed has said, regard shall be had to the cultivator: there shall be left for one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped, and for that of his family, and for seed.

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equitable spirit and sounder judgment of Akbar limited the demand of the sovereign to one-third of the average produce of different sorts of land; the amount to be paid preferably in money, but not to be increased for a definite term of years.[1] Under more modern Governments, whether Hindu or Mohammedan, the demand seems to have fluctuated from a third or half of the gross produce, to the whole of the net produce, or even to have exceeded those proportions;[2] leaving to the cultivator insufficient means of subsistence, and not unfrequently compelling him to abandon in despair the cultivation of the lands which his forefathers had tilled, and to which his strongest affections chained him, extortion being thus punished by dearth and depopulation.

III. According to the principles of the Mohammedan law, and the consequences to which they led, the classification of the parties interested in the produce of the soil

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This much shall be left him; what remains is Kharáj, and shall go to the public treasury." This is the dictum of a great lawyer of the Haniffa school, Shams-ul-Aima of Sarakhs; and a firman of Aurangzeb directs his officers to levy the Kharáj according to the holy law and the tenets of the Abu Haniffa. — Galloway, 40, 43. Here is evidently the origin of the sovereign's claim to the whole of the rent. The unhappy "infidel" cultivator had to pay a capitation tax besides.

[1] Ayin Akbari, i. 306, 314. The term was fixed, in the 24th year of the reign, for ten years; but the general assessment, or Jama-bandi, of Toral-Mal was apparently intended to last for an indefinite period. — Ibid. Appendix.

[2] In the south of India, Harihara Rai, of Bijnagar, one of the latest independent Hindu principalities, fixed the rate at one-fourth of the gross produce, fixing it on each field, and requiring a money-payment. The Mohammedan Governments exacted half the gross produce of the irrigated lands, and a money-rate equal to from thirty to forty per cent. of the value of the unirrigated and garden produce. — Revenue Selections, i. 895. According to the Parásara Madhaviya, a work on law by the minister of Harihara, the king's share was one-sixth. — Wilks, i. 154. In the Western provinces the Government share was considered to be half the net produce. — Fortescue; Lords' Committee, Evidence, Question, 531. Or even half the gross produce. — Ibid. 532. "But the rule authorizing the exchequer to take as revenue one-half of the produce into the hands of Government is in a great manner nominal; for in the unsettled districts we do not, I believe, on an average, get more than one-fourth." — Mackenzie; Commons' Committee, 1832, Evid., Question 2671. Mr. Mill also thinks it impossible that such a proportion should ever have been taken. — Commons' Committee, 1831, Evid., Question 3887. But he observes, correctly enough, with regard to the practice of later times, "According to all I can gather from the practice of former Governments, the Government demand was never less than the full rent, in many instances probably more; not unfrequently as much more as could be raised without diminishing the number of inhabitants and desolating the country." — Ibid., Question 3114. The state of many parts of India, when first reduced to British authority, showed that these checks had not always operated; and that the exactions of improvident and arbitrary princes, enforced through the agency of farmers of the revenue, had thinned the population, and consigned extensive and fertile districts to the denizens of the forest.

was exceedingly simple. Two only were recognised, the Ryot or cultivating tenant, and the Raja, or rent-owning landlord;[1] the first earning a scanty support by his labour, the second claiming the whole of the surplus return on his property. Such were the conclusions of the first inquirers into the tenure of lands in India. There were found, indeed, persons intervening between the state and the cultivators, but these it was affirmed were in every case persons to whom the state had delegated its powers or transferred its rights: they were not—and this was in some important respects quite true—proprietors of the soil: there were no such persons,—at least, there were no persons who had a right to intercept, without a special grant to that effect, any portion of the rent or profit of cultivation. Further investigation shewed that the latter propositions were not altogether accurate: the structure of agricultural society in India was not so exceedingly simple; a variety of proprietary rights and privileges had survived the disintegrating operations of foreign conquest, foreign laws, oppressive government, and popular misconception, and required to be carefully studied and correctly understood before it could be safe or just to come to any unalterable conclusion. Traces of individual proprietary rights, of personal ownership of rent, were extensively discoverable; and, where they were faint or extinct, it was because the rapacity of the ruling power had dimmed or extinguished them.

A peculiarity in the disposition of landed property in India, which was early observable, was its distribution among communities rather than among individuals. The earliest records describe the agricultural population as collected into groups, villages, or townships, having attached to the particular village or town in which they resided an extent of land the cultivatable portion of which was sufficient for their support, and which was apparently cultivated in common.[2] The internal administration of

[1] So General Galloway: "The truth is, that between the sovereign and the Reb-ul-arz, (master of the ground,) who is properly the cultivator, no one intervenes who is not a servant of the sovereign."—p. 42. "The land has been considered the property of the Circar and the Ryots; the interest in the soil has been divided between these two, but the Ryots have possessed little more interest than that of being hereditary tenants."—Thackeray, Fifth Report, App. 992.

[2] Menu, vii. 120. and viii. 237. The Madras Revenue Board affirm the

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the affairs of the village was left, in a great measure, to the people themselves, under the general superintendence of an officer appointed by the Raja, by whom the police was regulated, the government revenue was collected, and justice was administered, in communication with the principal persons of the village. The general scheme of these village corporations has been repeatedly described.[1] Besides the officers of the government, and the individuals who composed the community strictly so called, the village comprised a varying number of persons who received small portions of the crops as the hire of services rendered to the whole, and persons also not members of the original establishment, but who were allowed to reside within the village as independent artificers and tradesmen, or even as cultivators of the lands bought or rented from the proprietors. Establishments of this nature were found in their greatest completeness in different parts of the south of India, where Hindu principalities had been longest preserved: but they were also met with in the western provinces of Hindustan, where their organisation had assumed something of a military character; and vestiges of them were not wholly obliterated even in Bengal.

The circumstances which led originally to this distribution of the lands among detached communities, are now beyond the reach of history. It may have been the result

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village system is as old as Menu: "That venerable legislator alludes to disputes about boundaries just as they occur at present, and directs a space of four hundred cubits wide, round small villages, and twelve hundred round large ones, to be left for pasture. This could not have been done if the land had been exclusive private property, for in that case the owner would have made the most of his land, and not left it waste for the public use of the inhabitants; and boundaries of fields and farms, rather than of villages, would have been disputed." — Revenue Selections, i, 487.

[1] See the description in the first volume of Mill, p. 217, from the Fifth Report; Elphinstone, History of India, i. 120, and App. 476; and Wilks, Southern India, i. 117. In a deed of gift by the minister of Bukka Raya, king of Vijayanagar, dated 1109, Saka (A.D. 1187), the following list of village officers is given: — 1. Reddi, or Pedda Reddi, head-man. 2. Karnam, accountant. 3. Purohit, priest. 4. Blacksmith. 5. Carpenter. 6. Money-changer. 7. Kavel, village watcher or police officer. 8. Potmaker. 9. Washerman. 10. Barber. 11. Barikudu, messenger or menial. 12. Chekári, shoemaker or worker in skins and leather. These are essentially the same as the Bara-ballowati of other authorities, though some of the names differ; and, in place of the leather-worker, some places have a water-carrier. — Ellis on Mirasi right, App. p. 36. Traces of village institutions were found by General Briggs in Bengal; Land-tax, Supplement: although there, as in other places, the corporation, or association of persons constituting the proprietary and governing body, had disappeared.

of a legislative provision, devised for the ready realisation of the revenue and convenient administration of the civil government; but there is no record of its institution or its author. Tradition ascribes it to the spontaneous agreement of mankind in an early stage of society,[1] and it may have been suggested to the first Hindu settlers in India by the necessities of their situation. Whatever may have been its origin or antiquity, there is no reason to believe that the village communities now in existence can boast of any remote date or legislative creation. They represent with differing degrees of fidelity the primitive forms from which they are copied; but they have deviated in various respects from the original type, and are in many instances, probably in all, of comparatively recent date. They are most commonly the growth of modern colonisation or conquest, and the peculiar features which they present have been modelled by the occurrences from which they have sprung.

The political revolutions of later times, and probably of earlier days also, have occasioned frequent migrations of the people of India from one part of the country to another. Centuries have elapsed since the region was fully peopled; perhaps it never was wholly occupied: at any rate, abundance of waste land has for a long time past been available, and parties from the neighbouring or from distant tracts have located themselves upon unoccupied spots, with or without the cognisance of the ruling power, not likely to throw obstacles in the way of those who purposed to convert an unproductive wilderness into a source of revenue.[2] The settlers would of course be either of the same family, the same caste, or the same tribe; and would be linked together through succeeding generations by community of origin, as well as of property. There is an active spirit of aggregation at work in Hindu society: the very institution of caste, which disjoins the people as a whole, combines them in their subdivisions; like the process of crystallisation, which destroys the uniformity of the mass by the condensation of the particles. But this is not the only source of reintegration;

[1] Vishnu Purana, p. 45.

[2] See the instructions of Aurangzeb to his collectors, as cited by General Galloway, 55.

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there prevail other combinations of tribe or avocation some of which would be sure to influence the movements of a body of settlers on a new soil, and unite them into a village community or corporation. The necessity of combination, in order to protect themselves against the financial oppressions of the state, or against unauthorised plunderers and assailants, would further contribute to cement their union, and would give it consistency and duration.[1]

In like manner, when the occupation of the new country was an act of violence and aggression committed against their neighbours, or against the barbarous tribes inhabiting extensive tracts in different parts of India, identity of kindred, caste, or tribe, as well as of interest, would unite the first assailants, and would extend a bond of union to their successors. Such transactions are known to have occurred within very recent periods.[2] In some instances one village community has fallen upon another, and ousted it from its possessions: in others, a military adventurer has assembled his kinsmen and followers; and, having conquered an extensive tract, has parcelled it out amongst his chiefs, very much upon the plan of a military fief. Time, the fiscal measures of the Government, and the partition of inheritance among the descendants of the

[1] Instances of recent colonisation are specified by Mr. Thomason. "A family of Chandel Rajputs emigrated from the Jonpur district, and settled at Purgunna Natherpur, where they acquired much land." "The rise of some Ahir (shepherd) communities illustrates the formation of such bodies by sufferance. Familiar with the forest (in the Azimghur district), they fixed their residence in some favourable spot, and began to cultivate; and, when a settlement (of the revenue) came to be made, appeared to be the most convenient persons with whom to enter into engagements for the land."—Account of the Settlement of Azimghur, by J. Thomason, Esq.; Journal, Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 96.

[2] Mr. Thomason supposes the original conquest of Azimghur by Rajputs, some time prior to the twelfth century, to have been the general foundation of the existing proprietary right of the soil; and recently "Achar and its dependent villages were held by a tribe of Kaut Rajputs. The Dhunwars, (another Rajput clan), of the neighbouring estate of Khulsa, were more powerful: they attacked and massacred most of the Kauts. This took place only a few years before the cession. Some of the family fled into the neighbouring district of Ghazipur, then in British possession, and have since in vain attempted to recover their rights."—J. B. As. Society, viii. 96. During the course of the inquiry preceding the permanent settlement, it was found that the Pergunna of Mongir was divided among the descendants of two Rajputs, to whom the family tradition ascribed the first settlement of the country under grants from the Emperor Humayun, having taken it from the wild inhabitants of the wilderness, which it then was, without the smallest vestige of cultivation.—Letter from Mr. Davis, Assistant Collector on Deputation, 11th August, 1790; Fifth Report, 238.

conquerors, have loosened the original compact; and the village, once held by an individual upon condition of military service to a chief, may have assumed the form of a village municipality, or it may still retain many features of its original feudal character.[1] In some places the original occupants have been driven away or exterminated: in others they appear as serfs or slaves attached to the soil and accompanying its transfers, or being sold independently of the land.[2]

From these sources, — legislation, colonisation, and conquest, — and from the two latter, especially in modern times, may be derived the origin of the village communities of India, or confederations of a definite number of individuals claiming a certain extent of land as their common property, and a right to all advantages and privileges inherent in such property, subject to the payment of a proportion of the produce to the state. When that proportion absorbed all the profits of cultivation, the members of the commune who claimed the ownership of the lands were reduced to the condition — which has been ascribed, incorrectly it may be thought, to all the agricultural population of India — of persons cultivating the ground with their own hands and by their own means.[3]

[1] Such is the case with the greater part of the Zemindaris along the western frontier of Bengal, where, while the peasantry are mostly of the wild forest tribes, Koles, or Gonds, the proprietors of the villages are Rajputs. That these latter came as conquerors as late as the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries is well known amongst themselves, and the origin of their possessions by allotment from the chief on the tenure of military service is also admitted. The relation between the holders of the several lots, and the representatives of the first leader, or the Rajas, is more or less perfectly preserved, but it retains almost universally some impress of its origin. See the remarks on tenures in Sambhalpur, Mill, i. p. 215, note. A similar state of things prevails in the Pergunnas of Palamu, Sirguja, Chota Nagpur, and others in the same direction. An interesting account of the origin and progress of the feudal Zemindari of Palamu was printed, but not published, by the late Mr. Augustus Prinsep, of the Bengal Civil Service. Mr. Prinsep was disposed to find similar feudal institutions in many of the Zemindaris of Bengal and Behar.

[2] In Malabar and Canara, where the land was very generally divided and occupied as separate and distinct properties, the labourer was the personal slave of the proprietor, and was sold and mortgaged by him independently of the land. In the Tamil country, where land belonged more to communities than individuals, the labourer was understood to be the slave of the soil rather than of any particular person. In Telingana, where it was difficult to trace the remains of private property in the land, the labourers, usually of the degraded or outcast tribes, were free.—Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras, Jan. 1818; Revenue Sel. i. 887. Mr. Thomason, describing the agricultural labourers of Azimghur, speaks of them as having been, under former Governments, predial slaves, who were beaten without mercy for misconduct, and were liable to be pursued and brought back if they attempted to escape.—J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 115.

[3] Mill; Commons' Committee, 1831, Evid. 3114.

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When the further exactions of the officers of the state, and the usurpations which in the absence of all government they perpetrated, reduced the proprietors to extreme distress and insignificance, the village corporations were broken up, and the traces of proprietary right so completely obliterated as to suggest a belief that it had never existed. Such seems to have been the state of the peasantry in Bengal and Telingana. In other places, in Canara, in the Dekhin, in Bundelkhand, and the Western provinces,[1] the right of property was better preserved. Where either the demands of the Government had been more moderate, or the villagers by union and courage, or combination and craft, had resisted or evaded extortion, they retained their character of proprietors, living upon the profits of their own lands.[2] The state of the country,

[1] Thus in Canara and Sonda, where the lands had, until a late date, been lightly assessed, the Government demand having been as low as one-tenth of the produce, and never more than a third, the lands were generally sub-let, the proprietors sometimes cultivating a portion: none of them held any large estates; few averaging, in the best of times, a rent of more than fifty pagodas (or about twenty pounds) a-year. The respective rights of the Government to the land revenue, and of the proprietor of the land, were well known: an ancient grant to a temple specified the grant to be the Government share of the rent, because the land belonged to the proprietor, and could not therefore be given away by the state.—Fifth Report, 803; Life of Sir Thomas Munro, iii. 161.

[2] The term village Zemindars has been generally applied to these proprietors in Hindustan.—Fortescue; Thomason, &c. Janamkars, or birthright holders, is their name in Malabar.—Board of Revenue, Madras. Amongst the Mahrattas they were called Thalkaris, holders of the Thal, (Sthal, or land), or Watan-dars (holders of the country); Coates on the Township of Lony; Trans. Literary Society of Bombay, iii. 226: and in the Tamil countries of the Peninsula, Mirásis, or Mirásdars (inheritors). Of the latter Mr. Ellis observes, "Miras, originally signifying inheritance, is employed to designate a variety of rights differing in nature or degree, but all more or less connected with the proprietary possession or usufruct of the soil or of its produce."—Ellis on Mirasi right; Selections, 810. The Selections have injudiciously omitted the Appendices of this valuable document, full of important historical illustration, which no one but Mr. Ellis was competent, from a profound knowledge of the languages and literature of the South of India, and from enlightened experience, to furnish. In the Appendix, which with the text was printed at Madras in 1818, we find the following concluding view of Mirasi tenure. "The Cani-sudantram, or proper Mirasi right, though founded on the principles of the general law, implies peculiar privileges, and an independent enjoyment of landed property by the actual cultivator, unknown in other parts of India, and confined, in fact, to those provinces of the South which formerly constituted the dominions of the ancient Tamil princes: this mode of holding landed property, and several of the incidents appertaining to it, are not in resemblance only, but in fact, the same as those which prevailed among our ancestors previously to the introduction of feudal tenures into Europe, and which is usually designated by the term allodium, with which the word Canyatchi (entire and absolute possession) in derivative meaning intimately corresponds. One of the most remarkable incidents in Mirasi is, the periodical interchange of lands, which, in Tonda-mandalam at least, was anciently universal; the holding of them in severalty being a modern practice. Now this was also a practice common to the nations among whom the allodial posses-

the habits of the people, and the subdivision of property by the laws of inheritance, prevented the aggregation of large estates, or the formation of a landed aristocracy; and the agricultural proprietors were therefore little else than petty farmers, employing, superintending, and not unfrequently assisting the labourers: but they were in a position to preserve their hereditary rights, and to perpetuate the organisation of the village communities. Much variety, however, prevailed in that organisation, not only in proportion to the degree of entireness in which it had been preserved, but from circumstances connected with its history which were no longer to be verified. A village or villages had sometimes a single proprietor, more commonly a greater number; but these were associated under a variety of conditions. Sometimes they held in common, sometimes in severalty; and the rights which they claimed were of various descriptions. They were mostly reducible to two chief classes, the rights of property and the rights of privilege: they were both hereditary, but the latter only were indefeasible, and subsisted where the former had been lost. In their capacity of joint proprietors of village land, the members of the association generally inherited rather a definite proportion of the whole than any specific spot of ground. Sometimes the same family cultivated the same fields for successive generations; but it was more usual to arrange amongst themselves for fresh allotments from time to time, and to distribute different parcels of land in distant parts of the village estate to the same individual, according to the qualities of the soil, and in conformity to regulations sanctified by prescription. In their character of parties responsible to the Government for a portion of its demands they sometimes paid it individually, in proportion to their shares; but it was more usual to make the apportionment amongst themselves, and pay the whole

sion of land primarily obtained, and from whom it passed to their Frankish and Saxon descendants; as Tacitus observes, 'The fields are occupied, in proportion to the number of cultivators, in turns by all, and are then divided among them, according to the rank of each: the extent of the plains facilitates this partition. The cultivated fields are interchanged every year, and yet land remains.'—De Mor. Germanorum, c. 26. Were I to endeavour to describe the mode of periodical repartition practised in every Arudicadei village in Southern India, I could not convey my meaning in more appropriate or precise terms."—p. 85.

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collectively through their head-man or head-men. The shares, or the land where the land was cultivated separately, might be mortgaged, or let, or sold; but the act ordinarily required the concurrence of the other members of the community, in whom also the right of pre-emption was vested. The alienation of the land to a stranger did not carry with it of necessity his admission to the municipality, or give him any voice in the management of the affairs of the village; neither did it divest the person to whom the share or land had belonged, of his right to interfere in the counsels of the community, to assist in auditing the village accounts, or to receive his portion of any emoluments which were derivable from the fees paid for permission to exercise any trade or calling in the village by persons not originally belonging to it, or from any other source. Should he at any time become able to resume his land, he was at liberty to do so. A variety of minor regulations diversified the village constitution in different parts of India; but the general plan and most characteristic features were everywhere essentially alike, and established the virtual existence of a proprietary right in the soil, enjoyed by certain classes of the people, wherever it had not been infringed or abrogated by the usurpations or exactions of arbitrary rule.[1]

[1] Occasionally an entire village might have become the property of a single individual; Minute, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Selections, iii.; but in general the lands were divided into an indeterminate number of subdivisions amongst the descendants of the original stock, or those holding in right of them. Their right to a certain number of shares was fixed, but adjustments took place from time to time according to the pleasure and convenience of the parties interested: the divisions were effected either by integral allotment, or by fractional parts of each description of the land, to be divided according to its quality. By the former method the shares were compact; by the latter they consisted of many particular spots situated in different quarters. In some villages, although comparatively few, the lands are undivided; yet this circumstance neither alters nor affects in any way the right of property in them. When the lands are undivided, each sharer usually continues to cultivate the same fields. A proprietary share is considered large at two hundred and fifty bégas, an ordinary one about seven bégas; some are as small as two bégas.—Fortescue on Tenures in the District of Delhi; Selections, iii. 404. The proprietary right may rest either in a single individual or in a community: the latter may divide among themselves the profits of the estate, either according to their ancestral shares, or some arbitrary rule having reference to the quantity of land which each member cultivates.—Thomason; J. B. Asiatic Soc. viii. 98. In various places, what was considered the original number of shares remained unaltered; but the distribution came to the same thing as their multiplication, it being in fractional parts: thus, some members might have a whole share, some a half, or some a hundredth part. This was the case in the Tamil countries; and the Thals of the Mahratta villages, and Péns and Thokas of the Western provinces, seem also to have represented the original shares, and indicated the number of persons among whom the land was first divided.—Cole-

The existence of proprietors of the soil not depending upon manual labour involved of necessity the existence also of a class or classes of persons willing to undertake the task of cultivating the land, paying a rent for the occupancy transferred to them for that purpose. Such persons accordingly were found in all places where the proprietors themselves had not been reduced to the level of a labouring peasantry; as was the case in much of the territory of the Peninsula, in the Mahratta provinces, and in Hindustan. They were not wholly wanting even in Bengal.[1] It would occupy too much space to specify the various tenures by which they hold, and it will be sufficient to advert to them as distinguishable into two principal classes: the one possessing a right of perpetual occupancy as long as the stipulated rent was paid; the other having only a temporary possession, either for a definite number of years, or being tenants at will. The former might have tenants under them, and sub-let the land, remaining themselves responsible to the individual

brooke, Sykes, &c. In the South of India the lands are of two kinds, privilege and proprietary: the former belong to the whole village, and a member can sell his share only: the latter may be cultivated collectively or separately. In the former case shares only are subjects of sale, in the latter the land is saleable.—Minute, Board of Revenue, Madras; Selections, i. 904. The other statements of the text rest also upon these authorities.

[1] In the Western provinces there were the Kudeem, or ancient Ryot; the Páhi, the itinerant or temporary Ryot; and the Kumera, or labourer: there was also the Kamín, or partial cultivator, an artizan or the like, cultivating a few bigas at his leisure.—Fortescue; Selections, i. 406. In Azimghur there were the three classes, but generally resolved into two; Ashraf, respectable; and Arzal, low.—Thomason; J. B. As. Society, viii. 112. In Bengal the cultivators were long since distinguished as holding Khud-kasht and Pai-kasht lands; the former cultivated by a permanent and resident, the latter by a temporary and migratory, tenant.—Harrington, Analysis B. Regulations; Introduction. The Zemindari Regulations have merged the proprietor into the Khud-kasht cultivator, who was probably the permanent tenant. But there are other designations, less known, which preserve the distinctions; the Praja, (or subject), having the right to sell; the Kalpa, paying him rent, and, while so doing, having the right of occupancy; and the Patti-dar, holding of the same by annual lease.—Briggs, Land-tax of India, Supplement, 500. In the South of India, in the Tamil countries, tenants are termed Paya-karis, cultivating persons: the permanent, Ul-kudi Paya-karis; the temporary, Para-kudi Paya-karis: in Malabar, Patom-karis, rent-payers: in Canara, Gahinis, literally tenentes; Mulagahinis, radical or permanent tenants; Chali-gahinis, moveable tenants.—Madras Revenue Board; Selections. In the Mahratta countries the tenant is termed Upari, an "over" or "outer" man, an alien; Sukhwas, an abider at ease; a Mahiman, or guest: but the only tenure here known seems to be that of a tenant by agreement or lease.—Sykes, Land Tenures of the Dekhin. Of these denominations, some are Sanscrit, some Arabic, some vernacular, but they are all significant; and, had their significations been properly understood, little doubt could ever have been entertained as to the character of the persons to whom they were applied.

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or community of whom the land was held; they were also allowed to mortgage, but not to sell. The tenants for a term were bound of course by the tenor of their agreements: the tenants at will were often little better than mere labourers, and sometimes were degraded to the condition of slaves.

From this sketch of the distribution of landed property in India, it follows that, whatever might have been the law or the theory, individual proprietary right, identifiable with ownership of rent, had a very extensive existence even to the latest periods of native administration. The precise nature of the title under which it was enjoyed was not always the same, nor was it always perhaps easy of verification; but, whether originating in ancient institutions, in colonisation, or in conquest, it had a real and substantial vitality, and animated the exertions of the great body of the cultivating population, until it was destroyed or wrested from them, partially at least, by the progress of events, and by the extortion, injustice, and ignorance of their rulers.

IV. The produce of cultivation being divided between the proprietor or cultivator and the sovereign, it was necessary that the latter should provide agents to determine and realize his share. With this view, under the Hindu system an officer was placed, as has been noticed, at the head of every village or township, who was accountable to a superior in charge of ten villages; he again was responsible to the superintendent of one hundred villages, and he to the head of a thousand villages.[1] This last, the governor in fact of a province, paid the revenue into the royal treasury. The Mohammedan Governments adopted divisions, corresponding in a great measure with those of the Hindus, but the organization was less definite:[2] and in the anarchy of the declining empire, and in the general employment of the agency of revenue contractors, little trace was left of the primitive institutions beyond the head-man of the village, and the chiefs of one or two

[1] Menu, vii. 119, 123; Elphinstone's History of India, i. 39.

[2] In Bengal we have the Grâma or Gaon, the village; the Taraf, the Parganna, and the Taluk or Zemindari, for the larger divisions.—Harrington's Analysis, ii. 67. Among the Mahrattas, the Patel, the Désmukh, and Sir-dés-mukh, for the gradation of officers.—Sykes; Journal Royal As. Society, ii. 208.

large but undefined portions of territory; the former designated in various parts of India as Mokaddam, Mandal, or Patel, the latter known chiefly in Bengal and Hindustan as Talukdar or Zemindar.

The head-man of a village was the only functionary that was identified with the primitive institution, and who had lived on with it through all the revolutions which India had experienced.[1] Although, however, the office subsisted, it had not escaped alteration. The tendency of all public employment in India, from the office of the prime-minister to the function of village watchman, to become hereditary, is familiarly known. The station of head of a village followed the prevailing bias. From being an officer nominated by the sovereign,[2] he came to claim the post in virtue of his descent: the family became permanently grafted upon the village, and the representative of it regarded the superintendence of its affairs as his right. It is not unlikely that from the first the duty was entrusted to a leading member of the community, who, while he was acceptable to his townsmen, would be most competent to promote the interests of the state by his influence and responsibility. Time wrought other changes: the family decayed or disappeared; new men usurped the authority, or were elected by different portions of the community. The notion of property as well as privilege became attached to the succession; and the person holding the office sold or mortgaged it, or a part of it, and introduced a colleague.[3] Different castes found admission into the

[1] "In every village, according to its extent, there are one or more headmen, known by a variety of names in various parts of the country, who have in some degree the superintendence and direction of the rest. I shall confine myself to the term 'Mandal:' he assists in fixing the rent, directing the cultivation, and making the collections." — Minute by Lord Teignmouth; Fifth Report, 193. He particularises the Mandals of Birbhúm, Purnia, and Rajshahi, districts of Bengal. "Amongst the crowd of proprietors, the managers and leaders of the villages are the Mocuddims. These have been from time immemorial the persons through whom the rents of the village have been settled and collected, and who have adjusted the quota of each sharer." — Fortescue; Selections, i. 408.

[2] In the Mahratta countries, the confirmation of the head of the state continued to be regarded as essential to the validity of the Patel's authority. "The Patels about Poona say that they hold their Patelships of the Emperor of Delhi, or one of the Sattara kings; but many of them must hold of the Peshwa." — Township of Lony; Bombay Trans. iii. 183.

[3] The Patelship is hereditary and saleable, but the office is looked upon as so respectable, and the property attached to it is considered so permanent, that there are few or no instances of its being wholly sold, although part of it has been so transferred. This has given rise to there being two Patels in many villages, and in some three or four. — Bombay Trans. iii. 184.

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village society, each having its own head; or different branches of the same family chose to be severally represented.[1] The headship was thus divided amongst fewer or more individuals. Nor was this a partition of a barren title or a post of honour: it was an apportionment of shares in certain fees, perquisites, and profits attached to the situation, founded upon the provision made originally for the remuneration of the head-man, but extended to a variety of objects not contemplated in the primary institution. From these and other sources of pecuniary benefit, the office became in some parts of India a means of acquiring wealth, and an object of competition.[2]

The officers to whom the Mohammedan designations of Talukdars and Zemindars applied, indicated less distinctly their Hindu original. They differed in little except in a greater extent of authority and amount of collection, and not always in that; and it will be sufficient in this place to confine our inquiries to the latter.[3] Conflicting speculation has confounded our conceptions of the character of the Zemindar: some of the perplexity has arisen from the application of the term to different classes of persons, and some to the combination of different characters in

[1] General Briggs found in a village near Calcutta, peopled by Mohammedans and Hindus, four Mandals; three for the former, one for the latter. — Supplement, Land-tax. And in a village near Madras, three Pedda-kars, or headmen; one for each caste of the population. — Supplement, Coll., &c. Colonel Sykes gives an amusing and instructive account of the solemn arbitration of the dispute in which two Patels of a village had sold a third of the office to a third party, for money wherewith to pay the public revenue. They subsequently contested the full advantages which the transfer was maintained to convey: a verdict was given against them in a Panchayat of Patels, who apportioned to each his separate share of precedence and emolument. Among other things it was decreed that each was to have a pair of shoes a-year from the village shoemaker, two bundles of fire-wood on festival-days from the village menials, three pots of water daily from the watchmen, and a third of all sheeps' heads offered to the goddess Bhavání. What was still more valuable, a similar partition was enacted of the rent-free lands attached to the office, and of all lands that might lapse from families becoming extinct. — Tenures of the Dekhin; Journal Royal Asiatic Society.

[2] The founder of the family of Sindhia was a Patel: Madhaji affected the title, whence the popular saying, "Madhaji Sindhia made himself master of India by calling himself a Patel." — Malcolm, Central India, i. 124. Holkar, the Bhonsla Raja, and others, took not only the title, but claimed the office and its emoluments in particular villages. — Sykes, Land Tenures.

[3] A Talook comprehended only a few villages or a small tract of ground. The Talook-dar, or holder of a 'dependancy,' sometimes held under a Zemindar, sometimes immediately under the Government, to whom his collections were paid. In the language of the Company's Regulations the latter is called an independent Talookdar. The Hindu name, Choudri, (a word of uncertain etymology, but apparently derived from Chaturtha-dhari, the receiver of a fourth part,) was sometimes applied to a Zemindar. — Harrington's Analysis, ii. 63.

the same class of persons. In some places the title Zemindar signifies the proprietor of the soil, either as landlord or cultivator, in his individual capacity, or as a member of a village community » in some places it denotes a sort of feudal proprietor, either paramount or subordinate: and in others, an individual responsible to the Government for its share of the revenue of a district of greater or less extent; deriving this responsibility from inheritance, and claiming also as a hereditary right an allowance out of the Government share for maintenance, and as compensation for the trouble and responsibility of collection.[1] It was in this latter capacity that the Zemindar became first conspicuous in the fiscal arrangements of the Governments of British India, and was regarded as having a claim to property in the soil.

Nor was this notion altogether without foundation. The whole of the district for the revenues of which a Zemindar was accountable, or any very considerable part of it, might not be his absolute property; but there is reason to believe that he was rarely a mere functionary of the Government, having no property nor interest whatever in the soil. In his case, as well as in that of the head of a village, individuals were no doubt appointed to represent the Government in a particular locality, because they had extensive possessions in it, which conferred upon them local authority and influence on the one hand, and on the other afforded to the state a substantial security for the realization of its demands. The additional power which his relation to the Government placed in his hands was

[1] Of the first class are the Zemindars of the Western provinces, as already noticed; and of the second, the Zemindars of the border districts of Bengal, also adverted to. The Zemindars of Orissa, according to Mr. Stirling, are also the representatives of feudal chiefs, holding their lands by the tenure of military service; Asiatic Researches, xv. 229. So are the ancient Zemindars of the Northern Circars, and the Poligars of the Dekhin appear to have had the same origin. The last class were found chiefly in Bengal, but also in Hindustan. Their claim to a portion of the Government revenue *only* is clearly expressed in various Sunnuds or grants of the Mogul Government. One of these, quoted in the original by Mr. Thomason, dated 1609, is a grant made by Jehangir to a converted Hindu, and his descendants for ever, of twenty-four Purgannas in the province of Allahabad; from the Jumma or annual revenue of which he is to deduct one hundred and twenty-five thousand rupees for his Nankar or subsistence, and one per cent. for Zemindari dues (Abwáb-i-zemindari).—J. Bengal Asiatic Society, viii. 91. Mr. Shore (Lord Teignmouth) refused to admit a Sunnud to be a foundation of Zemindari tenure; Fifth Report, 204: but that was because he maintained the Zemindars to be proprietors of the land. Mr. Grant refers their origin to the time of Akbar.—Ibid. 632.

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liable to be used by the Zemindar for his own advantage, and opportunities were not likely to be wanting which enabled him to appropriate to his own uses the rights both of individuals and the state. The latter not unfrequently waived its own claims in his favour by grants of waste land, or by the assignment to him of the rent of different places in perpetuity for its subsistence; the right to the hereditary possession of which was admitted even when the Zemindar was relieved from all share in the collection of the revenue, was incapable by reason of age or sex of performing the duty, or when he declined to engage for the amount of the Government claim.[1] Besides this assignment, the Zemindar received a per-centage upon the actual collections, or what were understood to be the actual collections; and he was authorized to impose, for his own benefit, taxes upon the industry of the people,—an authority of which he amply availed himself.[2] The

[1] For this the term is Nánkár, literally source of bread; General Galloway explains it "bread for work:" it is much the same thing, meaning subsistence-money. In the Sunnud last referred to, it was a specified sum to be deducted from the whole rent, but it was more usually the rent or Government share of the produce of certain tracts of lands within the Zemindari set apart for the support of the Zemindar. — Harrington, ii. 65; and Fifth Report, 633. Mr. Trant identifies Nankar with Nijot, the own proper cultivated land of the Zemindar. — Evid. Com. Committee, 1832; Question, 2037. Agreeably to the tenor of the Sunnud quoted in the preceding note, the Nankar was a pension assigned upon the revenue without specifying any obligation to collect the revenue, and hence the foundation, probably, of all such claims. It was rather a special grant to individuals than to the Zemindars as a class, and consequently was retainable where the duty of collecting the revenue was resumed or declined. There was another allowance, the Malikana, the origin of which is not obvious: properly, it denotes the right of the Malik or owner; but, until the Zemindars were acknowledged to be owners by the British Government, it did not belong to them. It not improperly originated (as General Galloway supposes) in the reservation to the owner of a part of his proper share, amounting to ten per cent. of the estimated rent where the whole land had been oppressively assigned away from him — p. 91. In the course of time it seems to have been appropriated by the Zemindars, and to have been converted by them into an hereditary claim for ten per cent. on the Government collections: and, finally, it was secured to them professedly in the capacity of proprietors of the soil, and therefore independently of official function, by the imperfect knowledge of the British Government. — Regulation viii. 1793, clause xliv. The same Regulation secured to recusant Zemindars their Nankar lands also, as long as the joint amount of Malikana and Nankar did not exceed ten per cent. — Cl. xxxvi. Certainly the Zemindars had no right to Malikana independently of employment in fiscal duties; and their right to Nankar depended upon the nature of the original assignment under which it was held, or the degree in which it was their Nij or own property.

[2] The unwarrantable exactions of the Zemindars are alluded to in the instructions of the Bengal Government of 1769; and some striking illustrations are given by Mr. Sisson in his report, dated April, 1815. "One man buys a house, and celebrates his occupation of it by a religious ceremony; more than double the cost is exacted from his Ryots: the birth of a grandson costs him twelve hundred rupees; he collects from them on this account five

distracted state of public affairs,* and the imbecility of the native Governments, left the Zemindars still more at liberty to pursue schemes of personal aggrandizement and profit, to encroach upon the rights of the people, and withhold the dues of the Government; until, in some instances at least, they raised themselves to the station of petty princes, levied troops and built forts, and defied the sovereign and his immediate representatives. To the people, the encroachments of the Zemindars upon the Government claims were either acceptable or indifferent, and they were not without equivalent advantages, which reconciled them to a curtailment of their own rights. As long as they were allowed to remain upon their lands, it made no difference to them whether the rent they paid went to the Zemindars, or the viceroys of the Sultan. The former lived and died among them, generation after generation; they mixed with them on a variety of occasions; they expended money upon public festivals, and supported public institutions; they kept up a large following and an expensive household, and, through many different channels, refunded to the peasantry of the country the money which had been extorted from them. The revenue was spent among those from whom it was raised. When, therefore, the Zemindar was not more than usually oppressive and extortionate; when he was satisfied with the proportion of the produce which usage had established to be his due, and with the occasional imposts or cesses which experience had taught the cultivators to anticipate; he was looked up to with respect, or even with affection, and the people were ever ready to take up arms in defence of his person and possessions. It was not surprising, therefore, that he should have been confounded, by those

* thousand. Another has his house burnt; he not only extorts more than the value, but makes it an annual permanent charge to the Ryots. A third makes an annual progress through his estate, travelling in great state; the Ryots are taxed with the cost. A Zemindar buys an elephant; the Ryots pay for it. Every public or private religious ceremonial is an occasion of taxation: not a child can be born, not a head shaved, not a son married, not a daughter given in marriage, not a member of the family dies, but it is a plea for extortion."—Sisson, Report on Rungpore; Selections, i. 390. This was the state of things in Rungpore, so late as 1815, and under the British Government. It could not have been much worse under the native Governments. It was the same in the South of India, although there these extra cesses are said to have been brought to the credit of the Government, no doubt very imperfectly.—Com. Committee, 1832; Col. Sykes, 1957.

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who first contemplated him in this condition, as the hereditary landlord of a large estate and the proprietor of the soil; although, had they duly considered the limited amount of his acknowledged share of the proceeds of that estate, it might justly have inspired doubts of the validity of his claims to the produce of the whole. It had that result with some; and hence arose one argument in favour of the proprietary right of the sovereign, upon which the measures of the British authorities in 1793 were founded.

V. The proceedings of the Marquis Cornwallis, recognising the Zemindars of Bengal, Behar and Orissa, as proprietors, and fixing for ever the amount to be paid by them, have been already detailed; their results also, as far as they had been then ascertained, have been described.[1] The early arrangements adopted for the settlement of the revenue of the Ceded and Conquered provinces have also been adverted to; and it only remains to notice the course of proceedings which had been followed at Madras. The territory subject to Bombay was still too circumscribed to require separate notice.

Immediately after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement in Bengal, the home authorities directed its extension to the Presidency of Madras: its introduction was delayed by the difficulty of discovering individuals with whom the

[1] Vol. v. 366. It may be convenient here to refer to the following authorities. The proprietary right of the Zemindars was advocated at an early date by Mr. Francis, in opposition to Warren Hastings, who urged in favour of a proposed commission of inquiry, that it would tend to secure to the Ryots the perpetual and undisturbed possession of their lands. Mr. Francis replied, "The state does not consist of nothing but the Ruler and the Ryot; nor is it true that the Ryot is the proprietor of the land. The true landlord is the Zemindar."—Minutes of Hastings and Francis, Nov. 1776. Mr. Shore says: "I consider the Zemindars as proprietors of the soil, to the property of which they succeed by right of inheritance."—Fifth Rep. 203. The doctrine was next advocated by Mr. Rouse, in a dissertation on landed property in Bengal, 1791. On the other hand, it was stoutly contested by Mr. Grant: "There is not in the Northern Circars, any more than within the rest of the wide circle of the British dominions in India, with the exception of a few instances, a single individual among the native Hindoos, calling themselves Rajas or Zemindars, who have the smallest pretension, in form, right, or fact, to an inch of territorial property."—Fifth Rep. 633. But he erred in confining the right of property exclusively to the sovereign. Mr. Place, at a somewhat later date, 1799, took up the claim of the Ryots or husbandmen, at least, in the neighbourhood of Madras.—Fifth Report, 714. Most recent evidence is adverse to the claim of the Zemindars in any other character than that of hereditary collectors or farmers of the public revenue; but, inasmuch as it is exclusive, it is just as erroneous as all that has preceded it. Mr. Tucker's definition is also applicable in many instances, though not universally: "The Zemindar was the hereditary administrator, I should say, of the revenue, with a beneficial interest in the land."—Commons' Committee, 1832; Evid. 1813.

engagements were to be concluded, for the intervention of persons analogous to the Zemindars of Bengal between the cultivating population and the Government was generally unknown. The reiterated injunctions of the Court of Directors, and the positive orders of the Bengal Government, caused Zemindars to be discovered or created; and several regulations were passed in the course of 1802, declaratory of their proprietary right, and announcing the principles of a perpetual settlement, which, after some interval, was effected in the districts that had been longest subject to the authority of the Madras Government.[1]

Whilst these arrangements were in progress, a settlement on entirely different principles had been commenced in the territories latterly conquered from Mysore. As their circumstances and resources were imperfectly known, it was deemed prudent, before forming any assessment in perpetuity, to institute a detailed survey with a view to the determination of its amount, and in the interval to conclude temporary arrangements with the actual occupants of the lands. These proceedings, undertaken for the ultimate purpose of effecting a permanent Zemindary assessment, gave rise to a new system of revenue administration, since designated Ryotwar, or a settlement individually and immediately with the Ryots, meaning by the term the actual cultivators of the soil. The survey was conducted by Colonel Reade, having for his assistants Lieutenants Munro, Macleod, and Graham; the former of whom, afterwards Sir Thomas Munro, became subsequently more especially identified with the system.[2] The objects they were directed to determine were, the extent of the land in cultivation, the quality of the different sorts of land, the tenure by which it was held, the value of the different crops, and the share of the produce to which the Government could justly lay claim. An annual adjustment was to be made with

[1] The Northern Circars, the Jagir, part of Salem, Madura, and Tinevelly.

[2] Military collectors were appointed to this duty by Lord Cornwallis expressly because "few of the civil servants were acquainted with the country languages, and were therefore obliged, both from habit and necessity, to fall into the hands of Dubashes (interpreters). — Letter to the Court of Directors, May, 1792; Fifth Report, 744. It appears that the implied rebuke was not without effect, as in the subsequent settlements several civilians were employed; although this was the effect of positive orders from Marquis Wellesley, repeatedly confirmed by the Court of Directors, that civilians only should be so employed. — Commons' Committee, 1832. Public App. (M.)

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each cultivator for the land he cultivated, at a maximum money rent for each field, according to the circumstances and capability of the land, whatever might be the produce; the amount to admit of reduction where the necessity of reduction was shown, and to vary from year to year, until the inquiry should be sufficiently matured to allow of its being determined for ever.[1]

The proceedings of the revenue survey were first directed to the districts of the Baramahal and Salem. They were extended to the Ceded Provinces above the Ghats, after the capture of Seringapatam, under the conduct of different officers who had been mostly trained under Colonel Reade. There was some variety in their methods of discharging the duty,[2] and still more in the rate of their assessments; but their operations were equally based upon the measurement of the lands, both cultivated and waste; the determination of their fitness for particular crops;[3] the money valuation of the estimated produce of the land in cultivation, and its partition between the cultivator and the Government; the rate varying from one-third of the supposed value of the gross produce to little less than a half, or forty-five per cent.[4] The measurements and valuations

[1] Letter of Colonel Munro to the Board of Revenue, 30th Nov. 1806, with instructions to the surveyors, &c. — Fifth Report, 783.

[2] "The revenue surveys under the Madras Presidency were not regulated by any uniform rule, and in some respects were, perhaps, defective in principle. The most ample discretion was vested in the local officer on whom this duty was imposed in each district; and the details naturally varied with the particular views of the individual."— Campbell on the Land Revenues of India; Commons' Committee, 1832, App. 44. See also the Reports from the collectors Munro, Ravenshaw, Hurdis, Garrow, Wallace, &c.; Fifth Report, 745.

[3] In the first instance, the land was distinguished into three sorts: Nanja, wet, or that which was supplied with water by irrigation; Panja, which depended wholly upon rain: in these, rice and various other grains were reared. The third kind of land was that fit for miscellaneous products other than grain — tobacco, pepper, cotton, and vegetables. Each of these was subdivided into a variety of species, according to their fertility: as many as twenty distinctions of each class are enumerated in Colonel Munro's instructions to his assessors; but they were directed to restrict their specifications to ten kinds of dry land, eight of wet, and six of garden ground. — Instructions, &c. as above cited.

[4] Colonel Munro observes of the Ceded districts, and of the Dekhin, that the mode of assessment in force there, limits the Ryots to two-thirds of the gross produce, but reduces it in fact nearly to a half. His own assessment was forty-five per cent., but as a permanent rate he proposed to reduce it by one-fourth; so that the total being . . 100

Deduct Government share	45	
Less one-fourth . .	11¼	
Final deduction . .		33⅓
Leaving to the Ryot per cent. .		66⅔.—Fifth Report, 342.

were made in the first instance by native surveyors, but the final assessment by the head collector himself in personal conference with the Patels and principal Ryots of every village. Reference was also had to the recorded collections of the native Governments; and, where the total of the survey assessment exceeded it materially, some remission was granted. Remissions were also made upon the realisation of the year's revenue, if the season had proved unfavourable or the crops defective.

The incidents of the Ryotwar settlement attracted the attention of Lord William Bentinck during his administration of the government of Madras, and led him to the conclusion that the Zemindari system was incompatible with the true interests of the Government and the community at large. The right of private property in the soil, ascertained by Colonel Munro to exist in Canara, satisfied him that, although similar rights might elsewhere have been trodden down by the oppression and avarice of despotic authority, yet they still existed, and were to be discovered in every village. To create Zemindars, and invest them with a property to which they could have no claim but the arbitrary will of the state, was neither calculated to improve the condition of the people, nor provide for the future security of the Government.[1] The Zemindary settlements were in consequence arrested, and the principle of the formation of a permanent settlement with the Ryots was thenceforth to regulate the revenue arrangements at Madras. The determination was of short duration.

The survey assessment of the Ceded provinces above the Ghats was scarcely completed[2] when the Government of Madras was induced to entertain a doubt whether it was not desirable to relinquish the Ryotwar system, and substitute for it some plan of settlement approximating more nearly to that of estates permanently assessed. The Board of revenue to whom the subject was referred, adopted a view unfavourable to the continuance of the Ryotwar system, chiefly on the grounds of its incompatibility with the judicial regulations recently introduced at Madras, by which all questions of revenue were removed

[1] Minutes of Lord W. Bentinck, and Memoir of Mr. Thackeray; Fifth Report, 912.

[2] It commenced in 1802, and was finished in 1807.

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from the cognizance of the revenue authorities to regular courts of justice.[1] As long as a country was unsettled, and great discretional authority was vested in the collector, the Board admitted that a survey settlement with the Ryots was well calculated to develope the capabilities of the country, and detect and remedy abuses; but when the settlement was effected, and regular courts of law were established, the power of discretionary and summary decision was necessarily withdrawn from the collector, and all disputes were referable to legal tribunals, which could not possibly provide for the numerous cases that so many and such minute disputes, as must arise under the Ryotwar system, would bring under their cognizance. The permanence of the Ryotwar system depended also upon the reduction of the assessment, as proposed by Colonel Munro, by one-fourth of its amount; a sacrifice which the exigencies of the Government did not allow it to contemplate. The Board therefore recommended, and the Government resolved, that the Ryotwar plan should be abandoned,[2] and that of village leases substituted; the villages being let to the head of the village, or principal cultivator, for a term of three years, for the annual payment of a sum determined by the aggregate collections of former years, or the survey rent where it could be depended on. The regulations of the Government, it was asserted, were fully adequate to protect the Ryots against the oppression of the renter. The course thus pursued was sanctioned by the Court of Directors, who at this period seem to have been persuaded that no advantage was to be expected from the further prosecution of the Ryotwar assessments.[3] In finally approving of the arrangeme

[1] The question was first brought forward and was fully treated by Mr. Hodgson, who had been a member of a committee appointed to inquire into the causes of the failure of the permanent settlement in Dindigul. — Selections, i. 581. It is also worthy of remark, that at this date Colonel Munro had gone to England, and Sir George Barlow had succeeded Lord W. Bentinck at Madras. The great advocate of the Ryotwar system was absent, and the head of the Government was naturally biassed in favour of a system, "a large portion of which had engaged his attention for twenty years, and which he had deliberately resolved on accelerating in the Ceded and Conquered provinces" of the Bengal Presidency. — Minute of Mr. Colebrooke, Sel. i. 45.

[2] Revenue Letter from Fort St. George, 24th Oct. 1808; Selections, i. 483.

[3] Extracts of Despatches from the Court, 30th August, 1809. The Court also dwell upon the obvious defects of the system, — the minuteness of investigation which it involves, the necessary employment of countless native agents, the impossibility of effectually preventing their malpractices, and the difficulty of adjusting the rents to all the varieties of seasons and public

however, they intimated that they were not anxious for the early extension of the principle of permanency into any of the territories into which it had not been introduced, and restricted the Madras Government from concluding such a settlement in any district without the previous sanction of the Court.[1]

The prohibition against concluding a settlement in perpetuity in any of the Madras territories was announced scarcely in time to prevent the Government of Fort St. George from pledging itself to the measure. The results of the triennial settlement, although in several instances unfavourable, were considered sufficient guides to the determination of the utmost capabilities of the land, and the consequent limitation of the Government demand. The benefits of the measure required, it was affirmed, no discussion; and the only points for consideration were the time and mode of carrying it into operation. With regard to the former, it was concluded that the period had arrived at which the Government might proceed to a final settlement of the land revenue without any risk of compromising the public interests; and, with regard to the latter, that the preferable method was that of the Mouzawar or village settlement. It was resolved, therefore, to proceed at once to conclude a settlement for ten years with the heads of the villages singly, or with any respectable inhabitants of the village or district, or, in the event of their refusal, with any responsible individuals, conditioning that the amount of revenue to be paid by them should become a permanent settlement at the end of ten years if approved of by the Court.[2] Their approval was not to be expected: and, in the reply of the Court, the grant of the proposed decennial leases was prohibited, or, if already granted, they were to be declared terminable at the end of the ten years: the principle of permanency was discarded, and positive orders were given for an

events; and conclude, that, "although the plan intelligently followed up might be well calculated to discover the resources of a country, yet it was not to be preferred for constant practice; and the doubt which Lieut.-Col. Munro has properly stated, whether it be equally well fitted for the improvement of a country as for the discovery of its resources, would, they were strongly inclined to believe, be resolved in the negative."—Selec. i. 598.

[1] The date of this letter, Dec. 1811, accounts for the change of opinion which it expresses. — Selections, i. 600.

[2] Letter from Fort St. George, 29th Feb. 1812; Sel. i. 513.

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immediate return in all possible cases to annual and individual settlements with the cultivators—to the Ryotwar assessments. The orders were complied with. Sir George Barlow was presently afterwards removed from the government of Madras, and the revenue discussions terminated for the present at that Presidency.[1]

The discussions in Bengal turned principally upon the question of permanency. With whom the settlement should be made had scarcely yet become a subject of consideration with the Government, which looked everywhere for Zemindars; but among its functionaries, and particularly in the unsettled districts, a conviction had begun to spread that the question of tenure was still to be investigated. The fact was brought to the notice of the Government more distinctly than it had hitherto been by the members of a special commission which had been appointed to superintend the engagements that were to be concluded with the landholders in the Ceded and Conquered provinces upon the approaching expiration of those which were in force.[2] It was at the same time announced to the Zemindars and other actual proprietors of land in the Ceded and Conquered provinces, that the revenue which might be assessed on their estates in the last year of the settlement which was now to be made should remain fixed for ever, in case the Zemindars were willing to engage for the payment of the public revenue on those terms in perpetuity, and the arrangement should receive the sanction of the Court of Directors.

The commissioners, Messrs. Cox and Tucker, entered upon their duties at the end of 1807. Early in the following year they submitted a report of their proceedings,[3] and a description of the several collectorates in the districts which they had visited; and they came to the conclusion that a permanent settlement of the revenue of the Western provinces was at that moment premature, and might be injurious to the people, while it would be necessarily attended by a material sacrifice of the public resources. The right of property in the cultivated lands

[1] The letter of the Court is dated 16th December, 1812; Sel. i. 525. In the following August, a long and able minute of the Board of Revenue is recorded in vindication of their views and proceedings. Ibid. 577.

[2] Regulations x. 1808; vi. 1808.

[3] Selections, i. 45.

was in many cases contested. It remained to be determined with what parties a settlement should be effected. Lands were held free upon tenures the validity of which required proof, and there were extensive waste lands of which the rightful appropriation was to be ascertained. At least a fourth of the arable land was yet uncultivated, and neither the resources of the provinces nor their means of improvement were known. Although, therefore, professing to be fully aware of the advantages which might be expected from a perpetual limitation of the Government demand, the commissioners recommended that the announcement of a permanent settlement should be suspended, and that the period for which the engagements were to be renewed should be devoted to the diligent accumulation of the information essential to its establishment on safe and equitable principles. Their recommendations were at variance with the established opinions of the Supreme Council. Mr. Colebrooke, one of the members, objected to their reasonings, that they were the same which had been overruled or refuted in the discussions preceding the permanent settlement of Bengal; and that experience had confirmed their fallacy, as the design of the permanent settlement of 1793 had been fully accomplished in that part of India. The same advantages were therefore to be expected from the application of a like measure to other places; and the Government was pledged, by the terms of the preceding regulations, to its immediate adoption in the Ceded and Conquered provinces.[1] Mr. Lumsden, the other member of Council, although differing in some respects from his colleague, came to the same conclusion; and Lord Minto, after a deliberate consideration of all the proceedings, declared himself satisfied of the sound policy, or rather the urgent necessity, of no longer delaying to settle the revenue assessment of the Western provinces in perpetuity.[2] The determination of the Government was disapproved of in England. The Court of Directors declared, indeed, that they neither meant to undervalue the advantage of the permanent settlement in Bengal, nor to desert the principle on which it was formed; but it was evident that the

[1] See the purport of the regulations referred to in a former place, p. 82.
[2] Revenue Letter from Bengal, September, 1808.

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principle was reluctantly entertained, and that doubts began to be suggested whether its consequences were not embarrassing to the Government, without yielding an equivalent benefit to the people.[1]

The expense of any scheme of administration must be proportionate to the advance of a state in wealth and power. The more numerous the people, the more extensive the territory, the more complicated the internal and external relations, the more costly must be the machinery of the Government. The golden age has not yet come back; and from time to time all countries must be placed in situations in which an unusual application of all available resources is indispensable for their safety. It were most impolitic, therefore, if it were possible, to fix for ever impassable bounds to the public revenues, in ignorance of the possible extent of future exigencies. Such a limit was of course never in contemplation: but it was anticipated that the restriction of the Government demand upon the land would be followed by a proportionate improvement of the estates of the landholders; that capital would accumulate, expenditure increase, and the people be placed in circumstances favourable to an augmented consumption of articles both of necessity and luxury; that a system of indirect taxation, like that which is the main source of revenue in Europe, might be introduced into India; and that in the end the revenue of the Government would augment with the augmented affluence and prosperity of the country. These anticipations had been indulged in without a due consideration of the obstacles which impeded their realisation; without a due regard for the manners, the wants, and the feelings of the people. It would be scarcely prudent to predict that those obstacles will never be overcome; but many and great changes must take place before they can be so far surmounted as to justify a Government of India in ceasing to look to the land as the principal feeder of the public exchequer. It were an act of suicidal improvidence prematurely to divest itself of so commodious and productive

[1] Revenue Letters to Bengal, 1st Feb. and 27th Nov. 1811; Sel. iii. 5. These and similar despatches are referred to as the letters of the Court of Directors, as they are so designated in the Records. Agreeably to the evidence cited in a former note, they would with more propriety be termed the letters of the Board of Controul.

a source of revenue to any extent which may not be in excess of the fair claims and reasonable expectations of the agricultural population, and which is consistent with their own usages and opinions.

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With respect, also, to the interests of the agricultural population, the advantages of a permanent settlement are in a great measure illusory. The basis upon which it rests is a proportion of the produce, a third or a half; and this is then determined to be a definite an unvarying quantity. But it is universally admitted that it is almost impossible to ascertain with precision the absolute total produce of any given portion of land; and the proportional produce must be fixed therefore in most cases by conjecture, involving one of the well-known evils of the permanent settlement — great inequality of assessment. The total produce, indeed, cannot be fixed by regulation: it must vary both in quantity and quality with the amount of labour and skill bestowed upon its production, and upon the recurrence of favourable or unfavourable seasons. The proportion, however, being a fixed unvariable amount, does not fluctuate with the causes of fluctuation; and, in the event of peculiarly unpropitious circumstances, this amount may be equal in quantity, not to a half, but to the whole of the crop. In answer to this it may be said, that in favourable times the fixed rate may bear a lower proportion to the whole, and that a bad year consequently is compensated for by a good one; but what then becomes of the principle of permanency, for the cultivator pays at different periods a different rate of rent? To have to make provision, whilst he prospers, against a possible reverse, subjects him to uncertainty as much as if his payments varied from year to year: and to suppose that the Indian cultivator will exercise such foresight, is to expect a total revolution in his character and habits. The futility of such an expectation was shown in the immediate effects of the permanent settlement,—the ruin of the greater number of the Zemindars, and the sale of those lands of which they had been constituted proprietors, for arrears of revenue.

If a variable ratio is unavoidable when calculated upon the produce in kind, it is still more obviously inevitable where, as in the case of the permanent settlement, the

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Government demand has been calculated upon the estimated money value of that produce. That this value should remain unaltered for ever is as impossible as that society should stand still; a stagnation less to be looked for in India than in any other part of the world amid the elements of incessant change that are daily springing up from the novel ascendancy of European principles and forms of civilization. A fall in the price of silver, and augmentation in the prices of labour and commodities, are a virtual abatement of the revenue assessment: a rise in the value of silver, and fall in the price of grain, are a virtual enhancement. The same might be the result of an extraordinarily abundant harvest, and consequent diminution of demand; by which prices might be so depreciated, that the sale of a farmer's whole produce might fail to realise the fixed money value of the Government share.[1] It is evident, therefore, that a permanent settlement, or an unvarying amount of revenue derivable from a money valuation of an unchanging quantity of produce, is invariable or permanent only in terms.

It does not follow, that because a Government refrains from declaring that it will at no time, and on no occasion, raise its demand, that it is therefore to discourage the industry of the agricultural population, or obstruct the accumulation of capital, by constantly keeping up its demands at a maximum rate. There is a principle of permanency which is more essential to the prosperity of the country than that of a nominally perpetual assess-

[1] In the assessment made by Colonel Briggs in Kandesh, the people were at first highly pleased with the settlement, which was formed with the villages upon the average collections of ten years. At first it fell lightly; but, the assessment being paid in money, it became heavy when the price of grain declined. When the country was first taken under British management, the price of grain was about four shillings a bushel; in four years, in consequence of increased cultivation and diminished demand, from the absence of troops and other circumstances, it had fallen to sixteen pence the bushel: it was quite impossible, therefore, the villagers could pay the same amount in money in the fourth year as they had done in the first. The public revenue of Kandesh, notwithstanding increased cultivation, therefore, was reduced from sixteen lakhs of rupees to eleven, and eventually to six lakhs. — Lords' Committee, 1830; Evidence, Question 4049. So also Colonel Barnewall, speaking of Guzerat, observes, that in consequence of the continuation of tranquillity, and the reduction of public establishments, the bulk of the population has become agricultural, and the supply of grain so far exceeds the consumption, that agricultural produce is no longer saleable at its former prices: the profits of the farmer are consequently diminished, and he is unable to pay the revenue demand of the Government. — Commons' Committee, 1832; Evid. Political, 151.

ment, — the invariable recognition of the right of the proprietor of the soil to a rent from his estate. As long as the Government constitutes itself sole landlord, and appropriates the whole, or nearly the whole, of the rent, there can be no accumulation of capital, no advance in wealth, no creation of collateral resources among the mass of the population, for whatever period the assessment may be fixed. A moderate, rather than a perpetual settlement, is the real want of the people. Speculators in revenue, middlemen, Zemindars, may be anxious for a permanently definite amount of the Government demand; which, while it limits what they are to pay, permits them, as did the settlement of Lord Cornwallis, to crush the cultivator under exorbitant exactions: but there is every reason to believe that the actual occupants and cultivators think and care little about the question of permanency.[1] It may be convenient to all parties to adjust the assessment for a term of years; but as long as the amount is not extortionate, and a persuasion exists that it will not be increased without an adequate cause, the agricultural population of India will be contented; for they will be as prosperous as they can become under the universal institution of infant marriages, the equal partition of inheritance, the few wants which the nature of the climate and the condition of society impose, and the entire absence of the countless objects of needless expenditure which in part disgrace and in part dignify society in Europe. Upon these, and similar grounds, the authorities in England had learned to question the advantages of a permanent settlement as affecting the interests either of the people or the state.

[1] The evidence of Mr. Fortescue on this subject, as regards the people of the Upper provinces, is conclusive. According to him, the Ryots or cultivators know little or nothing about a permanent settlement, and have no desire for its introduction: some dislike the notion from fear of its affecting their local interests, and such as are desirous of it are so from the representations which interested persons have made to them of its advantages; that is, Zemindars of the village engaging for the revenue as landholders, and who expect to derive from it the authority which they are told that it confers upon the Zemindars of the Lower provinces. — Commons' Committee, 1832; Questions 2330-340. Mr. Mackenzie observes. "If not hated by the people (of the Upper provinces), we are without the slightest hold on their affections. This seems, it may be proper to remark, to have no connexion with the permanent settlement, on which the very few who were interested never probably relied, and of which the great body of the landholders never heard. Of some thousand petitions which I received when in the Western provinces, and of many tens of thousands of petitioners whom I saw and talked with, not one touched upon this point." — Commons' Committee, 1832; General App. 212.

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In addition to the objections which might be urged to the measure generally, there was undoubtedly ample reason to question the propriety of its immediate adoption in the particular case of the Ceded or Conquered provinces. The experience acquired in Bengal had established the mischievous consequences of precipitancy. Even Mr. Colebrooke, who asserted that it had answered the objects proposed by it, was obliged to admit that the persons whose benefit it was intended to promote,—the Zemindars, whom it was designed to enrich,—had not profited by the beneficence of the Government; the greater number of them were in fact utterly ruined. Wholly unaccustomed to punctuality in their payments to the state, and bred up in habits of prodigality and improvidence, they speedily fell into arrears; for the recovery of which, under the stringent enactments of the Government, their estates were immediately and absolutely disposed of by public sale. In the course of a few years, many of the Zemindars, whom the settlement of 1793 had proposed to transform into a landed aristocracy, had been reduced to indigence, or had utterly disappeared; and families, which had survived the successive revolutions of the native Governments, vanished before the inflexibility of the Company's regulations.[1] Nor was the situation of the Ryots bettered by the change. Originally left to the arbitrary will of the Zemindars, the exactions to which they were exposed were tempered by the beneficial influence of a long-established intercourse with their ancient landlords. To the new purchasers of the Zemindaris, who were mostly men who had grown rich in the service of the English, and were residents of Calcutta or other commercial towns,

[1] "My impression is, that a very small proportion of those with whom the permanent settlement was made are now owners of the land, very great alienations of the land being made in the first year of the settlement."—Mill, Commons' Committee, 1831; Question 3210. In Question 3997 allusion is made to the statement of the Fifth Report, that in 1796 one-tenth of the whole of the lands in Bengal, Behar, and Orissa, were put up to sale. Mr. Tucker and several other well-informed officers of the Company affirm, that the number of estates put up for sale is no evidence of the number of sales; but Mr. Tucker admits, that of the three largest Zemindaris, those of Rajshahi, Nadiya, and Burdwan, the whole of the first, and part of the second, had been sold prior to 1799, and that a very considerable number of estates passed into the hands of the merchants and bankers of Calcutta.—Evid. Commons' Committee, 1832; Revenue. Question 1861. Even as late as 1821-2, when the sales were much fewer than in the years immediately following the settlement, the number of estates sold for arrears of revenue was 396.—Ibid. Q. 2603.

their tenantry were merely objects of speculation, from whom they proceeded to extort the largest possible return for the capital which had been invested in the purchase. Under such task-masters the cultivators were soon reduced to the state of a pauper peasantry, scarcely gleaning a subsistence from the soil, and in no condition to swell the coffers of the state by their consumption of taxable commodities.[1] To disregard the lesson, and repeat the same errors elsewhere, would have been wholly indefensible; and it was so obviously the duty of the Government to guard against the evils which could not fail to follow the conclusion of a perpetual settlement upon imperfect information, that it is difficult to comprehend how the measure should have found advocates among men of tried ability and mature knowledge. Their advocacy was fruitless. The Court of Directors persisted in their prohibitions;[2] and the Government of Bengal was compelled to rescind a regulation which had enacted that the amount of revenue levied in the last year of the temporary settlement then subsisting should be fixed for ever.[3] At the same time in conformity to previous enactments, it was provided, that, with respect to those estates which the commissioners should think sufficiently improved to justify such an arrangement, the assessment on them should be revised, and a rate be fixed in perpetuity. The provision was inoperative, as was probably expected. No estates were found that had reached the utmost limit of improvement.[4]

A difference of opinion also prevailed with respect to the method by which the resources of the unsettled provinces were to be ascertained. To the suggestions of the Court that the scheme of the Ryotwar assessment fol-

[1] The injurious operations of the permanent settlement of Bengal upon both the old Zemindars and the Ryots are detailed in the Fifth Report, 60: see also Mill, v. 366, 369. Sir Charles Metcalfe observes of the Bengal permanent settlement, that it was an experiment, in the results of which he can discern no benefit that should induce its repetition. It not only sacrificed the prospective rights of the Government for ever, but, by declaring those to be proprietors who were not proprietors, it in effect destroyed the rights of all the proprietors and cultivators. — Commons' Committee, 1832; App. 469. Mr. Mackenzie states, that the Bengal assessment led to the greatest possible inequality, and left everything in a state of utter darkness and confusion. — Ibid. Evidence; Q. 2581.

[2] Letter from the Government of Bengal, 11th July, 1812. — Selec. i. 134.

[3] Regulations x. 1807; and ix and x. 1812. — Selec. i. 162.

[4] Letter from the Court, 16th March, 1813; Sel. i. 136.

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lowed at Madras should be applied to them, the Government of Bengal justly objected its inapplicability to a territory where the lands were jointly occupied and cultivated by numerous owners, held together by a community of tenures imperfectly understood. To form engagements with individual occupants was quite as likely to invade and overturn the rights and privileges of the landed proprietary as the Zemindari settlement had done; and to deal separately with individual cultivators tended to disorganise and dissolve the village communities,—thereby depriving the people of the salutary habit of regulating their own concerns, and the Government of a ready and economical channel by which the revenue might be realised.[1] Instead of forming engagements with the associated proprietors, represented by respectable persons of their own election, it would be necessary to let loose upon the land a swarm of locusts in the shape of numberless subordinate collectors and assessors, whose exactions from the people it would be impossible to check, and whose frauds upon the state it would be equally impossible to discover. Whether, therefore, the interests of the Government or its subjects were considered, a Ryotwar assessment was regarded, and with reason, as alike objectionable.[2] There was less reason in the objections urged against the preliminary measure of a survey of the lands to be assessed. It was affirmed that the plan had been repeatedly tried, and had been attended with so much inconvenience and such unsatisfactory results, that the Government felt satisfied the most experienced and capable of its revenue officers would deem the revival of it an evil burthensome and oppressive to the people, and unproductive of any substantial benefit to the pecuniary interests of the state. In preference to such a mode of

[1] Sir C. Metcalfe, although friendly to the principle of Ryotwar assessment, objected to its introduction into the Western provinces, because it appeared to him that it must tend to loosen and ultimately dissolve the ties which bind the village communities together. Instead of all acting in union with a common interest as regards the Government, and adjusting their own separate interests among themselves according to established usage, each would have his separate independent arrangement directly with the Government, and could hardly fail to be thereby less linked with his fellows. The village constitution, which could survive all outward shocks, might be easily subverted with the aid of the Government regulations and the courts of justice.—Commons' Com. 1832; App. p. 471.

[2] Revenue Letter from Bengal, 17th July, 1813; and Second Minute of Mr. Colebrooke; Sel. i. 179.

obtaining a knowledge of the resources of the country, it would be advisable to rely upon the Zemindari and village accounts, although it was admitted that they were not unfrequently false or fabricated. Such a preference was evidently dictated by strong and unfounded prejudice. Revenue surveys may very possibly be conducted in such a manner as to be vexatious to the people and unprofitable to the Government: the conclusions to which they lead may not be entitled to unqualified credit: but experience has demonstrated that they can be carried on without giving any offence to the people; while, although they may not be exempt from error, they furnish the only safe means of making an approach to accuracy in determining the productive value of the land.[1] At this point the discussion ceased. Different views influenced the measures of the succeeding Administration.

Some attempts were instituted by the Government of Bengal to repair the evil which had been occasioned by the long neglect of the Government to exercise that interference which at the time of the permanent settlement it had avowedly retained the right to exert in protection of the equitable claims of the Ryots.[2] At first some intention was manifested of acting upon the power so reserved; and the Zemindars had been in the same year prohibited from imposing any new imposts, from cancelling leases legally obtained, or refusing to grant others for a specific amount of rent.[3] The main object of the Government in the regulations then and subsequently passed was, however, evidently its own security, originating in an apprehension that the Zemindars might plead the difficulty of realising their demands from the Ryots in extenuation of

[1] The exceedingly defective sources of information on which, prior to the establishment of surveys, assessments were based, are thus enumerated by Mr. Mackenzie, "Our settlements were made in haste, on general estimates or surmises, on accounts never believed to be accurate, and never brought to any clear test of accuracy, on the offers of speculators, on the biddings of rivals, on the statements of candidates for employment seeking credit with Government, by discoveries against the people, on information of all kinds generally worthless."—Letter to Mr. Villiers, Commons' Committee, 1832; Evidence, 417.

[2] Section 8. Reg. i. of 1793, declares, that "it being the duty of the ruling power to protect all classes of the people, and more particularly those who from situation are most helpless, the Governor-General in Council will, whenever he may deem it proper, enact such regulations as he may think necessary for the protection and welfare of the dependent Talookdars, Ryots, and other cultivators of the soil."

[3] Reg. viii. 1793.

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their failing to pay the demands of the state. Under these impressions, it was enacted that no leases should be granted for a period longer than ten years; and that when a Zemindari was sold for arrears of revenue, all existing engagements should be void from the day of sale, the purchasers being entitled to collect from the renters according to the undefined rates and usages of the country.[1] Finally, a power was vested in the landholders of summarily distraining for rent.[2] The result of these measures was to place the Ryot completely in the hands of the Zemindar, and to enable the latter to raise his rents at pleasure. It was therefore found necessary to interpose, and a regulation was subsequently enacted[3] by which the limitation of the leases was abrogated: they were authorised to be granted for any period, and on any terms to which the parties should mutually agree, in the hope that they would thus be obliged to come to some definite understanding, instead of leaving the door open to oppressive fraud and endless litigation, which the appeal to so vague a standard as that of usage rendered perpetual. It was also decreed, that, in the event of an attachment or sale of a Zemindari, the leases should not be annulled within the year in which the attachment or sale should have taken place; that where the collections were regulated by pergunna or district rates, and those rates were not fixed by anything more precise than custom, they should be of the same amount as those which were actually paid in the neighbourhood upon lands of like quality, or they should not exceed the maximum rate paid upon the same land during any one of the three preceding years. No enhancement of existing rates was to take place, except under an engagement to that effect, or a formal and written notice of the specific amount to be required during the ensuing year being served upon the tenant. Process of distraint was prohibited, except after due notification in writing having been given; and agricultural implements and cattle were exempted from seizure. Process was also to be suspended where the defaulter engaged by bond or sufficient security to institute a suit for the trial of a contested demand within a rea-

[1] Regs. xliv. 1793, and iii. of 1796.
[2] Reg. vii. 1799.
[3] Reg. v. 1812.

sonable period. The latter clauses of this enactment were beneficial; but the liberty given to the Zemindar to frame engagements for an indefinite period, and on such conditions as the parties might agree to, was speedily interpreted into an authority to dispossess even the Ryots claiming hereditary occupancy, if they refused to accede to his demands, however exorbitant.[1] The limitation of the Government assessment in the Western provinces rendered it necessary to limit also the engagements between individuals in those provinces;[2] and in the same districts the collectors were authorised, under the Board of Commissioners, to investigate the titles by which la-khiráj or rent-free lands were held. Rules were also passed for the occasional subdivision of estates held in common, so that the holder of a joint undivided property might have his share verified and separately assessed.[3]

In order to extend the public resources of the Government, it was thought advisable to impose a tax upon houses in the several towns and cities of Bengal, Behar, Orissa, and Benares:[4] religious buildings were exempted. Such a tax had been levied for some years without any difficulty or obstruction in Calcutta, and it was not expected that any serious opposition would be offered to it in other cities. The Government was mistaken. The measure was regarded as an innovation, and was vehemently opposed. At Benares especially the resistance was most violent, and was curiously characteristic of the peculiarities both of the place and the people.

As soon as the intentions of the Government became known, great excitement prevailed throughout the city, and meetings of the different castes and trades were held to determine upon the course to be pursued. No obstruction was offered to the persons employed to assess the houses; but the shops were closed, every kind of occupation was abandoned, and such numerous crowds assembled on the outskirts of the town, that it was judged expedient by the magistrate to call to the assistance of the police a detachment of troops from the neighbouring cantonments. Their services were not needed, as the people quietly dispersed; but on the same day a solemn engage-

[1] Letter to Government of Bengal, 15th Jan. 1819; Selections, i. 360.
[2] Reg. xiv. 1812. [3] Regs. viii. and ix. 1811. [4] Reg. xv. 1810.

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ment was taken by all the inhabitants to carry on no manner of work or business until the tax was repealed. Everything was at a stand: the dead bodies were cast unceremoniously into the river, because there were none to perform the obsequial rites; and the very thieves refrained from the exercise of their vocation, although the shops and houses were left without protection,—the people deserting the city in a body, and taking up their station halfway between Benares and Secrole, the residence of the European functionaries, about three miles distant. A petition was presented to the magistrate, praying him to withdraw the odious impost, and declaring that the petitioners would never return to their homes until their application was complied with: a reference to Calcutta was all that was in the magistrate's power.

Whilst awaiting for a reply from the Government, the people of Benares continued assembled, and were joined by many persons from the surrounding districts: the number was computed at more than two hundred thousand, comprehending the aged and infirm, women and children. They were supplied with food regularly at the expense of the opulent classes, and were actively enjoined to unanimity and perseverance by their religious guides and teachers. Their conduct was uniformly peaceable; passive resistance was the only weapon to which they trusted. They continued in the open air throughout the day, but many returned at night to their homes.

In this manner about a fortnight passed.[1] The Government somewhat misconceiving the character of the assemblage, and at any rate deeming it impolitic to yield to any semblance of intimidation, ordered the enforcement of the tax, and the dispersion of the multitude, if necessary, by force. A sufficient strength had been collected for the purpose; but, before the receipt of the orders, time, reflexion, and discomfort had enfeebled the vigour of the opposition, and the people had for the most part returned to their dwellings. The determination of the Government caused them to reassemble, with the avowed determination of marching in a body to Calcutta to petition the Governor-General personally for redress; but this was a much more arduous undertaking than a bivouac in the

[1] From the 26th December, 1810, to the 8th January, 1811.

immediate vicinity of Benares, and could not be prosecuted with the same unity of purpose. Every householder engaged, indeed, either to go himself, to send a representative, or contribute his quota to the expense of the journey; and a number of persons met, and made one march towards Calcutta: but the defaulters were so numerous, and so many of those who had set out deserted by the way, that the leaders were sensible of the futility of the scheme, and wanted only a decent excuse for its relinquishment. This was furnished by the interposition of the Raja of Benares, who, at the desire of the Government officers, repaired to the party, overtook them, and counselled them to turn back, and rest contented with the renewed representation of their grievances through the usual official channel in a quiet and respectful manner. His advice was followed, and a second petition was presented, to which in due time attention was paid.[1]

In consequence of this opposition, and the universal unpopularity of the tax, it was repealed.[2] In the following year it was revived in a modified form, and limited in its application to the cities of Dacca, Patna, and Murshedabad. In those towns it was to be applied to the payment of a municipal police, to be appointed and maintained by a committee of natives chosen by the inhabitants of each ward in the presence of the magistrate: to these committees also was intrusted the office of assessing the different shops and dwellings of their respective wards, the whole not to exceed a maximum average rate.[3] Some opposition was made to the arrangement at Dacca, but it was finally carried into operation.

Although not connected with any of the financial measures of the Government of Bengal, nor resulting from any of its acts, yet it may be useful to advert in this place to a formidable tumult by which the tranquillity of

[1] Personal information and MS. Records. The public petitions proceeding from native communities in India which are much intermixed with Europeans are rarely of a genuine native character. They betray more or less European, and particularly professional, prompting. At Benares there were few Europeans, no lawyers; and the petition of the inhabitants was, most probably, of their own unaided dictation. It is a document not without interest, as it not only expresses the sentiments of the people on the occasion on which it was presented, but shows that they were well informed of the proceedings and views of their rulers. It is therefore given in the Appendix.

[2] Reg. viii. 1812. [3] Reg. xiii. 1813.

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the city of Benares was interrupted in the year preceding that in which the house-tax excited the discontent of its inhabitants: as the disturbance was characteristically illustrative of the peculiarities of one of the most remarkable towns in India, and of the discordant elements of Indian society, which are alone restrained from frequent and destructive conflict by the vigilance, vigour, and impartiality of the ruling power.

Benares is *the* holy city of the Hindus: it is crowded with celebrated shrines: pilgrimage to it is an atonement for all sin: to die within its precincts is a certain passage to eternal felicity. Such advantages ensure it a large resident population, and attract to it a numerous resort of Hindu pilgrims. The character of both classes is in general accordance with the reputed sanctity of the place: its efficacy in expiating crime, and purifying from iniquity, could be of little benefit to any but the wicked and the profligate, and those who tenant or frequent the city are for the greater part such as stand most in need of its expiatory virtues. The population is, however, not wholly Hindu. Benares is a town of extensive commercial and manufacturing activity, and has always comprised a considerable body of Mohammedans engaged principally in manufactures. Its convenient situation had also, at the period under review, recommended it as the residence of several Mohammedans of high rank, members of the reigning family of Oude, or the Imperial house of Delhi; and their servants and retainers were numerous and disorderly. Religious differences could not fail to find in such a mixed multitude ready instruments of quarrel, and the mutual animosity which at all times animated the followers of Brahmá and Mohammed was at this time more than usually inveterate. It had unfortunately happened that some of the moveable feasts of the Mohammedans had occurred simultaneously with some of the most popular Hindu festivals; and the multitudes which were collected, and the feelings which were excited, threatened a violent collision. The precautions of the English functionaries suspended the season of its occurrence, but were unable to prevent it from eventually taking place, and towards the close of 1809 an open rupture could no longer be delayed.

During the sovereignty of the Mohammedans, Aurang-zeb and other bigoted princes had forcibly taken from the Hindus of Benares several of their temples to transform them into mosques, and had allowed and encouraged the Mohammedans of the city to erect religious edifices in the immediate neighbourhood of those places which were esteemed most sacred by the Hindus. In this manner, in one part of the city an Imam-bara, a building for the occasional devotions of the Musselmans, was built in immediate proximity to a Lât or stone column typical of Bhairava, one of their subordinate deities, but held by the Hindus in peculiar veneration. As the Lât and its neighbour were both much frequented by the followers of the different religions, their encounters gave frequent rise to angry feeling and reciprocal objurgation. On the morning of the 21st of October, a number of both parties having been assembled, they proceeded from abuse to blows; and, in an interchange of missiles which ensued, part of the ornamental architecture of the Imam-bara was injured, and a hut serving as a temporary temple to the deified monkey Hanumán was demolished, and the idol was knocked over. The intervention of the police prevented further mischief on the spot; but the affray was renewed in another part of the town, and, swords and clubs being had recourse to, several persons were killed or wounded before the disturbance could be suppressed.

The presence of the magistrate and a small detachment of Sipahis restored the appearance of tranquillity; but they were no sooner withdrawn than the tumult recommenced. The Mohammedan weavers assembled in the evening in great numbers, and, repairing quietly to the Hindu Lât, heaped a quantity of combustibles round it and set them on fire, and, when the stone was hot, threw cold water upon it, by which it was split to pieces.[1] Intelligence of this profanation reached the Hindus late in the evening, and filled them with horror and fury. Measures were taken to prevent the effects of their resentment on

[1] In the memorial addressed by the Hindus to the magistrate, extenuating their own conduct and calling for redress against the Mohammedans, they gravely averred that the Lât resisted every effort for its demolition, until the Mohammedans killed a cow and a calf, and threw the blood upon the column. It then trembled and broke. Some of the fragments were afterwards collected, purified by immersion in the Ganges, and enshrined in a hollow copper cylinder which was set up where the stone column formerly stood.

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the following morning; but, before a sufficient force could arrive, an enraged multitude had set fire to the Imambara, killed four or five of the persons attached to it, and sprinkled with the blood of a hog the tombs of those who had been interred in its consecrated vicinity. From thence they moved to destroy the Mohammedan tombs at a burial-ground of reputed extraordinary sanctity, adjacent to a shrine dedicated to Fatima the wife of Ali; and, although defended by a Sipahi guard and a number of Mohammedans, the mob partly effected their purpose before reinforcements arrived in sufficient strength to render their attempts unavailing. Other armed bands of Hindus had at the same time assailed the quarters of the town occupied chiefly by the Mohammedans, murdering all who came in their way, and plundering and setting fire to their houses, until their excesses were arrested by the military dispositions which the magistrate and the commander of the troops were able to effect. The Sipahis, although of both persuasions, discharged their duties with perfect impartiality and military steadiness: the police, equally mixed, had early taken part in the conflict according to their respective creeds. The extent of the mischief inflicted, or of the loss of life, was imperfectly ascertained; but the disturbance was not suppressed until about twenty Mohammedans had been killed and seventy wounded. The principal actors in the tumult were the Rajputs and Gosains: the Brahmans and principal inhabitants sat fasting upon the steps by the river-side, night and day, during the continuance of the disorder, and were with some difficulty prevailed upon to return to their dwellings on the afternoon of the 23rd. On the following day, the temples which had been closed were re-opened, and this event was followed by the opening of the shops and the bazars, and the restoration of tranquillity. Some of the most active and violent of the ringleaders were apprehended and punished, and arrangements were adopted to prevent the recurrence of a like popular commotion. The resort of persons of all descriptions from every part of India, and the dissolute and riotous conduct of a large proportion of its inhabitants or visitors, rendered the maintenance of order and tranquillity in the sacred city of Benares, for some time at least, a troublesome and imper-

fectly accomplished task; but the unrelaxing firmness of British rule, a better knowledge of the British character, and the improving intelligence of the people, gradually lightened the labour, and, ten years after the transactions described, Benares was regulated with as much facility as any other city in the territories of the Company.[1]

Among the various objects of internal administration at this season which deserve notice as marking the first steps of important changes still in progress, and likely at some future period to exercise a momentous influence upon the destiny of the British Indian empire, must be comprehended the efforts which were made in Bengal to promulgate the truths of Christianity. The South of India had for many years been the field of missionary labours. In the beginning of the seventeenth century the church of Rome had sent thither men of extraordinary ability and energy, who, by completely discarding all the indulgences of European civilisation, living among the natives as natives, applying themselves with intense diligence to the study of the languages and literature of the country, and acquiring a mastery over the vernacular dialects which has perpetuated the writings of several European authors as standard Tamil and Telugu compositions, obtained a widely extended influence over the people, and formed a numerous body of professed believers in Christianity.[2] The political agitations of Europe severed the teachers from their congregations, and the latter remained Christians in little except the name. To the Jesuit missionaries succeeded those of the Lutheran church: they were sent to India, in the first instance, not by Great Britain, but by Denmark;[3] but the example was not lost upon the former, although it was for some time but feebly imitated. Some pecuniary assistance was granted to the Danish mission; and at last missionaries were sent direct, at the expense of the Society for Promot-

[1] In 1820 the writer was in the habit of traversing every part of Benares without fear of molestation or insult. The materials for the beautiful map of Benares, executed not long afterwards by his lamented friend, Mr. James Prinsep, were collected by him in the city, in fearless reliance upon the good disposition of the people, which he invariably experienced.

[2] Lettres Edifiantes; Asiatic Researches, vol. xiv:; Hough's Christianity in India, ii. 400. See also his evidence, Commons' Committee, 1832, Public. He estimates the Roman Catholics in 1823, at between three and four hundred thousand. — Question 1852.

[3] Pearson's Life of Swartz, i. 12.

ing Christian Knowledge. One or two individuals found their way to Bengal,[1] and instituted missionary operations there; but the chief field was long confined to Madras, and other stations on the Coromandel coast. The persons employed were natives either of Denmark or Germany. They were for the most part men of learning and talent, of simple habits, and kindly temperaments; and, although their success in the conversion of the heathen was not very encouraging, they were objects of general esteem and respect to both natives and Europeans, and wrought an impression favourable to the ultimate reception of the doctrines which they taught.

At length, at the close of the eighteenth century, a private individual, a member of the Baptist communion, with zeal as fervent as that of the German missionaries of the South, and inferior to them only in a less scholastic education, William Carey, the son of the master of a small free-school at Paulerspury, a village in Northamptonshire, by trade a shoemaker, and subsequently a preacher in the chapels of the society of which he was a member, early conceived the project of undertaking a mission to Bengal; and, in the face of the most disheartening difficulties, succeeded in its execution. Being unable to obtain permission to proceed to India in a Company's vessel, he procured a passage in a Danish ship, and arrived in Bengal destitute of money and friends at the end of 1793. After a short interval of want and anxiety, he obtained employment as superintendent of an indigo factory in Dinajpur, and remained in that situation for some years; pursuing, as far as circumstances permitted, his missionary calling, labouring assiduously in the study of the Sanscrit and Bengali languages, and applying his acquirements to the translation into them of the Holy Scriptures. The sufferance of the Government permitted his unauthorised residence in the country, averse as was

[1] A Mr. Kiernander went from Madras in 1758, and, notwithstanding many difficulties and discouragements, he laboured there for some years with exemplary piety and diligence, and with considerable success. — Life of Swartz, i. 126. It was to him that Dr. Buchanan probably alluded, when he stated that the Protestant mission in Bengal commenced in 1758. Before 1770, religious tracts were translated into the Bengali language; and Hindu converts preached to their countrymen in the time of Hastings, in the town of Calcutta. This mission continued its labours till about the year 1790 when the supply of missionaries from Europe failed. — Letter to the Government of Bengal printed in Parliamentary Papers, 14th April, 1813.

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the policy of the day to the admission of Europeans; and his diligence, his learning, and piety secured him friends. His communications with his correspondents in England, the prospects of success which his hopes rather than his experience dictated, and the example of his ardour and his perseverance, animated their zeal; and a society was formed, and funds were raised, for the purpose of sending other missionaries to his assistance. They arrived in 1799; but, having come to Bengal without the licence of the Court, were not suffered to remain in Calcutta. The Danish settlement of Serampore offered them an asylum; and there they fixed themselves, with the permission of the Governor, and subsequently with the express sanction of the King of Denmark. They were immediately joined by Mr. Carey, and a fraternity was organised which set to work upon a definite system; and by preaching in the native languages, by forming schools for native children, by the composition of tracts and translations of the Scriptures, commenced a pious warfare against the false doctrines of the Mohammedan and Hindu religions, which has been carried on ever since with unrelaxed vigour, and with improving prospects of eventual triumph.[1]

The administration of Lord Wellesley, although it avoided giving direct encouragement to the Baptist missionaries, or recognising them in that capacity, was upon the whole propitious to their exertions. The learning of their principal was one of their chief recommendations to the favour of the Marquis, and Mr. Carey was appointed one of the professors of the College of Fort William soon after its institution; thus obtaining a place of distinction in the recognition of the Government, and a certain and liberal means of subsistence. The establishment of schools for European children, and of a printing-press and paper-manufactory at Serampore, evinced the industry, and added to the resources of the missionaries: they were further aided, not only by the funds of their own community, but by those of other religious bodies, at whose expense, especially at that of the British and Foreign Bible Society, versions of the Scriptures into a great variety of the Indian dialects were executed; and they

[1] Memoir of William Carey, D.D., by Eustace Carey; London, 1836.

BOOK I. CHAP. VII. grew daily in wealth, consideration, and confidence under the countenance of the Government.

1813. The immediate successor of Lord Wellesley, Sir George Barlow, looked upon the proceedings of the Serampore missionaries with a less favourable regard. Entertaining, in common with most of the Company's servants of that day, a dread of the multiplication of uncovenanted European residents in India, he was disinclined to relax any of the restraints which the Legislature had imposed, and refused to sanction the continued presence of the new arrivals who had not provided themselves with a licence from the Court. The teaching of the missionaries had also begun to excite some uneasiness among the natives of Calcutta, and the connexion of the mutiny at Vellore with their religious apprehensions imposed upon the Government the obligation of setting the minds of their native subjects at ease with respect to the designs of their rulers, by the public prohibition of those expedients resorted to by the missionaries which were most likely to offend the religious sentiments and exasperate the feelings of the people.[1] The missionaries were allowed to retain the dwelling which they occupied as a chapel in Calcutta, and perform divine service in it in the Bengali language as usual, and no restriction was imposed on their private instructions or scriptural translations; but they were forbidden to preach in the public streets, to send itinerant native preachers through the villages, or to distribute gratuitously controversial and religious tracts. They considered it prudent to yield to the storm, and to conform to the wishes of the Government in all respects in which they could conscientiously acquiesce.[2]

The degree of the conformity rendered did not, however, satisfy the Government of Bengal; as one of the first acts of Lord Minto's Government was a renewal of the injunctions which Sir G. Barlow had been obliged to adopt, and the menace of still more rigorous restrictions.

[1] Dr. Buchanan acquits the Governor-General of any hostility to the dissemination of Christianity: on the contrary, he says of him, "Sir G. Barlow has often expressed his approbation of the means used for the diffusion of Christianity in India, and sincerely desires its success."—Letter to Government; Parl. Papers.

[2] Memoir of Dr. Carey, 483.

Pamphlets in Bengali and Persian had been published, which, in the judgment of the Governor-General in Council, were calculated to excite among the native subjects of the Company a spirit of religious jealousy and alarm, which might eventually be productive of the most serious evils. The distribution of such publications, and the public preaching of the missionaries and their converts at the very seat of Government, might be supposed to have received the sanction and approval of the supreme authority; and the prevalence of such an impression would both augment the danger, and render more difficult the application of a remedy. Whatever might be the propriety of exposing the errors of the Hindu or Musselman religion to persons of those persuasions who sought instruction in the Christian faith, it was contrary to the system of protection, which the Government was pledged to afford to the undisturbed exercise of the religion of the country, to obtrude upon the great body of the people, by means of printed works, exhortations involving an interference with their religious tenets. The obligation, therefore, to suppress within the limits of the Company's authority in India treatises and public preachings offensive to the religious persuasions of the people, was founded on considerations of necessary caution, of general safety, and national faith and honour. Accordingly, it was deemed necessary to direct that public preaching in the mission-house of Calcutta should be discontinued, and to renew the prohibition of the issue of religious tracts; and, in order to bring the missionary press more immediately under the controul of the officers of the Government, the missionaries were commanded to remove it from Serampore to Calcutta.[1]

To the orders and injunctions of the Government the missionaries proferred a temperate and judicious reply. They disowned and condemned the language of a pamphlet which had given the greatest offence, — a scurrilous account of Mohammed, which had called forth the remonstrances of the most respectable Mohammedan inhabitants of Calcutta, — and attributed it to the intemperance of one of their converts, who had translated it into Persian:

[1] Letter from Bengal to the Secret Committee, 2nd Nov. 1807, with its enclosures; Parl. Papers, 14th April, 1813.

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they pledged themselves for greater caution in future, but deprecated the removal of their press, as subjecting them to great inconvenience and ruinous expense. The tone of their representations disarmed the Government of its rigour; and they were allowed to continue their preaching in their chapel, and to remain at Serampore, on condition that every work that issued from the press should be submitted to the inspection of the secretary to Government. The condition was acceded to; and, as the general conduct of the missionaries was more guarded, no further interference with them ensued. The alarm of the Government was perhaps more violent than the occasion called for, but the check opposed to precipitate and indiscreet zeal was not detrimental to the ultimate extension of Christianity. Little benefit had accrued or was likely to accrue from street preaching, and virulent language was ill calculated to convey conviction. The attention of the Serampore missionaries was thenceforth more entirely given to the establishment of schools and the translation of the Scriptures; means more safe and certain, although their fruits might more slowly come to maturity.[1]

Although a sense of public duty imposed upon the Governor-General the obligation of checking the over-zealous haste of the missionaries of Serampore, his personal feeling ensured to their literary efforts his constant and warmest encouragement. The associate in early life of some of the most distinguished ornaments of the literary society of Great Britain, Lord Minto brought with him to India an enlightened and cultivated taste, and a generous sympathy with every indication of intellectual excellence. His liberal aid was therefore given to the works published at Serampore, whether translations of the Scriptures, or publications tending to make the language and literature of India more generally known and more easily acquired.[2] The same feelings led him to

[1] In the representation of the Government made by the missionaries, which is dated in September, 1807, they state that they had baptized upwards of one hundred natives. — Parl. Papers. No great number in eight years, reckoning from 1799 only: if from 1794, a still more inconsiderable proportion.

[2] Several Grammars and Dictionaries, and other rudimental books, in Bengali, Telinga, Mahratta, and Sanscrit, were printed at Serampore, chiefly at the cost of the Government. Pecuniary assistance (ten thousand rupees) was afforded to the Malay translation of the Scriptures; and aid was liberally

befriend those natives of India who professed the literature of their country; and the first printing-press, established and conducted solely by native enterprise and skill, and for the purpose of substituting the productions of the press for the manuscripts hitherto in use, owed its existence to his patronage. But it was in his connexion with the College of Fort William that his sentiments were most especially manifested; and one great object of his administration was to carry into full operation, as far as the orders of the home authorities allowed, the views of the illustrious founder of the institution.[1] The result was highly beneficial: the junior servants of the Company were animated to honourable exertions, which formed the foundation of their future distinction; their seniors were induced to apply their knowledge and acquirements to the instruction of their younger brethren: and a number of natives of talent, exercising over their countrymen the combined influence of learning and religion, who were engaged in the service of the college, derived from their employment some compensation for that neglect to which the decay and extinction of native patrons of rank had subjected them, and learned to identify their interests with those of a foreign and intrusive race. To them, and to their European associates, were owing a variety of useful works in the languages and literature of the East, intended to facilitate their acquirement, and bring within the reach of the Oriental student the means of becoming familiar with the laws and institutions, the religion and character of the people. Every attempt so directed was encouraged and aided by Lord Minto.[2]

given to the Serampore translation of the Ramayana, the works of Confucius, and other literary publications. — Roebuck's Annals of of the College of Fort William.

[1] It was not mere official phraseology, for Lord Minto was not addicted to its use, when in his last annual address he observed, "No part of my public duties have excited in my mind a more cordial concern or more lively interest than those which are attached to the office of Visitor of this College." — Annals of the College of Fort William, p. 376.

[2] Amongst other arrangements, a plan was proposed by the Governor-General for the foundation of Hindu colleges at Nadiya and Tirhoot, to counteract the want of public encouragement afforded to native literature by princes, chieftains, and opulent individuals under the native Government, who had lost both the means and the inducement to continue their patronage under the British Government. He had also in contemplation to found similar institutions for the cultivation of Mohammedan literature. — Minute by Lord Minto, 6th March, 1811: Commons' Committee, 1832; Public; App. p. 325.

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The last class of measures to which we shall advert, regard the financial condition of India during Lord Minto's administration.

The necessity of as rigid a pursuance of the system of economy commenced by Sir G. Barlow as was consistent with the interests and honour of the empire was equally impressed upon his successor; and during the whole term of his government a careful avoidance of expenditure was adhered to, carried in some cases perhaps to a hurtful excess. The occasions which called for military demonstrations, the extraordinary embassies which were fitted out, and the expeditions undertaken against the maritime possessions of France, disturbed the equable tenor of financial retrenchment, and involved unusual demands upon the public treasury; but these interruptions were only temporary; and the general result was an augmented amount of the revenues of British India, a diminution of its burthens, and no enhanced rate of charge.

It has been already mentioned that the arrangements effected by Sir G. Barlow secured for the first year of Lord Minto's administration, according to one system of computation, a surplus receipt, or, according to a different set of accounts, reduced the excess of charge to an inconsiderable sum: the same diversity of result, arising from the same cause, prevailed the following year; but from thence to the close of the period both statements agree in showing a considerable net local revenue after providing for the interest of the public debt: the surplus of the last year amounted to little less than two millions sterling.[1] A considerable proportion of this arose from the improved revenues of the unsettled provinces under the Presidency of Bengal, and the imposition of new taxes at Madras: the rest, from the reduction of the rate of interest which the Government was enabled, by the flourishing state of its finances, to effect.

The history of the Indian debt presents a singular picture of the growth of public credit along with the

[1] According to the statements furnished to the Committee of the House of Lords, the surplus was £1,988,000. In Sicca rupees, it was S. R. 1,45,33,190, which, at two shillings to the rupee, is £1,453,319. For a more particular comparison between the two periods as expressed in the home accounts, see Appendix.

increase of financial embarrassment, and of the increase of embarrassment with the augmentation of the public resources. In proportion as the British Indian empire has extended its boundaries, and added to its revenues, so have the means at its command been found inadequate to extraordinary emergencies, and it has been obliged from time to time to apply for aid to the funds of individuals; and, notwithstanding the additions thus made to its incumbrances, its credit has never failed to procure the assistance that was needed, on terms much lower than the ordinary profits of capital, or the rates of interest prevailing in transactions between individuals. In fact, the amount of the public debt is far from burthensome on the state; and the inconveniences which it occasions is fully compensated by the connexion which it maintains between the Government and the fundholders, a large proportion of whom are natives of the country, and who are thus interested in the stability of the ruling power.[1]

In 1792, the Indian debt, bearing interest, little exceeded seven millions sterling: the interest exceeded six hundred thousand pounds, bearing a proportion of eight and six-tenths per cent.[2] In 1799 the debt had risen to ten millions; and in the short interval of five years, the season of Lord Wellesley's conquests, it was more than doubled, amounting in 1805 to nearly twenty-one millions, with an annual interest of £1,791,000. During the two following years, the continued effects of the previous period of prodigality were still felt, and the debt went on increasing; so that in 1807 it amounted to more than twenty-six millions, bearing an interest of £2,228,000. In 1813–14 the amount of debt remained much the same, being twenty-seven millions; but the interest amounted to £1,636,000, being a permanent diminution annually of £592,000.[3] This was effected by the successful opening of loans in August and December, 1810, at an interest of

[1] Calcutta Annual Register, 1821; Historical Sketch, 18.

[2] This was the average rate. Loans opened in 1790-1, 1796-7, and 1798-9, bore twelve per cent.,—Government Notices; Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1841, vol. ii. part ii. 459.

[3] Second Report, Commons' Committee, 1810, App. 8. It must be borne in mind that these sums are higher by one-seventh than they should be, according to the intrinsic value of the Indian currencies. The real debt of 1806-7, in Sicca rupees, was 23,15,30,125, say £23,153,000; and the amount of interest, Sa. rs. 1,97,13,929, or £1,971,000.—Official Documents; Lords' Committee, 1830, App. C. No. 3.

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six per cent., to which the whole of the outstanding obligations were transferred; the capital of British India, and the credit of the Government, having thus gone on improving, so that in about twenty years the rate of interest on public securities was reduced from twelve per cent. to half that proportion.

Another important change followed the flourishing state of the finances, and the payment in England of the principal as well as of the interest of loans contracted in India ceased to form one of their conditions. When this provision was first introduced, it was thought likely to lead to the transfer of the whole of the Indian debt to Europe, where it might either be discharged out of the profits of the Company's trade, or by money borrowed at a much lower rate of interest. For these purposes, the Indian Government of 1785 was authorised to grant bills at eighteen months' date on the Court of Directors, for the principal of the debt then owing, to the extent of six crores of rupees, at the exchange of 1*s.* 8*d.* the current rupee, at the option of the lenders; and in the first year they took advantage of it to the extent of about a fourth of the principal sum. In the following year, the amount applied for was so trifling, that the arrangement was looked upon as a failure; a result ascribed by the Government to the low rate of exchange, the remote date at which the bills were payable, the advantages made in India by holding Government securities, and the more advantageous means of remittance through foreign channels.

On the renewal of the charter in 1793, the principle of the plan was recognised, and it was provided that the Indian debt should be in this manner gradually transferred to England, until it was reduced to two millions sterling, the exchange being fixed at 1*s.* 11*d.* the current rupee. For some time the amount transferred reached the prescribed limit of the bills to be drawn, or £500,000; but it ultimately diminished, and in 1803–4 ceased altogether. The demand for funds in India, the existence of profitable means of remittance by the extension of the private trade, and the conditions of new loans granting for the interest, bills at 2*s.* 6*d.* the Sicca rupee, payable six months after sight, and ensuring similar payment of the principal when due, held out inducements even to the

European fundholders to leave their capital in the Indian treasury. With the return of peace in India, capital was less in demand there; while the political state of Europe, the high price of bullion, and the depression of the public funds, rendered its transmission to England highly advantageous. The consequence was a run upon the home treasury, which was productive of much embarrassment; and the pressure was aggravated temporarily by the measures adopted under the orders of the Court for its relief,—the resolution of the local Governments to pay off all the debts the principal of which was demandable in England, in the event of the lenders declining to transfer the security to a new loan opened in 1810, which offered no such condition. The arrangement was so far successful, that of twenty-three millions to which the home treasury was liable, more than thirteen were transferred to the new loan; rather more than three were paid in cash by the local Governments; and six millions and a half remained to be discharged by bills upon the Court. It was for the purpose of meeting this demand that the Company had recourse to Parliament for aid. The inconvenience was gradually surmounted; and, although in 1812, under the terms of a new six per cent. loan, the option of demanding payment of the principal by bills on England was partially restored, the home funds were not again exposed to so severe a demand.[1]

Nor had the resources at home been subjected to these heavy demands without corresponding efforts having been made in India to provide for them. During the three concluding years of Lord Minto's administration, the supplies remitted from India exceeded the value of the Company's investments to the extent of nearly ten millions sterling.[2] Of the amount so remitted nearly two

[1] Petition of the Company to Parliament; Second Report of the Committee of the House of Commons, May 1810, App. 6-10; Bengal and Agra Gazeteer, 1841, vol. ii. part. ii. 454; Details of Public Loans; Report of the Commons' Committee, 1832, article Finance.

[2] Excess of supply to London:

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 3,46,49,832 at 2s. 6d.	£4,331 229
1812-13	2,71,49,075	3,393,634
1813-14	1,60,00,000	2,000,000
		£9,724,863

— Financial Letter from Bengal: Papers relating to Finances of India, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March, 1824, p. 18.

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millions were in bullion;[1] a circumstance which was unprecedented in the history of the commerce of India, and intimated an approaching change in the terms of its intercourse with Europe. The transaction was also of peculiar importance at the season of its occurrence: the movements of the vast armies which were working out the deliverance of Europe from military despotism depended in a great measure upon the wealth of England. The occasion called for and deserved the application of all her resources; and, although bearing but a small proportion to the extent of her efforts, the treasuries of her Indian empire furnished a not inconsiderable nor unimportant contribution.[2]

The close of Lord Minto's honourable and successful labours was now approaching. The influence of party spirit, so long suspended, was at length allowed to operate; and the continuance in office of an administration based upon principles opposed to those of the ministers by whom the Governor-General had been nominated, was found incompatible with the longer duration of his power. Circumstances had also imposed upon the ministers the duty of conferring office upon another distinguished personage; and the endeavours of the Earl of Moira to carry into effect the wishes of the Prince Regent for the formation of a ministry which should connect the actual servants of the Crown with his early friends, however unsuccessful, entitled him to the consideration both of the Prince and of his advisers. It was consequently proposed to reward his exertions by his appointment to the government of India, and to make way for him by the removal of the Governor-General. A resolution was accordingly moved by the Chairman, under the dictation, no doubt, of the Board of Controul, that Lord Minto should be recalled. No reason for the measure was assigned; but it was adopted in opposition to the tenor

[1] Bullion remitted to England:

in 1811-12	Sa. rs. 40,42,407 at 2s. 6d.	£ 505,301
1812-13	85,44,983	1,068,123
1813-14	22,82,359	285,295
		£1,858,719

As the price of bullion was high in England, the remittances realised more than even the exchange value.

[2] Alison's History of Europe, viii. 63, ix. 701.

of a letter received from Lord Minto's friends, expressing his wish to be relieved in January 1814. This letter was assigned as the reason for the immediate appointment of Earl Moira; but, as objected by one of the opponents of the arrangement, Mr. Charles Grant, the plea was delusive, as no one could pretend to assign it as a sufficient reason for proceeding to the choice of a Governor-General, in November, 1811, whose presence at Fort William could only be necessary in January 1814. On the same occasion it was determined to supersede Sir George Nugent as Commander-in-chief, Lord Moira uniting both the civil and supreme authority; and not only to rescind the conditional appointment of Sir G. Barlow as Governor-General, but to remove him from the government of Fort St. George. These several measures were made the subject of strong protests by several leading members of the Direction;[1] but the objections were over-ruled by the predominating spirit of ministerial obligations, and the change took place. Earl Moira was appointed Governor-General in India, and Commander-in-chief; and General Abercromby, the commander of the forces at Fort St. George, was nominated for a time Governor of Madras. Lord Minto survived but a short time his return to his native country; he died in the course of the same year. Few Governors-General have stronger claims upon the gratitude of those over whom or for whom they ruled. No one ever more conscientiously or disinterestedly laboured for the happiness of the people of India, for the prosperity of the East India Company, or the honour and advantage of Great Britain. Other administrations may have been signalised by more stirring events and more splendid triumphs; but British India never enjoyed a more healthy and contented condition, never made a more sure and steady though an unpretending advance in social improvement, than during the government of Lord Minto.

The term of Lord Minto's government was coeval with a material change in the character of the superior authorities under whom the power of himself and his predecessors

[1] See Dissents of Edward Parry, W. Astell, George Smith, and John Bebb, Esqrs., 20th Dec.; and separate Dissent of Mr. Charles Grant, 30th Dec, 1812: published by Sir Robert Barlow, 1813.

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had been immediately held. The East India Company ceased to retain the monopoly of the East India trade. The circumstances which led to this event we shall now proceed to detail.

CHAPTER VIII.

Embarrassed Finances of the Company. — Application to Parliament for Assistance. — A Loan granted. — Inquiry into abuse of Patronage. — Renewal of the Charter. — Previous Correspondence with the Board — Demands of the Court. — Propositions of Mr. Dundas — Objections of the Court — Communication suspended — revived. — Determination of Ministers to open the Trade with India resisted, but finally acceded to by the Company. — Claims of the Outports. — Change of the Ministry. — Lord Buckinghamshire President of the Board. — Consequences of Delay. — Resistance to the Claims of the Outports. — Appeal to Parliament. — Resolutions proposed by Lord Castlereagh in the House of Commons; by Lord Buckinghamshire in the House of Lords. — Application of the Company to be heard by Counsel granted. — Questions at issue — political — commercial. — Trade with India and with China, Peculiarities of the latter — secured to the Company. — Struggle for the Trade with India. — Arguments of the Company — of the Merchants. — Company consent to take off Restrictions from the Export, not from the Import Trade. — Financial and Political Evils anticipated and denied — Attempt to substantiate them by Evidence. — Opinions of Warren Hastings and others respecting the unrestricted Admission of Europeans — Extension of Trade — independent Resort of Missionaries, &c. — Debates in the House of Commons — first and second Resolutions carried — Debate on the third. — Debates on the Report of the Committee. — Thirteenth Resolution adjourned — Debate on it resumed — carried. — Other Clauses suggested. — Bill finally passed in the Commons. — Debates in the House of Lords — previous Discussions. — Bill passed. — Proceedings in the Court of Proprietors. — Charter accepted. — Remarks.

THE appointment of a Select Committee of the House of Commons in 1808 to inquire into the state of the affairs of the East India Company has already been adverted to; as have the measures which, in compliance with their recommendation, were adopted by the Parliament for the relief of the financial embarrassments of the Company, by the discharge of a portion of the debt due to them by the public. The Committee continued, with occasional modifications, to sit through the four succeeding years, and presented to the House in that period different reports, which were drawn up with remarkable diligence and ability, and furnished a mass of authentic information upon every important subject relating to the internal administration of the Indian empire.

The relief afforded to the Company in 1808 by the sum of £1,500,000 received from the Government, together with more than usually favourable sales of merchandise, enabled the Court of Directors to provide for the wants of that and the following year without requiring further assistance. This state of prosperity was of no long duration, and in the beginning of the session of 1810, the Company were again obliged to apply to Parliament for pecuniary aid.[1] A deficit of two millions was anticipated in the receipt of the year ending March, 1811, as compared with the receipts; arising from the excessive and unexampled drafts made upon the Court, amounting to nearly five millions, from India, in discharge of the Indian debt, and from the unexpected losses sustained in the Company's shipping;[2] many of their vessels having, in the course of the last two years, been taken by the enemy, or perished at sea. As the state of the money market rendered it unadvisable to increase the Company's capital stock, as empowered by law, the Court applied to the House for such aid as it should see fit to grant, the property of the Company being offered as ample security for the repayment of a loan from the public. The petition was referred

[1] See petition of the East India Company for relief; Parl. Debates, 13th April, 1810.

[2] In the years 1808-9 and 1809-10, fourteen large vessels, chartered by or belonging to the Company, were captured or were lost at sea: their cargoes alone were valued at more than a million sterling. — First Report, Commons' Committee, 1830, App. iv.

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to the Committee, by whom the correctness of its purport was confirmed.[1] Shortly afterwards, a second petition was presented,[2] praying for a further settlement of the amount due by the public to the Company: it was also referred to the Committee, but does not seem to have been made the subject of any special report. The time was unpropitious to the Company's application, as the Government was straining the resources of the country to the utmost to provide for the magnitude of the national expenditure, and was floundering amidst the intricacies of the Bullion question. The urgency of the case, and the vital importance of maintaining unimpaired every form of public credit, gave irresistible weight to the appeal; and, after some discussions, a bill was passed on the 14th of June, 1811, for a loan of one million and a half to the Company.[3] In the following year the Company petitioned the House of Commons for permission to raise two millions upon bond; and a bill was brought in for the purpose, which, after some slight opposition, was passed. In June, 1812, a second application for a loan of two millions and a half was made to the House of Commons, and, although strenuously opposed by Mr. Creevy, complied with.[4]

Transactions affecting the moral credit of the Court of Directors had also, shortly before this period, been brought under the consideration of Parliament, and an alleged abuse of patronage was made the subject of inquiry. It was brought forward by the members of the Court themselves, in consequence of a report having prevailed, that appointments in the service of the Company in India had been sold. On the 10th February, 1809, it was moved by Mr. Smith, seconded by Mr. Grant, that a Committee of the House of Commons should be nominated to inquire into the existence of any corrupt practices in the distribution of the patronage of the Court of Directors. A Committee was accordingly appointed, which, in the course of a few weeks, reported the result of the investigation. The report exonerated the members of the Court from any imputation of a violation of the oath by which they

[1] Report from Select Committee, ordered to be printed 11th May, 1810.
[2] Parl. Debates, 14th May, 1810. [3] Ibid. 10th May, 1811.
[4] P. rl. Debates, 9th and 15th June, and 3rd and 7th July, 1812.

were solemnly pledged, neither directly nor indirectly to accept any pecuniary consideration whatever on account of the appointment or nomination of any person or persons to any place or office in the service of the Company:[1] but it appeared in evidence that the persons to whom they had given appointments had, in some instances, sold them to third parties; and that a traffic had been carried on for situations in their India service without their participation or knowledge.[2] Three civil and twenty military appointments were traced as having been sold. The obtaining of such situations by purchase being prohibited under penalty of their forfeiture, the appointments were cancelled; but, as the punishment fell heaviest on those who were not the offending parties, — the young men holding the appointments, — much sympathy was excited for their situation, and other appointments were given to them by different members of the Court.[3]

The main question, however, which occupied the attention of the Court of Directors and his Majesty's Ministers was the renewal of the Company's charter. The term for which this had been granted in 1793, expired on the 10th April, 1814. It had been provided that notice of the cessation of the charter should be given to the Company three years before it expired; and accordingly, on the 4th of March, 1811, the Chancellor of the Exchequer moved, and it was ordered, that the Speaker should signify in writing to the Directors of the East India Company, that the Company's commercial privileges would cease and determine on the date above specified.

The renewal of the charter had for some time previously been the subject of a correspondence between the Board of Controul and the Crown.[4] On the 30th of Sep-

[1] This formed part of the general oath to be taken by each Director according to clause 100 of the 33rd of George III.

[2] It appeared that the price of a writership was about £3,500; that of a cadetship varied from £150 to £500.—Report of Committee, p. 2 to 8; and Evidence.

[3] Report of the Committee appointed to inquire into the existence of abuses in the disposal of the patronage of the East India Company; printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, March, 1809. See also Parl. Debates, vol. xiii.; and Asiatic Annual Register, Proceedings India House, vol. xii.

[4] The several communications with the Board, and various documents connected with the discussion, from 1808 to July 1813, were printed by order of the Court of Directors, for the information of the Proprietors, in a series of fifteen papers, entitled, "Papers respecting the Negociation for a Renewal of the East India Company's exclusive Privileges," London, 1812-1813.

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tember, 1808, Mr. Dundas addressed a letter to the Chairman and Deputy Chairman, suggesting that it was now advisable to ascertain whether the Court of Directors were desirous to agitate the question, and submit it to the early consideration of Parliament. Early in the month following, the Chairs, after consulting with the Secret Committee of Correspondence, expressed their concurrence, considering that the interests of the public and the Company would be best consulted by an early renewal of the charter: they professed at the same time the readiness of the Court to pay due attention to any modifications that might be proposed, if they were compatible with the main principles of the existing system, for the conduct of the trade and the political administration of the Government of India. The views of the Directors were more fully developed in a letter addressed to Mr. Dundas on the 16th December, consequent on a personal conference which had been held with him. In this document they asserted the right of the Company to their territorial possessions, and stated their expectation that in a new charter the Proprietors would be permitted to benefit by an enhanced rate of dividends on their stock, proportioned to the improvement of the revenues of India; that the aid of the British public would be contributed towards the liquidation of the Indian debt; and that arrangements would be devised for an equitable apportionment of the military expenditure incurred in the prosecution of interests of purely British origin, and not fairly chargeable to India. Twenty years were required for the term of the new charter. The tone of the address was bold, particularly at a moment when the Company was a suppliant for pecuniary aid; and the eagerness to extract an augmented dividend out of the anticipated improvement of revenue, instead of proposing to apply such additional revenues either to the reduction of the public debt or the benefit of the people of India, savoured more strongly of the little selfishness of a trading company than of the liberality becoming a great and enlightened Government.

In his reply, dated the 13th Jan. 1809, Mr. Dundas, although admitting in substance the advantage of adhering to the system of commerce and administration which had been sanctioned by the existing charter, de-

clined to acknowledge the claim of the Company to a right to the territory of India, and considered it premature to discuss the proportion of benefit that was to be derived by the Company or the public from any improvement in the finances of India until the debt should be discharged. In like manner, the liquidation of the debt must be contingent on the appropriation of the revenues; as, if the disposal of them should be assumed by the public, it would be impossible to disregard the fair claims of the Company, or their creditors, to a reimbursement of the expenses incurred in the acquirement of the territory. He admitted that the Company had also a right to expect that the public should defray the cost of all hostile operations growing out of a state of war in Europe, whether India became the scene of them, or was likely to be their aim.

In the letter from the Chairs of the 16th Dec., all specific allusion to the Company's exclusive commercial privilege had been carefully avoided. The phrase employed, "a regulated monopoly of the trade,"[1] implied of course that the commerce was to be left on its actual footing,—the assignment of a certain amount of tonnage to private merchandise in ships taken up by the Company, and the sale of private import goods through the Company's establishments. Mr. Dundas was more explicit: he announced to the Court that his Majesty's Ministers would not concur in an application to Parliament for the renewal of any privileges which should prevent the merchants and manufacturers of Great Britain from trading to and from India, and the countries within the limits of the Company's exclusive trade, the dominions of the Emperor of China excepted, in ships and vessels hired or freighted by themselves. He also intimated that it was thought advisable to adopt some plan for the consolidation of the Indian army with the troops of the Crown serving in India, in order to put an end to the jealousies and divisions which had so repeatedly occurred between the two

[1] "The system by which the Legislature has continued to the Company the government of the territories acquired by it in the East, with a regulated monopoly of the trade, has been held by the most eminent persons acquainted with that quarter and its affairs, to be the most expedient both for the foreign and domestic interests of this country."—Letter from the Chairs to the Right Honourable Robert Dundas, 16th December, 1808; Papers, p. 9.

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branches of the military service in that country, and to the divided responsibility which had hitherto impaired the efficiency of both. He thought this would be found practicable without interfering with actual arrangements, or weakening the authority of the local Governments or of the Court over his Majesty's regiments employed in the Company's possessions. These intimations were anything but acceptable to the Court; and they replied, that if the suggestions were acted upon to the extent which the terms seemed to convey, they would effectually supersede and destroy not merely the rights of the Company, but the whole scheme of Indian administration established by the previous acts of the Legislature, and consequences fatal to the Company, and most detrimental to the nation, would infallibly ensue. Although, therefore, willing to take into consideration the means of supplying the trade of private merchants with more beneficial and extensive accommodation as far as was consistent with the preservation of the Company's rights, the Court declared that they could not recommend to their constituents to seek a renewal of the charter upon conditions which would despoil it of all its solid advantages, deprive the Company of their most valuable privileges, and incapacitate them from performing for themselves and the nation the part hitherto allotted to them in the Indian system.

The negotiation here came to a pause, and the Ministers, unwilling to engage in a contest with the Company, whilst heavily embarrassed by the state of public affairs, and finding that the notice of the House was not likely to be yet attracted to the question of the Company's charter, determined not to press the subject. At the end of 1809, the Court announced their readiness to resume the discussion; but no notice seems to have been taken of their challenge until the end of 1811, when the President of the Board, now Lord Melville, apprised the Directors that his Majesty's Ministers could not recommend to Parliament the continuance of the existing system, unless they were prepared to assent that the ships, as well as goods of private merchants, should be admitted into the trade with India under such restrictions as might be deemed necessary. If the Court would agree to the enlargement of the trade, he was prepared to discuss the measures it might be necessary to devise.

In their reply to Lord Melville, the Court consented, however reluctantly, to propose to the Proprietors the opening of the trade; repeating their opinion, that, whilst it would be productive of serious inconvenience to the political administration of India, it would not realise to the nation the benefits which were expected from it. In support of their assertions, they referred to the accounts of the trade which had been submitted to the Select Committee. Influenced too, no doubt, by the measures which they understood to be in contemplation by the merchants of the commercial and maritime towns in various parts of the British islands, they expressed their confident belief that no intention was entertained by his Majesty's Ministers of trying the hazardous experiment of dispersing over all the ports of England and Ireland a trade now brought with so much advantage, both to the Company and the public, to the single port of London. The letter also entered into details exhibiting the magnitude of the Company's transactions; and vindicating the Company from the accusations which had been urged against it, and from the objections to the continuance of a system which they believed to rest, not upon the grounds of individual interest, but upon the firm basis of national advantage.

On the day preceding the date of this letter, a paper of propositions to be submitted to Lord Melville had been approved of by the Court of Directors, and was accordingly communicated to him on the 6th of March, 1812. To these propositions, or hints, as they were denominated, his lordship replied on the 12th; and as the main object of the propositions had been to secure the continuance of the arrangements of the act of 1793, proposing only to adopt such modifications as should give greater facilities to the private trader, but no greater extension to the trade, they met with no favourable reception. The President of the Board of Controul told the Court plainly, that, as far as related to the Indian trade, they did not appear to have succeeded in showing that any detriment would accrue to the public interests either in this country or India, or ultimately even to the interests of the Company, from the introduction of private adventure; and he refused to acquiesce in any arrangements which imposed a restriction upon an improved commercial intercourse with

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India, approving of such only as were intended to restrain unauthorised settlements in that country, and to secure a strict monopoly of the trade with China. A petition, framed in consonance with the views of the Board, was accordingly prepared, and, being concurred in by a Court of Proprietors held on the 2nd of April, was presented on the 7th to the House of Commons, praying for a renewal of the charter.

The announcement of the cessation of the East India Company's exclusive privileges was, we have contemporary evidence, received at first with very little interest. Men's minds were engaged with mighty events, by which the interests of commerce were overshadowed; and it seemed scarcely worth while to dispute for the profit of any particular branch of trade, when the independence of nations was at stake. By degrees, however, attention was drawn to the topic; and the Parliament had no sooner met than a deluge of petitions poured upon the House, assailing the principle of monopoly, condemning the career of the India Company, calumniating the motives of the Directors, and advocating the abstract right of all British subjects to a participation in every branch of external commerce. The language of the petitions was prompted by the same spirit against which it was levelled. The petitioners looked only to their own anticipated advantages, and in their selfish eagerness would have trampled upon all prudent precaution and opposing claims. A quarrel speedily sprung up amongst themselves for the spoils at which they grasped; and the merchants and ship-owners of London found, with no small dismay, that the unavowed monopoly which they had enjoyed under the protection of the Company's privileges, of a portion of the trade and the whole of the shipping, was no longer to remain uninvaded. Bristol, Liverpool, Glasgow, and many other outports had merchants, vessels, docks, and warehouses; and demanded not merely to be permitted to send goods to India, but to bring back its products to their own doors in their own ships, and to be liberated from all dependence whatever upon the metropolis.[1] Not only were petitions to this effect presented,

[1] Résolutions of the Buyers of Piece-goods, 21st April, 1812; Merchants, Manufacturers, Traders of London, 25th ditto; Petition ditto; Papers respecting the negociation, p. 133, &c. See also petitions to the House of Commons

but delegates from the outports were sent up to London and formed into a committee empowered to act for the mercantile communities of the several places, and watch over their interests. Besides the outports, almost every trading and manufacturing town of any consideration joined in petitioning against the renewal of the Company's charter.[1]

Up to the beginning of 1812, the pretensions of the outports had excited apparently but little attention, and had received little countenance from the Ministers. Although Lord Melville had resisted the attempt of the Court to restrict the export trade to the port of London, he had nowhere intimated any inclination to extend the imports in a similar manner. On the contrary, he had concurred in the sixth proposition of the Court, which provided that the whole of the Indian trade should be brought to London, and that the goods should be sold at the Company's sales and under the Company's management, as likely to secure and facilitate the collection of the duties upon articles imported from India and China. Had, therefore, his propositions been acceded to in the first instance, it seems not unlikely that the Ministers would have been pledged to support the sale and warehousing system of the Company, and the advantages realised therefrom would have been preserved. The delay which the repugnance of the Court had caused, had given the opponents of the Company an opportunity to advocate the claims of the outports; and the change of administration which occurred at this season, and which placed the Earl of Buckinghamshire at the head of the Board of Controul, was another event which was unpropitious to their pretensions.[2] It was soon evident that the Company must forego all hope of profit derivable, directly or indirectly, from the trade with India.

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from the Merchants, Shipowners, &c. of London, and others, interested in the trade with India, and in the tea-trade; Parl. Debates, 6th May, 1812.

[1] See Parliamentary Debates, Session of 1812; Petitions from Birmingham, Manchester, Sheffield, Nottingham, Blackburn, Paisley, Dundee, Perth, Belfast, and many other places in the three kingdoms.

[2] This nobleman, as Lord Hobart, had been Governor of Madras from 1794 to 1798. He had experienced the inconvenience to which the Indian Governments had been exposed in having to provide, amidst the financial embarrassments resulting from expensive warfare, for the Company's Investments.—See Memoir of the late Earl of Buckinghamshire, Monthly Asiatic Journal, January, 1817.

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The conferences and correspondence with the Board still continued; and, as the opinions of the new President of the Board of Controul were in favour of the claims of the merchants of the outports, the proceedings that had taken place were reported to the proprietors at large. The sentiments of the Directors could not fail to find an echo in such an assembly, and a series of resolutions was moved and carried in a General Court, held on the 5th May, to the following purport:—That the measure of opening the outports to vessels of all descriptions from India was fraught with consequences ruinous to the Company, and to the long train of interests connected with it: the removal of the trade from London would render large and important establishments useless, and throw many thousand persons out of bread. That a departure from the course of public sales would be injurious to the trade; and, by dispensing with the interposition of the Company, smuggling to an unlimited extent would be uncontroulable, to the great detriment of the public revenue. That the consequences must be, the destruction of the Company's China trade, the failure of their dividends, the depreciation of their stock, and their inability to perform the functions assigned to them in the government of British India. That, if the constitution of the British Indian empire were subverted, the civil and military services would be broken down; the tranquillity and happiness of the people of India, the interests of Britain in Asia, and the constitution at home, would be imminently endangered. That the object for which these evils were to be risked, the increase of the commerce, was illusory; as all experience had shown that it was not capable of increase. That the cause of the Company had been deeply injured by prejudice, ignorance, erroneous assumption, and, latterly, by extensive combinations, and by unfair representation, canvass, and intimidation. And finally, the Court, trusting that Parliament would decide, not on the suggestions of private interests, but considerations of national policy, approved of the firmness with which the Directors had maintained the interests of the Company, and enjoined them to persevere in the negociation with his Majesty's Ministers on the same principles.

Although unappalled by the dark catalogue of imaginary

terrors which the interested fears of the East India Company had conjured up for the salvation of their monopoly, yet the obvious evils attending the transfer of the details of an extensive trade from one class of persons to others, and the confidence with which disappointment and ruin were predicted to those who sought to benefit by the transfer, compelled the Government to proceed with deliberation and caution, and prevented them from bringing the decision of the question before Parliament during this session, notwithstanding it was one of the topics adverted to at the opening of the session in the speech from the throne. Previously to its introduction, another attempt was made by the Ministers to obtain the acquiescence of the Company in the proposed extension of the import trade, as preliminary to any other arrangements; and, as the attempt was unsuccessful, they intimated that it would be for Parliament to determine whether, if the Company still thought the extension of the commerce incompatible with their administration of the government of India, measures might not be devised that would effect the opening of the trade, and at the same time provide for the administration of the government of India by some other means than the intervention of the Company, upon principles consistent with the interests of the country and the integrity of the British constitution.[1] This intimation closed the discussion on the part of the Administration. The Court of Directors were equally resolute, and they were supported by the great body of the Proprietors. After a meeting of the latter, which was repeatedly adjourned, a series of resolutions was adopted,[2] which recapitulated the principal arguments in favour of the continuance of the present system, approved entirely of the firmness of the Direction in regard to the vital question of admitting the outports to share in the import trade of India, expressed their opinion that on no consideration whatever should this point be conceded, and declared their conviction that they might approach Parliament with confidence, persuaded that the wisdom of that enlightened body would never consent to the sacrifice of

[1] Letter from the Earl of Buckinghamshire, 4th Jan. 1813; Papers, 181.
[2] Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 26th Jan. 1813; Papers, 194.

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the clear and positive interests of one class of men to the contingent advantages of another, nor demolish a mighty practical system which had been raised by such immense exertions, in order to place its materials at the disposal of interested speculation. Conformably to these resolutions, a petition was presented to the House of Commons on the 22nd February, 1813, in which the Company prayed for the renewal of the privileges granted in 1793, and deprecated any interference with the China trade, or any extension of the import trade from India to the outports of Great Britain. Another petition was submitted at the same time, soliciting from the nation payment of a debt claimed by the Company of 2,294,426*l.*[1] A similar petition was presented to the House of Lords.

On the 22nd March, 1813, the subject was introduced into the House of Commons, in a Committee of the whole House, by Lord Castlereagh, who, after some general observations, in which he bore testimony to the excellence of the Company's Indian government, declared it to be the wish of the Government not to interfere with the political system unless compelled so to do, although circumstances imperiously demanded the relaxation of their commercial privileges. He accordingly submitted to the House a series of resolutions, which proposed to renew the charter of the Company for a further period, to continue to them during that term the exclusive right of trading with China, but admitting to the trade with India, under certain restrictions, the mercantile community of Great Britain. Some general discussion of the principles on which the resolutions were founded ensued, but the Committee agreed that the resolutions should be read *pro formâ*, and taken into consideration at an early date. In the House of Lords similar resolutions were laid on the table by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and on the motion of the Earl of Liverpool they were referred to a Select Committee. It was agreed by the Lords that the petitioners should be heard by their counsel, with permission to examine evidence, should it be deemed necessary, in compliance with an application to that effect from the Company. The same indulgence was accorded by the House of Commons, and evidence was heard at the bars of both Houses

[1] Parl. Debates, 22nd Feb. 1813; see also Papers, p. 252.

in support of the Company's objections to the measures proposed by the Administration.[1] In order to form an accurate notion of the tenor and character of the testimony thus adduced, it will be convenient here to offer a summary recapitulation of the objects and arguments of the conflicting parties.

In the first instance, two great questions were involved in the consideration of the renewal of the charter — first, the political, and secondly, the commercial claims of the Company. The Court of Directors claimed the territory of India in the Company's possession as theirs by right of conquest, achieved originally with money derived from the profits of their trade: they had paid for it, and it was theirs. But then came the question, What was the Company? of whom was it composed? And the answer was necessarily that it consisted of the dutiful and loyal subjects of the King of Great Britain: and a further doubt inevitably followed, how they could reconcile the duties of obedience to their sovereign with the regal powers which they pretended to exercise in India. This anomalous position was a sufficient confutation of their claims, without adverting to the conditions and circumstances under which an association of merchants had been permitted to acquire extensive dominions. Waiving the question of right, however, the Administration was not only disinclined to put down the Company's authority, but was anxious to leave them in the undisturbed enjoyment of the privileges and advantages which it conferred. The public was either indifferent to this branch of the discussion, or preferred that the territory of India should be administered through the Company; as the distribution of the patronage which it secured to those that had the nomination to the greater portion of the Indian appointments was safer in their hands than in those of the Ministers, more likely to be innocuously distributed, and not in danger of being used as an instrument of parliamentary corruption — an article of barter exchangeable for a vote.

The second question, the commercial privileges of the Company, was also distinguishable under two heads — the trade with China, and the trade with India. Both of

[1] Proceedings of Court of Proprietors, 24th March, 1813; Papers, p. 305.

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these their mercantile antagonists sought to wrest from them; but the Ministers came to their rescue, and were disposed to listen to the arguments of the Court in defence of the monopoly of the trade with China. This trade was carried on under peculiar circumstances. The Chinese Government entertained a violent jealousy of foreign intercourse, and confined the trade not only to a single port, but to a single society,—to a certain number of native merchants of Canton incorporated under the designation of Hong,—interdicting the rest of its subjects from trafficking with strangers. There was no field, therefore, for competition; no possibility of multiplying demand by reduced prices, as the people at large were excluded from the market; and the only effect of the increased resort of English merchants would be to place them more entirely at the mercy of the Chinese Hong. Prompt to take offence, and affecting, possibly entertaining, utter indifference for foreign trade, the Government of Canton upon every petty disturbance or cause of alarm was ready to place an embargo upon all shipments whatever; and it had often required the experienced judgment, local knowledge, and personal influence of the members of the Company's factory at Canton to prevent or remedy occasions of umbrage, and preserve the trade from suspension, or restore it when interrupted. There was great reason to apprehend that from the ignorance or incaution of British traders and sailors, subject to no national controul, and setting the Chinese authorities at defiance, frequent interruption, if not a total stop to the trade, would occur; to the serious discontent of the people of England, to whom tea had become a necessary of life, and to the irreparable injury of the revenue, which realised nearly four millions a year of duty upon this article of import.[1] It was maintained, indeed, that there were no just grounds for apprehending such a catastrophe. The Americans had traded largely with China without supercargoes or factory, yet had never given offence; and the appointment of a British consul would provide sufficiently a local authority, to which the resident merchants and the crews of British vessels might be made

[1] Considerations on the China Trade, by Sir G. Staunton, Bart., communicated in the first instance to the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and subsequently to the Court of Directors; Papers, &c. p. 281.

amenable. The salutary effects of this latter measure were regarded, however, as doubtful; and it seemed not improbable that the immunity of the American trade from obstruction was in part attributable to the Company's establishment, which without actual authority exercised an influence over all the foreign trade at Canton favourable to its prosperity. It was also argued, that, if an unlimited intercourse with China were permitted, it would be impossible to prevent smuggling, by which the revenue would be injuriously affected; and although the impossibility was denied, yet undoubtedly this argument had great weight with the Administration, who were unwilling, amidst the enormous pressure upon the finances of the country during the momentous transactions of this period upon the Continent, to hazard the diminution of a resource so valuable and so easily realised as the duty upon tea paid by the Company. Accordingly, from the first, they declared their determination to uphold this part of the monopoly, and to exclude private traders from the China seas.

The struggle therefore was for the India trade. The advocates of the mercantile interest assailed the Company with the anti-monopoly doctrines, which, started by Adam Smith, were now received as axioms in the new and growing school of political economists: and although it was undeniable, that, had not the Company possessed originally an exclusive trade with India, that trade would never have been established on a secure and permanent footing, and not a rood of land in India would have owned the rule of Great Britain; yet the necessities which fully justified the monopoly for many years had gradually disappeared before its continuance, and no sufficient reasons could now be assigned for excluding the merchants of Britain from a commercial intercourse with British India, especially as that intercourse was open to the people of America and to all foreign nations. The Court of Directors were unable to offer any valid objections of a commercial nature. Their only argument was, that admission to the trade would end in disappointment; that the merchants who so eagerly sought to be allowed to engage in the commerce would find they had miscalculated the benefits they derived from it. The experience of two

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centuries, they affirmed, had fully determined the nature and extent of the trade with India; and proved past questioning that it could not be carried beyond the bounds to which it had attained, and which yielded so little profit, that the trade was scarcely worth the company's retaining. The imports from India were of a limited description, and were either on the decline in competition with the raw produce of America, as cotton; or with the products of home manufacture, as cotton goods; or they were incapable of more than a fixed and circumscribed consumption, as was the case with indigo and various drugs and spices. The same applied to the exports: they could not be increased; the climate, the religion, and the usages of the people were all opposed to the consumption of British goods and manufactures; and nothing English that could be sent to India was likely to find a sale, except among the few British residents in the country. The interval that had elapsed since the renewal of the last charter had given to these conclusions the sanction of experience; as the amount of tonnage then provided for the private trade had never been fully occupied, and not a single new article of export had suggested itself to the interested enterprise of the individual trader.

The more ardent of the advocates of free trade denied the justice of the conclusions drawn by the Court. The little profit attending the Company's trade they ascribed to the prodigal expense of the Company's operations, the want of good management, and the absence of judicious speculation. The delays and expences to which the private trade was subjected under the Company's controul sufficiently accounted for the limited demand that had been made for the tonnage: yet, notwithstanding these obstacles, the Court's own returns showed that the private trade was on the increase; and, notwithstanding the assertion that no new article had been introduced, it had been found profitable to send out cotton manufactures to India. They treated as monstrous and untenable the assertion that no extension of trade was possible amongst the millions of the Indian population.[1] The more mode-

[1] It was stated by Lord Castlereagh, that in the last twenty years the export of cotton manufactures to India had increased from £2000 to £108,000, and was clearly a growing trade.—Debates, June 2, 1813. See also Evidence of

rate argued, that, although it was very possible that such an extension as was sometimes anticipated, might not be effected in India itself, or amongst the Hindus, yet there was a considerable body of Mohammedans whose habits were less unpromising; and in the Indian Ocean, the Gulph of Persia, and the Eastern Archipelago, new channels of trade might and would no doubt be opened out by the activity and enterprise of the private trader: that, at any rate, the experiment was worth trying, as it could only leave the trade as it found it; and if, as was pretended, it yielded little or no profit to the Company, that was a reason the more why they should not be unwilling to part with it. The exigencies of the commerce of Great Britain probably weighed more with the Ministers than the arguments or assertions of either party. Excluded from the Continent by the decrees of Napoleon, the merchants and manufacturers were labouring under alarming difficulties; and the country was menaced with severe distress unless some new vent for the issue of its industrial products could be discovered, some new hopes could be held out to animate and encourage the drooping energies of manufacture and trade. To this great state necessity the interests of a single corporation were bound to yield; and the Company, with however bad a grace, were compelled to consent that vessels from any of the ports of Great Britain should be allowed to export British produce and fabrics to the territories of India under their authority. They still, however, insisted on the condition that the cargoes which the merchants imported from India should be brought to London, deposited in the Company's warehouses, and sold at the Company's sales. Upon this point, they resolutely resisted the wishes of the Government.

The arguments with which they opposed the extension of the imports from India to the outports of Great Britain were, the injury that it would inflict both upon the Company and the metropolis, rendering the extensive and valuable docks and warehouses appropriated during many

Mr. Brown and Sir Robert Peel, App. First Report. Mr. Sullivan, 3rd June, says, the average export of manufactured cottons from 1792 to 1796 was £730, whilst between 1807 and 1811 it was £96,980: the amount of the exports of private trade had doubled within the period of the charter.

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years to the India trade no longer available, and throwing out of employment thousands of persons hitherto dependent upon their establishments; the impossibility it would involve of regulating the supplies by the demand, which was the effect of the Company's sales,— the Company keeping back, even to their own loss, the goods they imported, when they found that the market was overstocked. But the chief points upon which they rested their objections were, the impossibility of preventing smuggling in Britain, and checking the unlicensed and unlawful navigation in the Indian seas, which must result from extending the trade to other ports than that of London. The replies of the representatives of the outports were, either of a general tenor, the same with which the principle of the Company's monopoly had been assailed; or they were specially urged against the limitation of the import trade to the port of London, which they denounced as unnecessary, unjust, and impolitic. It was not necessary for the protection of the revenue, for experience had shown that the Government duties could be levied elsewhere with as much regularity and security as in London: it was unjust, because every mercantile place was entitled to the same protection as the capital; and it would be only a transfer of the monopoly from the East India Company to the merchants of London, to give them alone the privilege of importing goods from India: and it was impolitic, because the superior despatch and economy of the outports were requisite to secure an equality in the market with foreign nations. With regard to the duties, the Ministers also took the care of them upon themselves, their realisation being more the business of the State than of the Company; and they would not admit that any greater danger could accrue to the Company's authority in India from the homeward than the outward trade, as the increased resort of Europeans to India was quite as likely to be the consequence of the one as of the other. The Court of Directors had also impaired the force of their own objections on this ground, by acceding to the unlimited extension of the outward-bound trade to any of the ports of the United Kingdom. Notwithstanding this palpable objection to the arguments of the Court, the dangers resulting from the opening of the trade to their

political interests were pressed upon the Ministers with still more urgency than the peril of their commercial; and their tenure of the sovereignty of India was declared to be contingent upon the preservation of their mercantile privileges. The dangers were of two kinds,—one financial, one political.

The revenues of British India, it was affirmed, had never been equal to the territorial charges: the deficit had been made good partly by money borrowed either in India or in England, and partly by the profits of the Company's trade. Large payments on account of Indian loans, and of expenses growing out of the Indian system — such as, the supplies of stores and the pensions of retired officers, civil and military — had also to be made in England: for which the commercial capital of the Company was wholly insufficient, and for which the sums required were raised by remittances of goods from India or China, and the proceeds of the sales at the India House. Should these sources of supply fail in consequence of the diversion of the trade to private hands, money would be wanting for current disbursements: and, should the profits of the trade be taken away, the excess of the charge of the Indian territory, the interest of the debt, and the dividends on the stock could no longer be provided for; in which case the Company's stock would be valueless, and their obligations could not be discharged. The business of the Indian administration could no longer be carried on by them, and the rescission of their commercial privileges was therefore equivalent to the annihilation of their political existence,—to the subversion of that system which the sense of the nation, the testimony of all preceding Administrations, and the professions of the present Ministers, agreed to recognise as that which was best fitted to maintain the British dominion in India. These arguments were, however, disposed of in a great measure by the continuance to the Company of the monopoly of the tea-trade, from which it was admitted that their commercial profits were principally, if not wholly, derived. How far their territorial expenses had been defrayed by their commercial gains, was also a matter of some uncertainty, as the accounts of both had been hitherto blended in such a manner as to render it difficult to distinguish to

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which head many of the charges correctly appertained. According to the Company's adversaries, the Company's investments were largely indebted to the territorial revenue.

Thus driven from all the disputed posts,—most of which, to say the truth, were utterly untenable,—the Company had recourse to their last great stay, the danger of an unlimited resort of Europeans to India. It was asserted that merchants and agents would of necessity follow the trade, and that great numbers of persons would settle in the country, upon whose steps craftsmen and labourers would necessarily follow; and European colonization, however slowly, would surely take place. Once established, it would, after the example of the American colonies, lead to independence, and India would be lost to Great Britain. Even before this consummation took place, extreme embarrassment and no small peril would be encountered. The weak and timid natives of India would be the victims of European fierceness and brute force. If they failed to resist, they would be subject to cruelty and oppression, which the Company's functionaries would be unable to prevent: if, taking courage from their numbers they ventured at resistance, scenes of tumult and bloodshed must follow, which could not fail to menace the stability of British rule. In either case, there was an immediate or a remote danger that the loss of India would follow the opening of the trade.

These apprehensions had, as above remarked, been partly neutralized by the assent which the Court had actually given to the extension of the trade in India, and it was not difficult to show that they were exaggerated and visionary. The resort of Europeans growing out of the agency of commerce could neither be numerous nor mischievous. It would be necessarily confined to the principal settlements, where alone trade could be largely and profitably carried on, and where the persons engaged in it would be immediately under the eye of the most efficient and powerful officers of the state. The class of persons who would take up their abode there would be peaceable merchants, factors, and agents; not classes amongst whom matter deep and dangerous to the Government was likely to be fostered. Labour in India was too plentiful and too

cheap to hold out any inducement to the most numerous and disorderly classes of the community at home to emigrate, and all danger of popular commotion from such a source was therefore imaginary. But, it was argued, some of the settlers would attach themselves to the soil, and a class of agricultural as well as commercial colonists would be formed, by whom ultimate independence would be achieved. To the objection, that the land was fully occupied, that there was no room for new cultivators, the answer was, that the new colonists would displace the natives; but this could be effected only in one of two ways — by violence, or by purchase. The former implied that there was neither law nor government in the country, and counted vastly too much upon the non-resistance of the natives, who have everywhere been found ready to fight for their lands, and who in many parts of India are destitute neither of strength nor spirit. Purchase involved the transfer of capital from England to India, to be invested in property of very equivocal advantage at least, and little likely to be attended with profit under European management and the Company's revenue enactments. The climate and the habits of the two people rendered it utterly impossible that a European should compete with a native farmer in the cultivation of crops of rice, and the claims of the state to three-fifths of the net produce held out little prospect to the European cultivator of realising a fortune. It was not to be doubted also, that the climate, in some parts of India at least, was unfavourable to the full development of the European organisation; and, with diminished physical energy, would engender an inferior degree of intellectual vigour: so that the children of Europeans born and bred in the country would sensibly degenerate; and the course of a few generations would, in all probability, find them rather below, than above, the level of the native population. These were facts, however, unknown, or kept out of sight, by those who held out colonization and independence as bug-bears to the advocates of free-trade; and the phantoms had so far an influence upon the determinations of the Government, that it was thought advisable to take precautions to prevent their substantial existence. It was agreed that no persons, except those in the Company's employ, should

be allowed to go to India as residents, without a license either from the Company or the Board of Controul; and that the Indian Governments should retain authority to send out of the country any individual from whom they might think it advisable to withdraw the licence to reside in India. This was considered a sufficient concession to the real or affected panic of the Court. And with regard to any embarrassments that might arise from the diminished remittances from India to meet the demands upon the Company, the Ministers engaged that, if it should arise without any fault of the Company, they would use their influence with Parliament to afford the necessary relief, as far as equivalent means might exist in India.[1]

The improbability of the extension of the trade, and the great risk attending the attempt to effect its extension, were the especial points which the Company endeavoured, by the witnesses whom they called, to impress upon the Parliament; and with this view several of their most distinguished servants were interrogated before the House. The first person called was Warren Hastings; and, as if impelled by a sudden conviction of the undeserved severity with which he had been treated by a former House of Commons, and by a spontaneous wish to offer him such atonement as a unanimous tribute of personal respect could render, the members rose, as one body, upon his entrance into the House, and stood until he had assumed his seat within the bar. Similar indications of veneration accompanied his withdrawal. The House of Lords received him also with marked courtesy and attention. The contrast between his position now and that which he held in the same presence twenty-seven years before, when he was arraigned of atrocious crimes and misdemeanors before both Houses, must have been

[1] The arguments in favour of the continuance of the Company's exclusive privileges are to be chiefly found in the letters from the Chairs to the Board of Controul, and the petitions of the Company to Parliament, printed in the Papers respecting the negociations, &c. Those of the advocates of free trade, in the petitions of the several towns, and in a shoal of contemporary pamphlets: among which may be noticed Considerations on the Trade with India, London, 1807; and Letters on the East India Company's Monopoly, published at Glasgow. Nor was the Company without its supporters; amongst whom one of the most respectable was Mr. Robert Grant, the author of the "Expediency of continuing the System of the Trade and Government of India, 1813."

some, though a tardy and insufficient compensation for the unmerited neglect in which he had since passed his unobtrusive life.[1] His evidence was confirmatory of the assertions of the Company. He expressed it as his opinion, that if Europeans were admitted generally to go into the country, to mix with the inhabitants or form establishments amongst them, the consequence would certainly and inevitably be the ruin of the country: they would insult, plunder, and oppress the natives, and no laws enacted from home could prevent them from committing acts of licentiousness of every kind with impunity. A general feeling of hostility to the Government would be excited; and although the armed force might be of sufficient strength to suppress any overt acts of insurrection, yet the stability of the empire must be endangered by universal discontent. The opinions of Lord Teignmouth, Colonel Malcolm, Colonel Munro, and other distinguished servants of the Company were of a similar tendency, and deprecated strongly the unrestricted admission of Europeans to the interior of the country. Experience had proved, they affirmed, that it was difficult to impress even upon the servants of the Company, whilst in their noviciate, a due regard for the feelings and habits of the people; and Englishmen of classes less under the observation of the superior authorities were notorious for the contempt with which, in their national arrogance and ignorance, they contemplated the usages and institutions of the natives, and for their frequent disregard of the dictates of humanity and justice in their dealings with the people of India. The natives, although timid and feeble in some places, were not without strength and resolution in others; and instances had occurred where their resentment had proved formidable to their oppressors. It was difficult, if not impossible, to afford them protection, for the Englishman was amenable only to the courts of British law established at the Presidencies; and although the local magistrate had the power of sending him thither for trial, yet, to impose upon the native complainants and witnesses the obligation of repairing many hundred miles to obtain

[1] Of his reception he merely remarks, in a letter to a young friend, "I have lately received two most convincing and affecting proofs of my having outlived all the prejudices which have during so many past years prevailed against me." — Life of Warren Hastings, iii. 458.

redress, was to subject them to delay, fatigue, and expense, which would be more intolerable than the injury they had suffered. There was in fact, therefore, no redress; and the only security that the natives enjoyed was the power vested in the Government of removing a troublesome and mischievous European from the provinces to the Presidency, or even, if necessary, of sending him altogether out of India. As long as those powers continued to be vested in the local Governments, and as long as the resort of Europeans to India was regulated by licences granted by the authorities either in England or in India, it was thought by some of the witnesses that no great danger was to be apprehended. According to Colonel Malcolm, however, the restrictions could not be too stringent or severe.[1]

In all the questions, however, to which these replies were given, it was assumed that not only an unrestricted but an unlimited and numerous influx of Europeans would follow the opening of the trade, and that the Europeans would settle as colonists. Admitting the inferences to be legitimate, the premises did not appear to all the witnesses to be equally indisputable. Thus Colonel Munro, in particular, stated his opinion that, although in the first instance the number of Europeans might be considerably augmented, yet by degrees that number would be limited by the amount of the trade, for the regulation of which alone their residence would be advantageous. They would not become manufacturers, on account of the superior skill and economy of the natives; they could not hold land, as that was prohibited by the Company's regulations: and, supposing it to be desirable that the law were repealed, it was not likely that Europeans could colonize to any extent; they would be borne down by the superior population of the natives, more industrious and economical than themselves.

The several witnesses agreed also as to the improbability of the trade with India being susceptible of any material extension. The simple habits of the people, taught them by the nature of the climate and the condition of society,

[1] See Minutes of Evidence taken before the Select Committees of both Houses of Parliament in 1813, printed by order of the Court of Directors for the information of the Proprietors.

rendered them, even where able to purchase superfluities, little inclined to provide them. A few opulent natives at the chief cities occasionally purchased articles of European furniture and apparel, in compliment to their European friends, but commonly put them aside and made no use of them.[1] Their superfluous wealth was expended in the marriages of their children or at religious festivals, in domestic indulgences or on the ornaments of their women. The vast majority of the people were, however, devoid of the means of buying European manufactures, even if there existed amongst them any propensity to make use of them.[2] Here, again, the same sagacious officer, Colonel Munro, placed the question in its true light. Although he admitted that the Hindu was as unalterable in his habits as it was possible to be, and had in all probability adhered to them ever since he was first known to the Greek invaders of his country, yet he denied that the people of India entertained any invincible prejudices against foreign fabrics: it was entirely a question of price: whenever we could undersell the Hindus in any article which they required, it would find its way into the interior of the country without much help from the British merchant, and in spite of all regulations to prevent it. At the same time, he did not conceive it likely that there would be such a reduction of price as could bring British manufactures into competition with those the

[1] A fourth of the second share of the prize-money of Seringapatam was to be paid to the Nizam, and, with a prudent regard for the interests of British trade, the Government of Madras thought it expedient to convert the amount into broad-cloth, plate, china, glass and the like, in order to initiate his Highness and his Court into a taste for the elegant superfluities of European living. The articles were graciously received; but all were consigned to the Toshak-khana, or magazine of rare and valuable commodities. On visiting this magazine, the Resident found many rooms filled from the floor to the ceiling with European articles, most of which had been presented to the Nizam and his father by the Governors of the French and English settlements: some as old as the time of Duplessy and Bussy, sent direct from the court of Louis XV. Of course the greater portion had become the nests of the white ant and the moth. — Evidence of T. Sydenham, Esq. before the House of Commons; Minutes, p. 527.

[2] Various testimonies were given of the cheapness of labour and the trifling amount sufficient for the maintenance of the natives. According to returns obtained by Colonel Munro whilst in India, upon a population of two millions of inhabitants, the average annual expenditure of each individual for clothes, food, furniture, and all the necessaries of life, did not exceed 25*s.*: the average expenditure of the rich being 40*s.*; that of the middle classes, comprising the whole of the agricultural and manufacturing classes, 27*s.*; and that of the poorest, 18*s.* It was not likely that any of these classes should furnish consumers of European commodities. — Min. of Evidence, p. 204.

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natives required and could produce in their own country. He was not aware what elements were even then at work to raise the British manufacture of one of the necessaries of life, cotton cloth, upon the ruin of the fabrics of India.

A question of still graver importance, although not affecting the continuance of the Company's privileges, was the expedience of adopting measures for the dissemination of Christianity amongst the natives of India. The advantages of placing the Company's chaplains under episcopal authority had been pressed upon the attention of the Company and the public some years before,[1] and the administration was willing to give, in part, consent to the arrangement so suggested. The appointment of a bishop and archdeacons was calculated to impart consistency and vigour to the clerical establishment of British India, and was not likely to excite any hostile feelings amongst the natives, as long as they had no cause to suspect that it was the purpose of the Government to employ such agency as instruments of their conversion. To this extent, therefore, the Ministers and the Company were disposed to go: but there were not wanting a number of zealous persons who endeavoured to force upon them the adoption of provisions in the new charter for the communication of the light of Christianity to the benighted heathens of India, and for affording sufficient opportunities to the benevolent persons who should be desirous of going to India for that purpose; or, in other words, to authorise and assist the exertions of the missionaries. Petitions to this effect had been presented to both Houses of Parliament, and the members naturally therefore wished to hear the sentiments of those who were best qualified to judge of the probable consequences of any attempt of the Government to introduce the Christian religion. There was no hesitation or disagreement in the reply. All concurred in asserting that not only the attempt, but any notion amongst the natives that such an attempt would be made, was pregnant with the most fatal consequences: it would not only defeat the object for which it was made, and prevent the diffusion of that religion it was intended to establish, but would lead to universal fear and discon-

[1] In a memoir on the expediency of an Ecclesiastical establishment for British India, by the Rev. Claudius Buchanan, 1805.

tent, and would in all likelihood end in the overthrow of the British empire. Divided as were the people of the country by religious differences and distinctions of caste, any dread of violence to their several forms of belief would unite them in a common cause; would convert timidity into desperation, and subordination into defiance; and would kindle a flame which, in its progress, would destroy not only the British Government, but all who professed the faith it was designed to propagate. Even Lord Teignmouth, although connected with the religious party, admitted that considerable peril might be apprehended from indiscreet zeal; that, from the experience which the natives had had of the disposition of the Government during very many years to pay every attention to their civil and religious prejudices, they never could be brought to believe that it meant to impose upon them the religion of this country; that any enactment for the conversion of the natives, having the appearance of a compulsory law upon their conscience, would be attended with very great danger; and that it would be advisable to leave in the hands of the local Government, the controul to be exercised over persons professing to teach Christianity in India.[1]

A variety of conflicting evidence relating to the difficulty of repressing smuggling, and the expedience of continuing the Chinese monopoly, was also heard. The officers of the outports generally maintained that there existed as much security for the realisation of the duties at the several harbours as in London. The weight of authority, however, was against them; and difficulty was anticipated, although it might not be insuperable. The evidence of the Company's officers who had resided in China was also of a character more entitled to credit than that of the merchants, who attempted to qualify or deny the descriptions which were given by Sir G. Staunton and

[1] See the Resolutions of a meeting of the Protestant Society for the protection of Religious Liberty, 2nd March, 1813; Papers, &c. 276: of a special meeting of the Church Missionary Society, 24th April, 1813; of the meetings of the members of the Church of Scotland, the Wesleyans, Baptists, and others, in March and April, 1813; in the Missionary Register for April of that year. The subject was also warmly discussed in various pamphlets: Lord Teignmouth and Mr. Fuller taking the lead on the side of missionary encouragement; and Messrs. Scott Waring, and T. Twining, among those who denied its expedience or safety.

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Mr. Davies of the peculiarities under which the trade with the Chinese was conducted, and the danger of its being lost should an indiscriminate traffic be allowed.

On the 25th of May, the subject was again brought before the House of Commons. Lord Castlereagh, presuming that the members were now in possession of the evidence, was desirous of entering upon the discussion, and coming to a conclusion without further delay. Some opposition was made to an early day, on the ground of there not being time to read over the minutes of evidence; but it was over-ruled, and on the 31st the House went into a Committee on the Resolutions. The first resolution purported that the privileges, authorities, and immunities granted to the East India Company by any acts of parliament then in force, should be continued for a further period of time to be limited, except as far as hereafter modified and repealed. In objecting to this, Mr. Bruce, the Company's historiographer, recapitulated the history of the Company, the attempts that had been made to interfere with their exclusive rights, the little success with which they had been attended, and the services rendered to the trade, and the prosperity of the state, by the Company; and he argued that any deviation from the existing system would be productive of dangers and losses both commercial and political, of the destruction of the Company's trade both with India and China, and of the subversion of their Indian empire. It would be a melancholy reflection, he concluded, to have lived to see one political and financial error lose to the country its American colonies; and to be convinced that the proposed resolutions, if passed into a law in opposition to a most full and complete body of evidence, would in a short time probably lose its Indian empire to Great Britain.[1] He was followed by Mr. Charles Grant, junior, who impressed upon the House the peril of disturbing a system of administration under which the people of India were prosperous and happy, for the sake of imaginary commercial advantages which never could be realised. The good of the people of India was the real point at issue; and this could not be promoted by letting loose amongst them

[1] Substance of the Speech of J. Bruce, Esq.; Black, Parry & Co, 1813: also Hansard's Debates, 31st May, 1813.

a host of desperate, needy adventurers, whose atrocious conduct in America and in Africa afforded sufficient indication of the evils they would inflict upon India. The Company had been charged with having excited wars in India, and furnished an exception to the general rule that peace and tranquillity were the inseparable attendants of commerce: and by whom was this charge made? by the advocates of the slave-trade, the people of Liverpool. The natives of India deprecated all change: he gave utterance to their prayers when he conjured the House not to make them the subjects of perilous speculation, and, for the sake of local insignificant interests, barter away their happiness. The commercial merits of the question were more particularly dwelt upon by the father of this speaker, Mr. Charles Grant, senior, who, as chairman and member of the Court of Directors, and a gentleman of great ability and experience, had taken the lead in the defence of the Company's privileges. He urged the arguments already adverted to, of the impossibility of materially extending the trade, which he was satisfied to observe was now generally admitted. He denied that the union of the character of merchant and sovereign was prejudicial to the country over which the Company ruled; that any loss had attended their commercial transactions, the commerce having not only supported itself, but contributed to the expenses of the administration of the territory: he asserted that the remittances made to England were necessary for territorial charges in that country; and that they were better effected through goods than the bills of private merchants, of whose solvency they could not always feel secure. He maintained the right of the Company to their territorial possessions, having been acquired at their own hazard and expense. In reply to the inconsistency of apprehending a dangerous resort of Europeans to India if merchandise were brought from thence to the outports, and not anticipating the same from vessels fitted out by them for the export trade, he observed that, if ships were not allowed to carry their return cargoes to the outports, the ships fitted out from those ports would be comparatively few. Of the reality of the danger, the whole body of the evidence was full. The transfer of the trade from London to the outports

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1813. Amongst the speakers on the opposite side, Mr. Canning was principally distinguished. He very justly observed, that, of all the questions ever discussed in the House of Commons, the present was one in which on both sides the greatest exaggeration prevailed. He bore no enmity to the Company, and was desirous of supporting all their just claims: but, he could not admit their claim to the rightful sovereignty of India; or that the anomaly of their position should impair the principle, that, whenever British subjects acquired dominion, it was comprehended within the permanent dominion of the empire. When Parliament was legislating on the government and commerce of India, it was as clearly competent to do so, as to enact laws respecting any other British possessions properly denominated colonies. He would admit, however, the Company to retain their sovereign capacity as a concession, not as a right; but, if it should seem good to take it away, it was the right of the Parliament so to legislate, and not in the right of the East India Company to plead their possession. With regard to the objections offered to the opening of the trade on account of the anticipated misconduct of those who would engage in it, he thought it was rather hard and unprecedented language for the advocates of the Company to say to the merchants, "You are a pack of piratical ragamuffins, who want to lay our villages in ruins and blood, and to carry away our children into captivity: we have heard of the horrible traffic you carried on for the slave-trade a century without shame, and would not abandon without a struggle." Fortunately for the private trader, the right and power of interference did exist in Parliament, who would consider the question in all its bearings, without heeding the exaggerated pretensions of those commercial lords of Asia to dominions acquired by British enterprise, and yet held by British arms.

After witnessing the changes in the systems of judicature and revenue, and in the military organisation, which had been effected by the Company's Governments, he could not believe in the alleged immutability of the native

character and habit, which was to render impracticable any extension of the trade with them; and still less could he imagine that a people, who had been quiet and submissive for three thousand years, should lose those qualities all of a sudden if a few pedlars were allowed to travel in the country with a pack of scissors or other hardware at their backs. The question was, not the admission of British merchants to trade without restrictions, but their trading subject to restrictions and regulations. He conceived the general principle to be pretty well disposed of, except between the classes who went to the extreme length of contending, on the one side, that the Company should be abolished, and those who, on the other, maintained that not a single feather should be taken from their plume of sovereignty; but whilst he did not apprehend any insuperable difficulty in providing for the government of India independent of the Company, yet he was ready to admit that the system had many advantages, and was desirous to continue it in their hands as long as it did not degenerate into a system of exclusion. The first resolution was carried without a division.

The second resolution, proposing to continue the monopoly of the tea-trade with the Company, was discussed on the succeeding day. It encountered some opposition from Mr. Marryatt, Mr. Ponsonby, and Sir J. Newport; who argued that it was impolitic and unjust to exclude British subjects from a trade to which foreigners were admitted, and that, by opening the trade, the public would be supplied with better tea at a lower price, the prices of teas in America being much lower than those at the Company's sales. In reply it was asserted, that the Company put up their teas at little more than cost price; and that, if the rates were enhanced by the buyers, it was their act, not the Company's. Whilst also it was not denied that the American prices were lower, it was asserted by Mr. Grant that the comparison was fallacious; as the articles, although bearing similar appellations, were entirely different, and the American teas were of inferior quality. This was contradicted; but the arguments which had influenced the Select Committee—the fear of exciting the jealousy and provoking the opposition of the Chinese Government, and the inexpediency of hazarding valuable

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and readily realisable revenue which the duty on tea under the present system secured,—proved successful; and this resolution was also carried without a division. The other resolutions, with reservation of the third, seventh, eighth, and thirteenth, were also agreed to.

On the 2nd of June, the discussion of the third resolution took place. This resolution, which gave permission to the ships of private merchants to sail from any port in Great Britain to any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and to return to certain of the outports, had been qualified by various clauses, having for their object both the security of the Company and individuals; the most important of them making it necessary for vessels trading with India to have licences from the Company, but empowering the Board of Controul to issue licences when refused by the Court of Directors, if not satisfied with the grounds of the refusal. The debate was opened with a speech from Mr. Rickards, objecting altogether to the continuance of the Company's privileges, and denying the existence of that prosperity amongst the people of India which they had been described as enjoying under the Company's administration; attributing much of the misery that existed to the pressure upon the national industry arising from the Company's monopoly, and looking for its relief only to the extension of a demand for the produce of the country through the enterprise of the private trader. He was replied to by Mr. Grant. The singularity of the debate was a long and elaborate speech from Mr. Tierney, who, in opposition to the sentiments of his colleagues, maintained that, looking to the distinguished character and generally concurring tenor of the evidence adduced in favour of the Company, and the total absence of any evidence on the opposite part, the existing system ought not to be interfered with. In fact, there was a gross inconsistency in the resolution: a Court of Directors that could not be trusted with the commerce of India was to be confirmed in the government,—twenty-four execrable merchants were to make excellent political governors! But there was no charge against the Company: the main object of the act of 1793, the happiness of sixty millions had been attained. The government of India, he asserted, was well and ably administered, and

was not to be subverted for the sake of a little more trade. Amongst all the arguments in favour of the benefits that were to accrue to the people of India from a free trade, he had never heard it proposed to allow one manufacture of India to be freely imported into Great Britain. It was true that they would allow cotton twist: but then, having found out that they could weave by means of machinery cheaper than the Indians, they said to them, "Leave off weaving; supply us with the raw material, and we will weave for you."[1] Now, although this was a natural principle enough for merchants and manufacturers, it was rather too much to talk of the philanthropy of it, or to rank the supporters of it as in a peculiar degree the friends of India. If, instead of calling themselves the friends of that country, they should profess themselves its enemies, what more could they do than advise the endeavour to crush all Indian manufacture? What would be said of the East India Company if they were to show as decided a preference to the manufactures of the natives of India under their protection as we did to the manufactures of England? It appeared to him, that the alterations in the resolutions had been proposed for no other purpose than to conciliate the clamour of the merchants, and he would defy any man to point out anything like the good of India being the object of any of the resolutions. In conclusion, he expressed his opinion that either the present system must be maintained, or the Company set

[1] The history of the trade of cotton cloths with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value, or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset and could scarcely have been again set in motion, even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian manufacture. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty: and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms.

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aside altogether. Lord Castlereagh, in reply to Mr. Tierney, urged adherence to the middle course which had been proposed by the ministers. In the adjourned debate, on the following day, Mr. Sullivan recapitulated the circumstances which had taken place on the renewal of the charter of 1793, and the measures advocated in 1800 by Mr. Dundas, for the extension of private trade, by the admission of India-built shipping belonging to merchants in India at that time, and observed that all the arguments brought forward against the propositions now before the House, were then urged with greater force and ability than was now evinced in the discussion: the result of a compromise made with the Company had demonstrated the futility of all objections against the private trade, which had largely increased during the period of the charter. Mr. Prothero vindicated the merchants of the outports from the sarcastic observations of Mr. Tierney, and maintained that they had shown their moderation in not insisting upon larger concessions than it had been deemed expedient to grant. Mr. Baring denied the advantages, and expatiated on the dangers of augmenting the facilities already given to private trade. Several other members took part in the debate; but the discussion turned chiefly upon the general merits of the measure, and went over the grounds previously exhausted. The resolution was carried without a division; and the remaining resolutions being agreed to, with a reservation that some of them would be considered more fully on the bringing up of the report, the House was resumed, and the report of the Committee, consisting of the resolutions in detail, was received.[1]

On the 14th, when the report was taken into consideration, Sir J. Newport moved that it should be postponed to that day three months, expressly with a view of inducing the House in the next session to abolish the monopoly altogether. Lord Castlereagh expressed his opinion that such an abolition would be a serious calamity, and that ministers would be guilty of a dereliction of duty if they agreed to any postponement of the question. Mr. Whitbread passed some severe strictures on the Ministers, for culpable delay in bringing the question forward, and

[1] See Appendix.

then hurrying it to a decision: he accused Lord Castlereagh of inconsistency, who, when President of the Board of Controul, nine years before, had declared that the Company was unable, and ought not, to exist longer; and yet now argued that it ought to be supported. He completely agreed with the sentiments which had been expressed by Lord Grenville in the House of Lords, disputed the eulogium which had been passed upon the Company's administration, considered the evidence given in their behalf as prejudiced and contradictory, and declared that the information was insufficient: one thing only was clear, there should be no compromise; if the Company ought to be destroyed, destroy it; if it ought to be maintained, maintain it: he voted for further delay. Mr. Tierney also urged delay, which Mr. Canning opposed; and, upon a division, the amendment was rejected by a considerable majority. The debate on the resolution was adjourned.

On resuming the discussion on the 14th June, Mr. Howorth argued the necessity of asserting in the preamble a declaration of the sovereignty of India residing in the Crown; and Sir J. Newport proposed a motion to that effect. Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, that it was unnecessary; that it was raising a doubt where none had been suggested; and that it would be well to consider what Parliament had done on a former occasion, when the charter was renewed, and when it had not been thought advisable to accompany resolutions of a practical and specific character with principles of universal applicability. Mr. Grant said that the East India Company had never laid claim to the sovereignty of the country; they had only asserted that right in the soil which they conceived to be given them by the charter. The amendment was negatived. Lord Castlereagh then moved that the term for the duration of the charter should be twenty years, which Mr. Ponsonby proposed should be shortened to ten; in which he was supported by Mr. Creevey, who, however, gave a decided negative to the whole of the resolution. Lord Castlereagh maintained that a period of less than twenty years would be insufficient to enable Parliament to judge of the merits or defects of the system about to be established, and reminded the House that

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they retained the power of superintending and controuling the proceedings both of the Company and the Ministers. Mr. Canning voted for the shorter period; and Mr. Whitbread delared that, from what he had heard in the course of the debate, he should vote against the resolution. The Company had governed India badly, and had no right to the monopoly of the trade with either India or China. The amendment was rejected, but the minority was considerable. On the duration of the exclusive trade to China, Mr. Canning also divided the House, proposing to limit it to ten years; a motion intended, no doubt, to propitiate his Liverpool constituents. It was carried against him. An attempt was made, upon the third reading of the resolution, by Mr. Baring, to restrict the return trade to the port of London, at least for a period of five years: but it was vigorously opposed by the representatives of the maritime towns, and especially by Mr. Canning, who denounced the proposition as an insidious attempt to destroy the whole scheme which Parliament had devised; for the outports, thwarted, crippled, and confined by such a regulation, would abandon the trade, and then the Company would again possess its monopoly undisturbed. The resolution was carried. Some further discussion ensued upon other clauses and resolutions, but they were agreed to; except the thirteenth, the debate on which was adjourned: it being understood that a bill should be, in the mean time, brought in on the other resolutions, and that they should be sent to the Lords.

The thirteenth resolution, the object of which professed to be the affording of facilities and encouragement to missionaries in India, was the subject of a separate discussion on the 22nd June. In opening the debate, Lord Castlereagh felt it necessary to correct an erroneous impression that had gone abroad, that the resolution was intended to encourage an unrestrained and unregulated resort of persons to India for religious purposes; this was not the case. It was never conceived by the authors of the resolution that an unrestrained resort of persons with religious views would be consonant with the tranquillity and security of the British possessions in India; although they thought that no danger could arise from allowing a certain number of persons, under the cognizance of the

Court of Directors, who were again controuled by the Board of Commissioners, to proceed as missionaries to India: with this impression he proposed the adoption of the resolution.

The principal speaker on this occasion was Mr. Wilberforce, who gave utterance to the sentiments of the whole religious part of the kingdom. He denied that the only object of the resolution was to secure to such missionaries as the Board of Controul should sanction, permission to go to India, and to remain there as long as they should continue to exercise the duties of their office in an orderly and peaceable manner. Another, perhaps a principal object, as expressed in the words of the resolution, was to enlighten and inform the minds of our Indian subjects, by which he understood their education: and from the diffusion of knowledge, the progress of science, and the circulation of the Scriptures in the native languages, he anticipated even more than from direct missionary exertion. He also disclaimed, as preliminary to the discussion, all intention to advocate for the conversion of the natives the influence of Government. With regard to the inveteracy and unalterableness of the prejudices and superstitions of the Hindus, Mr. Wilberforce argued, from their submission to so many changes in the constitution of the government and the administration of the laws, that they were not so incapable of adopting new opinions as had been represented: nor were they incapable of change, even in their religious sentiments; as was evinced by the multitude of Mohammedans who formed part of the population, and who must have originated from conversion; by the formation of a whole nation, that of the Sikhs, who within a few centuries had thrown off the restrictions of the Hindu religion; and by the prevalence of numerous sectarial divisions amongst the Hindus themselves: nay, the work of conversion to Christianity had been going on for the last century with signal success, and there were at that moment hundreds of thousands of native Christians in the East Indies. So little were the Hindus indisposed towards the doctrines of the Gospel, that the most zealous, laborious, and successful missionaries, such as Swartz and others, had been the most esteemed and beloved of all Europeans among all classes of natives. In answer to the

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assertions of those witnesses who had vindicated the moral character of the Hindus, and affirmed that, if practicable, it was not desirable to effect their conversion, he quoted largely from a memoir on the Moral State of India by Mr. Grant, from the opinions of the judges and magistrates given in answer to a call from Lord Wellesley to report upon the moral condition of the people, and from the Appendix to the Fifth Report, to establish the general depravity of the people of Hindustan; and intimated that the opinions which had been expressed to the contrary only proved the justice of Burke's sarcasm, that Europeans were commonly unbaptized on the passage to India. The charge that he was bringing an indictment against the whole population of India, who had done nothing to deserve his enmity, he indignantly repelled; and accused those of being the worst enemies of the people of India who would keep those miserable beings bowed down under the yoke which oppressed them. The course he was recommending tended as much to their temporal as to their spiritual advantage; for the evils consequent upon the institutions and superstitions of the Hindus pervaded the whole mass of the population, and embittered the domestic cup in almost every family. Such were the effects of the distinctions of caste, which were more degrading and intolerable than the fetters of West Indian slavery; of the practice of polygamy; of infanticide; of the burning of widows, of whom ten thousand were annually sacrificed in Bengal alone; of the obscene and bloody rites of their idolatrous ceremonies; and of the destruction of human life, as instanced in the worship of Jagannath in Orissa, in whose service it had been computed, taking in all the various modes and forms of destruction connected with it, that one hundred thousand human beings were annually expended. Mr. Wilberforce then vindicated the character of Dr. Buchanan, and maintained the accuracy of his statements; and he defended the conduct of the Baptist missionaries in Bengal,[1] and claimed for them the merits of discretion and moderation, as much as for piety and learning. The statements and reasonings of Mr. Wilberforce were contradicted by a few

[1] See the preceding chapter.

of the members; but no serious opposition was made to the resolution, and it passed the House.

On the 28th June, the resolutions were presented to the House in the form of a Bill, which, however, was not to be suffered to pass without further discussion, although little of novelty could be adduced by the speakers. On this occasion, Mr. Grant entered into a long defence of the Company's government in India, in reply to the censures pronounced upon it by Mr. Rickards; and Mr. Lushington vindicated the moral character and the religious practices of the people of India from the unqualified and exaggerated assertions of Mr. Wilberforce. On the 1st July, several clauses again underwent examination, but the thirteenth clause was the principal topic of debate. Sir J. Sutton, although friendly to the principle of the clause, objected to the open avowal that persons were to be sent to India for the propagation of Christianity, as its only effect would be to alarm and irritate the feelings of the people of India; and he therefore moved as an amendment, that, instead of the expression in the clause "for the above purposes,"—the propagation of Christianity,—it should be declared "expedient to send persons to India for various lawful purposes." Lord Castlereagh objected to the amendment, although in the wording of the clause he had endeavoured to satisfy other feelings than his own. But the clause enacted nothing; it declared nothing; it made no provisions for enforcing our religion, or abolishing that of the natives of India: it simply gave the weight and sanction of Parliament to the principle; but, so far from taking away or doing anything to interrupt or abolish the religion of the natives, its free exercise was in this very bill secured to them. Mr. Marsh then at great length replied to the former address of Mr. Wilberforce. He considered the provision as a most portentous novelty in Indian legislation. In all former modes of policy for the government of India, the inviolability of the religious feelings and customs of the natives was considered a sacred and indisputed axiom: a departure from that policy would shake our empire in that part of the world to its centre. The natives of India could not distinguish between the projects of those who had worked themselves up to a morbid enthusiasm on the subject, from plans

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countenanced by the authority and intended to be effectuated by the power of the state. They were too tremblingly sensitive on the subject of their religion, and too little versed in the nature of parliamentary proceedings, to be able to separate the acts and opinions of a large portion of the country acting permissively under the state, from the authentic and solemn act of the state itself. To give a licence to a missionary to go out to India, was to impair the authority of the Government abroad to send him back if he misconducted himself: and the probability of his so doing was sufficiently evinced by the despatch from the Governor-General of the 2nd November, 1807, which stated several alarming instances of misguided and intemperate zeal, and of low and scurrilous invective circulated in the native languages against the feelings, prejudices, and belief of the people. Mr. Marsh then entered into a detailed argument to prove that the mutiny at Vellore, and the dangerous plots which were concerted in other parts of the Peninsula, originated in an alarm excited amongst the natives of their enforced conversion; which fears were confirmed by the activity of the missionaries in the Madras settlement, instigated by the unusual countenance which they had received for some time previous to the massacre. Was it possible, he asked, that the House would fall into such a fit of absurdity and fanaticism, or be visited with so awful a fatuity, as not to keep so awful an event before them in the grave discussion of matters affecting the religion of the country? Mr. Marsh then proceeded to question the practicability of converting the people of India to Christianity in spite of the existing institutions, and particularly that of caste; the loss of which, consequent upon the adoption of a new creed, subjected the neophyte to the most cruel of all martyrdoms—to separation from all the sweets of social communion, the ties of friendship, the charities of kindred, and all that life contains to support and adorn existence. He denied that the missionaries were fit engines to accomplish the greatest revolution that had yet taken place in the history of the world. He could not, he observed, sufficiently admire the inconsistencies and contradictions of some of the most ardent advocates of the clause; of those who would most jealously exclude from India per-

sons invited thither by commercial enterprise, and having an obvious interest in carrying on a quiet, prudent, and conciliatory intercourse with the natives; and yet would throw open every port in the dominion to swarms of individuals whose nature and character it is to consider themselves absolved from all human restraints, and free from all human motives, in effecting the objects of their calling. Nay, the same reasoners, who would persuade us that the Hindus were unsusceptible of change in regard to the use of European manufactures, would have us believe that they were ready eagerly to welcome whatever articles of spiritual novelty might be imported. The doctrine, that the people of India were so brutalized by the grossness of their superstition as to be incapable of any redeeming virtue, he denounced as founded on the falsest assumption; and vindicated their moral and intellectual worth from the calumnies with which he had been assailed by partial and prejudiced testimony. The moral obligation to diffuse Christianity, binding and authoritative as he admitted it to be, vanished when placed against the ills and mischiefs which were likely to follow its application to India. There never was a moral obligation to produce war and bloodshed and civil disorder; such an obligation would not exist, were the wildest barbarians the subjects of the experiment: but when, in addition to considerations sanctioned by justice and policy, it was remembered that the people we were so anxious to convert were in the main a moral and virtuous people, not uninfluenced by those principles of religion which give security to life, and impart consolation in death, the obligation assumed a contrary character, and common sense, reason, and even religion itself cried out aloud against our interference.[1] The support given to the amendment proposed by Mr. Marsh, necessarily produced a reply from Mr. Wilberforce. He defended the missionaries from the opprobrious terms which had been applied to them by Mr. Marsh, and denied that the transactions at Vellore were in any degree connected with their proceedings. He had the authority of the Governor of Madras and the Court of Directors for ascribing it to the military regulations which had been

[1] Substance of the Speech of C. Marsh, Esq., in a Committee of the House of Commons on the 11th July, 1813, revised by the speaker: London, 1813.

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issued, and the extreme severity with which the manifestation of reluctance to obey them had been punished. The unsoundness of the conclusion drawn from this affair might inspire a reasonable distrust of the correctness of the persuasions entertained by the opponents of the measure with regard to the extreme sensitiveness of the people of India in regard to their religion, when the attempt to convert them was made in a spirit of conciliation, and when no other means were thought of but argument and persuasion. In fact, there were two remarkable instances on record of successful endeavours to root out inveterate and pernicious practices in India: the prohibition of sacrificing at the change of every moon many victims, chiefly children, to the river Ganges, which had been enacted by Lord Wellesley; and the suppression of infanticide in Guzerat, by the interposition of Colonel Walker. The law had been obeyed without a murmur; the interposition had brought down on Colonel Walker the benedictions of the people. One such instance as either of these was a sufficient encouragement to go forward, prudently and cautiously indeed, but with firmness and resolution.

It was not enough, however, to question the reality of the danger with which it had been endeavoured to intimidate the friends of the missionary exertions. It was time, Mr. Wilberforce added, for him to speak out, and to avow that he went much further than he had yet gone; he maintained not only that it was safe to attempt by reasonable and prudent methods to introduce into India the blessings of Christian truth, but that true imperious and urgent policy prescribed the same course. He could not think that the British empire in India rested on a secure foundation; on the contrary, as long as the people and their rulers were separated from each other by such total differences of sentiment and opinion as now existed, it was impossible that the two should be united, or that the Government could depend upon the permanent attachment of its subjects, whatever benefits its administration might confer. Would we deserve their affection and secure our power, we should endeavour to perpetuate our influence by the gradual introduction and establishment of our own principles and opinions; of our own laws,

institutions and manners; and above all, as the source of every other improvement, of our religion, and consequently of our morals. The illustrious Albuquerque, when governor of Goa, forbade the burning of widows; and, so far was this from exciting popular discontent, that no governor was ever so much beloved. Long after his death, when a Moor or a Hindu had suffered wrong and could obtain no redress, he would go to Albuquerque's tomb and make an offering of oil at the lamp which burned before it, and call upon him for justice.[1]

But, after all, what was demanded? Not that the Legislature should immediately devise and proceed without delay to execute the great and necessary work, but that it should not substantially and in effect prevent others from engaging in it; or, rather, that the Government should not be prevented from having in its power to grant licences to proper persons to proceed to India, and continue there, with a view to disseminate Christianity. The commonest principle of toleration would grant much more than this: it was toleration only that was asked for; the advocates of the measure disclaimed all idea of proceeding by methods of compulsion or authority. The amendment that was now proposed came under a plausible and specious appearance, which only rendered it more dangerous. It proceeded from a spirit professedly favourable to the clause, and objecting only to its publicity. On this head, however, nothing was really to be apprehended, as it was in evidence that the greatest difficulty existed in making matters of the utmost interest known amongst the people: news and information of all kinds were slowly and inaccurately circulated in India. If the people should read the clause, which was extremely improbable, they would find in it expressed, for the first time Mr. Wilberforce believed, a clear recognition, an effectual security, of their right to preserve their religious principles and institutions sacred and inviolate; the clause would, therefore, produce satisfaction rather than discontent on that very subject of religion. Nor would the object of the enactment be effected merely by securing the power of

[1] These statements rest upon the authority of the Commentaries of the son of Albuquerque, and were furnished to Mr. Wilberforce by Mr. Southey.—Substance of Speeches, &c., p. 93.

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licensing missionaries: by affirming the duty of enlightening the minds and improving the morals of our East India fellow-subjects, it established the principle, and laid the ground for promoting education and diffusing useful knowledge of all kinds among them. When truth and reason should obtain access to the understanding of the natives, they would reject the profane absurdities of their theological, and the depraving defects of their moral, system: they would thus be prepared for the reception of Christianity. To omit the clause would be to omit from the act all mention whatever of religion or morals, and would leave the case as it was left by the charter of 1793, when although the resolutions of both Houses of Parliament fully recognised the obligation of endeavouring to communicate to the natives of India the blessings of Christianity, yet, as it formed no part of the act of the Legislature, the body whose business it was to carry the provisions of that act into execution could not be chargeable with neglecting any duty which that statute ordained; when, so far from favouring, they rather thwarted and hindered the attempts of the missionaries. The neglect which was imputable to the former House of Commons would be still more glaring on the present occasion, as the subject had been brought so fully to its notice: and if, after all that had been urged, the same omission took place, it would be necessarily inferred that the Parliament upon due deliberation had disapproved of the project which had been offered by the advocates of Christianity; and the whole question had come to this, that, as Christianity was the religion of the British empire in Europe, the religion of Brahma and Vishnu was to be the acknowledged system of our Asiatic opinions.[1]

Some further discussion ensued upon the subject of the proposed amendment, but it was rejected upon a division. Another attempt was made to get rid of the clause, upon a motion made by Mr. A. Robinson on the 12th of June, when the report of the bill was received from the Committee. It was supported by Mr. Forbes and Mr. Tierney,

[1] Substance of the Speeches of W. Wilberforce, Esq., on the clause in the East India Bill for promoting the religious instruction of the natives of India, on the 22nd of June, and 1st and 12th of July, 1813, published by the speaker: London, 1813.

and opposed by Mr. Stephen and Mr. Wilberforce, and rejected.

The main provisions of the bill having thus been carried, no opposition of any importance was made to the remaining clauses. Some additional provisions were suggested: one by Mr. R. Smith, for the appropriation of a sum of money for the promotion of native literature in the East, and the establishment of a native college or colleges; and Mr. W. Dundas proposed the appointment of a Scotch clergyman to each of the Presidencies, the majority of the British residents in India being Scotch, and of the Presbyterian communion. The latter proposition was withdrawn, upon the assurances of Mr. Thornton and Mr. Grant, members of the Direction, that the East India Company would do not only what was necessary, but all that could be required for the maintenance in India of clergymen of the Church of Scotland. A clause was proposed by Mr. P. Moore to enable the servants of the Company who had resided ten years in India to come to England and return to India, retaining their rank in the service without the customary form of receiving permission from the Proprietors; but this was objected to by Lord Castlereagh, on the ground that it was not the policy of the Government to multiply facilities for the return of the Company's most experienced servants to England. An attempt was made to delay the third reading of the report until the Proprietors of the East India stock should have had time to read and consider the bill in its amended shape. Lord Castlereagh, however, considered that any delay would subject the House to inconvenience at so advanced a period of the season, and the bill accordingly was read and passed.

The resolutions adopted by the House of Commons were communicated to the House of Lords on the 17th June, and went through similar stages. They were introduced by the Earl of Buckinghamshire, and supported principally by Lords Liverpool and Melville; and opposed by Lord Grenville, Earl Grey, the Marquis of Lansdowne, and the Earl of Lauderdale, the latter of whom recorded a strong protest against the passing of the bill. The subject had undergone a fuller discussion at an earlier period of the session, on the 9th April, upon the motion of

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Marquis Wellesley for various papers, chiefly illustrative of the financial and commercial condition of the Company prior to 1812. On this occasion, the Marquis regretted that the matter had not been submitted to Parliament at a time and under circumstances more fitted to its magnitude, before passion and prejudice had perplexed and interrupted the course of calm deliberation; before, on the other hand, an idea had gone forth that the Government of the East India Company was incapable of improvement, or, on the other, a wild and frantic notion had been set afloat of throwing open the whole trade to India. The principles of political economy, however true in the abstract, were inapplicable to a case so complex as that of the Company, in which commercial and sovereign interests were intimately blended by the manner in which they had grown up together. Such a combination might be anomalous, but it was practically good: it ought not to be altered merely on account of its anomalous character.

Lord Wellesley then advocated the continuation of the Company's commercial privilege of exclusive trade to India as well as to China. It might be true, although he did not admit the fact to the extent to which it had been asserted, that the former was attended with loss; but it did not therefore follow that it ought to be taken away: it was very possible for one branch of an extensive commerce to be less profitable than others, and yet the connexion between them be so intimate that its discontinuance would expose the whole to ruin. This was the case with the Company; and the Indian trade was equally essential to the maintenance of their commerce with China, and of the political administration of the government of India. Nor was it less essential to the interests of Great Britain that the trade with India should be subject to restriction; as, if it were thrown open, he was certain that the products of the Indian loom would supplant the cotton manufactures of the country in all the foreign markets, and would essentially interfere even with their domestic consumption. The questions then were, What had been the effects of the combination of powers? were they so mischievous as to require a total change, or so beneficial as to deserve careful and considerate improvement? In his opinion, there never was an organ of Government so ad-

ministered as to demand more of estimation than the East India Company: that administration had been productive of strength, tranquillity, and happiness; the arts of peace and agriculture now flourished where ruin and desolation had prevailed; the situation of the natives had been ameliorated, and the rights of property secured, by the permanent settlement, the extension of which, in due season, to other provinces than those in which it had been established was alone wanting to its entire success. No Government had better fulfilled its duties towards its subjects than that of India.

Lord Wellesley then criticised the several resolutions *seriatim*. Of the first he remarked, that the exceptions it provided for, not only impaired, but destroyed, the whole benefit of the grant: of the third, that allowing British subjects to trade with India, was of a similar tendency; and that the unrestricted influx of Europeans involved great danger to the stability of the Government and the happiness of the people. The power of sending back unlicensed persons, now exercised by the Government, could not co-exist with a free trade; nor could individuals engaged in the trade be limited to the Presidencies. They would have a right to seek for a market in the interior; and, once scattered over the country, they would endanger the efficacy of the Government, and outrage the prejudices and habits of the natives.[1]

The extension of the import trade to the outports, Lord

[1] Lord Wellesley's advocacy of the Company's retention of their Indian trade was, in spirit at least, a wide departure from the sentiments he had formerly expressed, when he affirmed "that the interests of the Company and of the British nation were undivided and unseparable with relation to the important question, and that every principle of justice and policy demanded the utmost possible facility to the British merchants in India for the export of Indian merchandise beyond the amount of the investment which the Company's capital was able to provide for; and for which branch of commerce, if capital did not exist in India, no dangerous consequences could result from applying to it funds derived from Great Britain." Beneficial consequences, he affirmed, would certainly result to the British empire in India from any considerable increase of its active capital. The extension of the trade would not, he argued, necessarily produce a proportional augmentation in the number of British agents resorting to India; and, if it should, the local Government would controul their operations with more ease than it could those of foreign agents to whom the trade was then open. The noble writer was obliged, by his position, to insert some saving clauses regarding the preservation of the Company's exclusive privileges, but his main object was decidedly to vindicate at that period the policy of giving ample space and verge enough to private commerce. — Letter from the Marquis Wellesley to the Court of Directors, 30th Sept. 1800; printed London, 1812.

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Wellesley insisted, was objectionable on various grounds: the danger of interference with the national manufactures, the additional expense and difficulty of guarding against illicit speculation, and the injuries it would produce upon the commerce and the shipping of the port of London. If the question were one of a free trade in the true sense of the word, he would not oppose it; but if the House could not give freedom of trade without injuring great political rights, and without destroying vast capitals which had been expended on the undoubted understanding and good faith of the existing system, they could not be justified in acceding to the measure.

His lordship then proceeded to notice what he regarded as omissions in the resolutions. He had never advocated the separation of the royal authority from that of the Company, but he thought that some improvement was required: a most essential point was, that the local Governments should know to whom they were responsible. The instructions sent out to them, however important, were now liable to be disallowed at pleasure; there was no provision for this purpose. Not a word was said of the army, except as regarded the quota of King's troops; but he thought it highly essential to define a limit between civil and military duties, by which all difficulties and disputes might be avoided; and he considered also that it was the duty of the Government to devise some means of conferring honours on the Company's officers, who were now held forward to the public much less frequently than officers in other parts of the world, and felt that honours and distinctions conferred for services not more meritorious than their own were withheld from them. Whilst approving of the proposed addition to the ecclesiastical establishment, he thought it important to take care that there should be no collision between the Government and the Church establishment with regard to their respective powers; and he was surprised to find that nothing had been said regarding the education of either the civil or military servants of the Company. He thought it would be the most dignified and proper mode of combining religion with learning in India, as we were accustomed to see the association in England, by connecting the proposed Church establishment with the College of Fort William.

With respect to extending Christianity to the natives of the East, Lord Wellesley declared there was no person less willing than himself to throw a shade over so bright a prospect; but, if success was to be expected, it must proceed from temperate and gradual proceedings: the measure should not appear to be recommended by the authority of the Government, because in the East the recommendation of the ruler is supposed to be almost equivalent to a mandate. He never heard when in India of any danger from the missionaries: he had always considered those who were there in his time as a quiet, orderly, discreet, and learned body; and he had employed many of them in the education of youth, and in translating the Scriptures into the languages of the East. He had regarded it as his duty to have the Scriptures translated, to give the natives access to the fountains of divine truth. He thought that a Christian Governor could not have done less, and he knew that a British Governor ought not to do more. In conclusion, he observed that if a project had been formed for the complete demolition of the Company, and the creation of an entirely new system, the plan might have been called bold and decisive; but in the scheme now proposed no such vigour was to be traced. The Company was to be continued as the organ and instrument, without any power or authority, and was to be called upon to discharge duties which it was incapacitated from performing: no commensurate advantage was offered to the country; the revenues would be endangered, the manufactures be perhaps ruined, and no additional benefit could be derived from an open trade. He therefore felt it his duty to resist any general alteration of the system; and in order to place his views in the clearest light, and support them by facts, he called for various documents necessary to elucidate the subject.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire, in reply to Lord Wellesley's objections to a free trade, quoted the despatch written by the latter as Governor-General in 1800, when he had strenuously urged the enlargement of the private trade, and denied that any great influx of Europeans was likely to arise from it, or the impossibility of maintaining an effectual controul over their proceedings, even if their number should increase. If such were the opinions of the

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noble lord when he was Governor-General of India, he could scarcely expect to excite in the minds of the members of that House an apprehension of dangers which did not alarm him in the responsible situation he then held. Lord Buckinghamshire then repeated the arguments used in the other House, maintaining the probable increase of the import trade from India, the practicability of providing against smuggling; and concluded by anticipating no results injurious to the Company, but substantial benefits to the great interests of the commerce of the United Kingdom.

The Earl of Buckinghamshire was followed by Lord Grenville, who took a view of the subject differing from those of both the preceding speakers. The present deliberations of the House embraced the whole question of our future relations with India, the government of a vast empire, and the regulation of the British commerce with every port and country between the southern promontories of Africa and America. It was a deception to speak of any existing rights by which a consideration so immense and momentous could be circumscribed. The charter of the East India Company was originally granted, and has since been renewed for limited periods. On their lapse the trusts and duties of that great corporation, its commercial and political monopolies, expired together. All public right, all public interest in the subject, thenceforth devolved on British legislature, bound by no previous grant, fettered by no existing law, and having regard only to the principles of moral duty, and to the rules of a wise policy and enlightened government.

The measures that had been heretofore adopted Lord Grenville considered as experiments which had not always been successful, and which furnished no precedent for the course now to be pursued. Whatever was to be done was not therefore to be placed out of the reach of revisal, even for the period proposed: twenty years would at any time be too long a period for farming out the commerce of half the globe, and the sovereignty of sixty millions of men; and it was still more so at a season when the events, not of twenty years, but of the next twenty months, might be decisive of the whole fate and fortunes of the British empire. He, therefore, thought that the continuance of

any plan that might be devised should be limited to the return of peace.

Lord Grenville then proceeded to assert that the primary object to be regarded in the present arrangement was, not the confirmation of the Company's privileges, but the distinct avowal of the principle that the sovereignty of India resided in the sovereign of Great Britain. To ask whether any territory, dominion, or political authority in any quarter of the globe could be conquered by British arms, or acquired by British negociation, otherwise than to the British Crown, were to ask whether we lived under a monarchy or a republic. The assertion, because it was undeniable, was not indifferent. A manly avowal of the sovereignty of the Crown would have prevented many of the evils experienced in India from conflicting and ambiguous authority, was necessary for the effective control of British subjects in India, and still more for the restraint to which, upon the restoration of peace, foreign nations would be exposed in their intercourse with that country, as they would never submit to be excluded from free access at the will of a trading company, claiming despotic power over that vast empire, not as the delegates of their own king, but as the pretended ministers of a deposed Mogul, a feigned authority derived from an extinct dominion.

The sovereignty which we had hesitated to assert, we were now compelled to exercise; and Parliament was once more called upon to give laws to India. And what was the plan pursued? the very reverse of that which should have been followed. The interests of the people of India, their security, their happiness, their improvement, were first to have been provided for; and then, but far below them, the interests of Great Britain. Instead of this, the plan of the Ministers and the recommendations of Lord Wellesley had in view the entire or partial perpetuation of the privileges of the East India Company. To neither of these would he give his concurrence.

The existence of the blended character of merchant and sovereign, on which the whole of the Indian system was based, was, in Lord Grenville's opinion, an anomaly inconsistent with all sound principles of commerce and of government: no sovereign ever traded for a profit; no

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trading company ever yet administered government for the happiness of its subjects. The unerring principles of political economy had never been so fully illustrated as in the history of the East India Company. For fifty years they had exercised dominion over a country the commerce with which had from the earliest ages enriched all who had engaged in it, and in the last few years since the renewal of the charter they had lost by their trade four millions sterling. With the country which they governed they lost by the commerce which they monopolised; and they traded with profit only to China, where they had neither sovereignty nor monopoly,—not even the common benefit of free access, being condemned to a commercial quarantine in the solitary emporium of Canton.

But it was not so much for its own sake, it was asserted, that the commerce of the Company was not to be interfered with; but because its preservation was absolutely necessary to enable the Company to conduct the government of India, and this government could only be beneficially administered through their instrumentality. This Lord Grenville denied. If it was true, that British India was in the happy and prosperous state in which it was described to be, the merit was not due to the Company's administration: as long as that continued uncontrouled, scarcely an interval of three years could be found in which the inherent vices of the system did not forcibly compel the interposition of Parliament. The law of 1784, was the source of whatever benefits India had enjoyed: it was the line of demarcation between the bad and good government of that country. It was a delusion, therefore, to relinquish any just hopes of extending the commerce of the country, from the fear of embarrassing the Company's political function. He was ready to admit, however, that, if the patronage of the Company were transferred to the Crown, it must weigh down the balance of the constitution: but, he thought it very possible to devise a middle course. The highest offices of the government of India were already in the gift of the Crown. For all the servants of the Company, civil or military, below the Council, the regulations actually in force might still be continued; and all that remained for disposal was the appointment of writers and cadets. The former

might be chosen by competition from the great public schools and universities: the latter might be nominated, by some fixed course of succession, from the families of officers who had fallen in the discharge of their duties. These were mere suggestions; but he entertained no doubt that, if the occasion should call for such provisions, they might be so contrived as to preserve the integrity and efficacy of the Indian services, without adding in the slightest degree to ministerial influence.

Lord Grenville next maintained that the continuance of the Company's trade was not expedient for the sake of effecting remittances to meet the demands payable in England on account of the Government in India. If a subsidy were wanted for the Continent, the Ministers would never think of sending their agents to the ports and manufactories to purchase the goods in which the remittances would really be made: they would contract as cheaply as they could; probably by open competition with merchants for their bills, through which their whole purpose would be at once effected. A similar course might be pursued in India. No doubt, all such remittances must be in some degree detrimental to the prosperity of India, constituting a drain for which no return was made but in protection and good government; yet, if conducted through an open trade, and regulated by a due consideration of the state of the country, he saw no reason to believe them incompatible with its rapid and permanent improvement. One obvious compensation, however, to India, was to throw her markets open to British capital and enterprise; and secure to her, as far as legislation could secure it, the fullest benefit of the most unqualified commercial freedom.

The arguments against opening the trade, on the grounds that it was unsusceptible of profit or extension, were then combated by the noble earl. The skill and vigilance of the private trade would realise a profit, where the Company's management entailed a loss: the private trade, under all the disadvantages under which it laboured, had augmented; and the Americans had carried on a lucrative and growing commerce with India until it was interrupted by hostilities. All history showed that commerce would increase by commerce, and industry by industry. India

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was no exception to the universal law; and her people would derive from the extension of trade, as every other people had done, new comforts and new conveniences of life, new incitements to industry, and new enjoyments, in just reward of increased activity and enterprise. The same principles applied to the trade with China, the exclusive possession of which by the Company he should as deeply lament.

Alluding to the tone adopted in the Fifth Report when speaking of the Permanent settlement, Lord Grenville expressed his entire concurrence with Lord Wellesley in the wisdom and benevolence of the arrangement, and his dread of the disposition intimated by the language of the report, if not to discredit the original measure, at least to discountenance its proposed extension. He thought it, therefore, highly necessary to insert in the new act a declaration of the principle, such as it was declared in 1784; and to place the Government of India under the obligation of applying, at a convenient season, to the Ceded and Conquered provinces the system of settlement effected in Bengal. Above all he wished, by a solemn and authoritative declaration of this purpose, to prove to the natives the permanency of the principle of right, and to impress them with a conviction that a British Legislature estimated the security of their property far above the possible increase of its own revenue.

Lord Grenville then briefly adverted to the difficulties attending the military part of the Indian system; the only remedy for which he conceived to be the open establishment of the King's authority over that, as well as other parts of his dominion: to the defects of the administration of justice, the state of the present internal legislation and police, and the unauthorised power of taxation in the local Governments, all of which required deliberate consideration: and he concluded by pronouncing an unqualified encomium on Marquis Wellesley's collegiate institution, the plan of which was limited and mutilated, and existed only as a wreck of its first noble design. Of the establishment by which it was partially replaced in England he spoke with strong disapprobation and regret: not that he objected to any degree of attention that could be given to the earliest instruction and discipline of those

who are destined for the Indian service; but he objected decidedly to their separation in education from youths of their own age and station in life, and to the formation of them into a separate class. Instead of rejecting, they should, he thought, have eagerly embraced the advantages which the great public seminaries afforded; not only for what they professed to teach, but for what was there only to be found, that best of all education to a public man, which forms the mind to manly exertion and honourable feeling,—the education which young men receive from each other in the numerous and mixed society of their equals, collected from various classes of society, and destined to various ways of life.[1]

The Earl of Liverpool briefly replied in defence of the resolutions, and the House agreed to the motion for papers made by Marquis Wellesley.[2]

The passing of the bill by the House of Commons, and the certainty that it would suffer no material, if any, changes in the House of Lords, imposed upon the Court of Directors the necessity of submitting to their constituents the alternative of either accepting or refusing the charter now offered. They resolved to recommend its acceptance; as, although it involved changes which they had firmly opposed, and which could not but be injurious to the Company's trade with India, yet, in the retention of the exclusive trade with China, and the provisions made for the payment of the Company's dividends, it presented sources of profit and security which might in some degree compensate for the losses which it inflicted. The wild and sanguine expectations of an indefinite extension of the trade had been so far subdued by the arguments of the Court and the general voice of men of Indian experience, that the merchants were likely to embark in it with caution and moderation: consequently there was less reason than at first to apprehend a sudden and numerous influx of Europeans into India, by which its tranquillity would be endangered; or of a great resort of vessels to the eastern seas, by which a mischievous and illicit trade

[1] Speech of Lord Grenville on the Marquis of Wellesley's motion in the House of Lords on Friday the 9th of April, 1813; published under the revisal of the speaker, London, 1813.

[2] Parl. Debates in the House of Lords, 9th April, 1813.

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with China might be carried on. The regulations respecting the size of the ships admissible into the trade, the licensing of persons to proceed to India, and the additional powers of controul over them when in India, vested in the local Governments, were further calculated to alleviate these apprehensions. The fears of the Court for the security of the dividend, on which, as had been repeatedly urged, the Company's efficiency for the discharge of their political functions depended, had been proportionably abated; on this latter subject the first views of the Ministers had been materially modified by the representations of the Court.

By the engagements finally adopted, the commercial profits of the Company were not to be liable for any territorial payment until the dividend was first satisfied; and, if in any year the fund for the dividend should fall short, the surplus of territorial income for the year preceding was to be liable for the deficiency. By the last charter a million sterling per annum was to be reserved from the surplus revenue as a provision for the Company's investment; a condition wholly nugatory, as no surplus existed. By the present, it was stipulated that a sum equal to the disbursements at home on territorial account should be paid yearly out of the revenues for investment; and this secured to the Company commercial capital in India to an equal amount, in addition to the proceeds of goods and stores exported from England. With regard also to the amount of Indian debt transferred home, the bill contained an important provision; that, in case sufficient funds should not remain after payment of the dividend to discharge all such bills as should be drawn for the interest of loans contracted in India before the 10th April, 1814, the residue of those bills should be discharged in such manner as Parliament should from time to time direct. In all these respects, therefore, the security of the dividend, of the home funds, and of annual advances in India for the investment, the new charter might be considered an improvement on that which the Company held.

The additional powers of controul vested in the Board of Commissioners by the bill, were no doubt mortifying to the Court of Directors; but they mostly fell within

the scope of the general powers given to the Board by former acts, and their operation would depend upon the spirit in which they were exercised. If that spirit were temperate and just, it would be practicable to carry on the Company's business: if they were used in a way which men of character and liberal feeling could not brook, the issue might be serious to the system of the Company.

Upon a careful consideration then of the comparative advantages and disadvantages of the bill, the Court, although they deeply felt the loss of power and privilege which it inflicted upon the Company, recommended to the Proprietors to accept the charter; trusting that if obstacles to its execution should arise, and the Company be unable, after a fair trial should have been given to it, to act under its provisions, the Parliament which had prescribed the terms would be disposed to relieve them of the burthen. Should such relief not be given, the Company would have the time and the means of making a more deliberate and safe bargain with the public than if they threw up their privileges at the present moment; whilst there would then be a better opportunity of providing also for the future government of those immense possessions which the Company had acquired for the country; possessions of which the interests must ever be dear to them, and the most powerful of the motives for continuing as long as they could with safety in the management of that empire which had so much flourished under their care, and for the prosperity of which their system appeared to be peculiarly calculated.[1]

The recommendations of the Court of Directors were communicated to the Court of Proprietors held on the 16th and adjourned to the 21st July; and it was finally resolved, that although the Court could not contemplate the bill with satisfaction, yet, deferring to the sense of the Legislature, and relying on its wisdom and justice in the event of the expectations held out by the act being disappointed, they determined to accept the charter. The thanks of the Proprietors were voted to the late and present Directors for the talent, zeal, and perseverance

[1] Minute of a Committee of the whole Court of Directors, 15th July, 1813; Papers, &c. p. 492.

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1813. Thus closed a contest in which the first serious blow was inflicted on the monopoly of the East India Company, after it had been enjoyed by them for two centuries. During this period a mighty empire had been raised upon the narrow foundations of exclusive commerce. Upon no other basis could the edifice have been reared. An indiscriminate resort of individual, unconnected, and often hostile, competitors could not have been attended with a consistent or enduring course of operations; and must have subjected the trade with India to a feeble and precarious existence, dependent upon the caprice and venality of the subordinate officers of the native governments, and momentarily menaced with extinction by the follies and passions, the avarice and the ignorance of Asiatic despots. Adventurers isolated and at variance with each other would have been in no situation to resist injustice, repel aggression, or avenge wrong: much less would they have been able to place their commerce in an attitude not merely of defence but of defiance, and to apply the resources which it furnished to the acquirement of political power. In the struggle for sufferance which they would have had to maintain in their limited ambition of effecting a successful trading speculation, it could never have dwelt within their imaginations to gain a firm and lasting footing on the soil of India, to put down and set up princes, to seize upon and hold amidst difficulty and danger masterdom and sway. The oneness of the Company for so long a period consolidated their commercial system, enabled them to baffle and defeat rivalry and opposition, to exact retribution for injury, and, as the field expanded, to extend their views beyond the circumscribed horizon of purely commercial profit. At the same time, this result, although inseparable from the system, was neither projected nor foreseen by its authors, and was brought to maturity in spite of their repeated disapproval, or at best with their reluctant and unwilling confirmation. The East India Company's territorial dominion was not

[1] Proceedings of a General Court of Proprietors, 21st July, 1813; Papers, &c. 521. See also the Debates on the Charter at the India House during the first six months of 1813; separately published, London, 1813.

the acquisition of the Company so much as of the Company's servants, who, often in disregard of the wishes of their masters, and sometimes in disobedience of their positive commands, entered with no common audacity, determination, and foresight, in the promising path which the distracted state of Indian politics laid open to their ambition; and, with energies and talents of more than ordinary natures, applied the superior resources of civilisation to secure rich fragments of the scattered reliques of native misrule, and remodelled them into the rudiments of power, of infallible future expansion. This was not the work of the Company, although it never could have been brought to pass by any other instrumentality than that of the Company's Indian servants. It was the work of Clive, of Hastings, of Cornwallis, and of Wellesley aided and impelled by the irresistible force of circumstances, by the inconsiderateness and temerity of the native princes of India, and by the superior energy of the European character.

Whatever its origin, however, the system was now mature; and, whatever the assertions of the Company's advocates, it was no longer in need of national commercial sacrifices for its continuance or development. On the contrary, the longer duration of the connexion was mischievous. As sovereigns of India, it was the duty of the Company to look alone to the interests of the people whom they governed; as a trading body, it was their interest to secure to themselves as large a pecuniary profit as such a capacity justified. An exclusive privilege or trade, that barred all competition, necessarily precluded the people of India from purchasing foreign commodities at the lowest price, and from realising the fullest value for the proceeds of their own industry. To the people of India the Company's monopoly was as injurious as it was to individual enterprise in Great Britain; and the period had undoubtedly arrived when the best interests of both countries demanded its extinction.

Although extraordinary talents, zeal, and perseverance were displayed in the discussion on both sides, yet we are now able to decide from events that there was little of sound judgment or prophetic prescience in any of the contending parties. The twenty years of the renewed

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charter rolled away; and colonisation, which was so confidently predicted as its unavoidable consequence, was as little probable at its close as at its commencement.[1] Neither had it been found more difficult than before to protect the native population from the turbulence or violence of European settlers. The predictions, equally confident, that the trade was unsusceptible of extension, and that no new article of export could be introduced,—predictions in which the most intelligent officers of the Company concurred, and to which even the advocates of free trade, however, reluctantly assented,—were signally falsified. The trade, both export and import, did obtain a considerable augmentation under the new system; and articles entirely unknown in the annals of Indian imports were exported thither from Great Britain to an immense amount, to the extinction of several similar products of domestic labour.[2] This effect was prepared for, as has been noticed, by an iniquitous abuse of the power of Great Britain in excluding from her own consumption the principal manufactures of India, and in opening the ports of India to those of Britain free of charge; but its actual occurrence was little anticipated by any of those who urged or resisted the removal of the restrictions on the trade.[3]

[1] The whole number of applications for licences between 1814 and 1832 was but 1547: of these, 1253 were complied with by the Court, and 71 by the Board; making the whole number of persons, not in the service, who proceeded to India with leave in the course of eighteen years, 1324. — Commons' Committee 1831; General Appendix, p. 368.

[2] The value of the whole of the private trade with India was, in 1814-15, Rupees 13,54,19,460, or £13,549,146; in 1826-7 it was, Rupees 14,83,33,640, or £14,833,364: being an increase of £1,284,218. The latter period affords an unfavourable view of the state of the trade, as it was one of commercial depression. The average value of the whole private trade for fifteen years subsequently to 1814-15 was more than seventeen crores or seventeen millions sterling per annum, being an advance of nearly four millions a-year.—Lords' Committee, 1830, App. B. 5, and C. 40. In 1813-14 the value of cotton goods imported into Bengal was £47,000. In 1827-8 it was £561,000. In the former year cotton yarn was unknown; in the latter the value imported was £188,000. Spelter was another article of import not known at the earlier date. At the latter it was imported to the value of nearly £120,000. — Wilson's External Commerce of Bengal. These articles were permanent innovations; for in 1843-44 the value of yarn imported into Bengal alone is reported to be £515,000, of piece-goods £1,516,667, and spelter £68,000. — Wilkinson, Report External Commerce of Bengal, 1843-4.

[3] There seems to have been but one person connected with the trade to India, who distinctly anticipated the possibility of such a revolution; and this was not on the present but on a former occasion. In a debate on a motion for papers to illustrate the comparative value of private British and foreign trade with India, in the House of Commons on the 14th March, 1806, Mr. Alderman Prinsep, speaking of the probable substitution of raw cotton for cotton goods

The proceedings that took place on this occasion have been detailed at length, because it is of importance that a readily accessible record should be preserved of the sentiments of the many very eminent persons who, both in Parliament and in the Direction, took a principal part in the discussions, and because the nature of the connexion which united the trade of the East India Company with the sovereignty of India now first underwent a fundamental change. It may also be of use to contemplate the spirit by which the opinions of wise and good men were unconsciously inspired, and to observe how personal interests and cherished prejudices, distorted principle, and darkened judgment. With few exceptions, and those exercising little or no influence, the charter of 1793 was discussed upon no widely or liberally comprehensive views, upon no distinct perception of the advantages which it might realise for Great Britain, upon no generous purpose of providing India with a compensation for the evils inseparable from the sovereignty of strangers. Professions of a concern for the interests of India were, it is true, not unsparingly uttered, but it would be difficult to show that the majority of the parties who engaged in the discussion were solely instigated by a disinterested regard for the welfare of the Indian subjects of the Crown. The Ministers, it was evident, had mainly in view the extension of their own influence; and, as the bill proceeded, made obvious sacrifices to party, and adopted clauses to which they were themselves indifferent or opposed, in subservience to particular interests, in order to conciliate parliamentary support. In their original correspondence with the Court, no mention was made of the outports, and the extension to them of the import trade from India was extorted by their clamour and perseverance. The legislative encouragement yielded to missionary labours was also a graft upon the original design, with the purpose of propitiating a numerous and influential party. Nor were

in the ships of private traders, made the remarkable observation, that a sufficient supply of the raw material would accelerate the period which he saw approaching, when the natives of India should be supplied with cloth made in England of their own cotton, leaving to the mother country all the profits of freight, agency, commission, insurance, and manufacture: all these and many other beneficial results would follow an extension of the private trade.—Hans. Parl. Debates, 14th March, 1806.

1813.

they negligent of their own advantages; and in the provisions made for the nomination to the episcopal see, and for the confirmation of the appointments to the highest temporal situations, extended, as far as they were then prepared to extend it, the patronage of the Crown. The advocates for the authorised extension of missionary efforts, although they might claim the merit of disinterestedness, were little entitled to credit for candour or discretion. Placing implicit and indiscriminating reliance upon exaggerated and erroneous descriptions of the condition and character of the Hindu and Mohammedan population of India, they disregarded the danger of precipitately attempting their reform, and overlooked the possible peril, that, where a state withholds its protection from the national faith, the people may exercise the right, as they have the power, of protecting it for themselves. The merchants and manufacturers of the United Kingdom avowedly looked only to their own profits; and, in the struggle between London and the outports, was re-acted the battle for exclusiveness which had previously been fought between the London merchants and the Company. Deprived of the monopoly of the trade, the Company made a stand for warehouses and sale-rooms; and, despoiled of these, sought consolation in the security of their dividends. All these motives and considerations were appropriate and venial as regarded the individual and peculiar interests and feelings of the persons concerned, but they were little worthy of their collective capacity of arbiters of the destinies of India.

END OF THE FIRST BOOK.

APPENDIX.

I.

PAGE 28.

CLAIMS OF THE PESHWA UPON THE GAEKWAR.

Schedule of the Sums due to the Poona State from the Gaekwar's Government.

		Rupees.	
Balance of an account settled in 1798		39,82,789	No. I.
On account of presents	7,79,000		
On account of troop (3000) not maintained	6,75,000		
	14,54,000		
N.B. These sums have been accumulating for ten years		1,45,40,000	
Damaji Gaekwar conquered the country of the Babi, upon condition of assuming half, and delivering the other half to the Peshwa; and that a karkoon on part of the Government should settle this: and a the memorandum be given in of the division, and that the places were to be given up in the year 1740, and whatsoever was due before this period was to be remitted. This was never carried into effect. In the year 1771, the Gaekwar paid one lakh of rupees, and in the next agreed to pay 25,000; and, when Fateh Sing Gaekwar should come, then it should be executed. This was settled in 1765, but has never been carried into effect; therefore a lakh of rupees per year is due for thirty-seven years . .		37,00,000	
Carried forward . . .		2,22,22,789	

No. I.

	Rupees.
Brought forward . . .	2,22,22,789
In the year 1794, the dignity of Senakhás-khel-Shamshir Bahadur was granted to Govind Rao Gaekwar, besides lands, for which 56,38,001 rupees were given. He died; and the same honours and lands were granted to his son, for which he is to pay	56,38,001
The whole amounting to . Rees	2,78,60,790

In the year 1796, it was agreed that 3000 horsemen should be furnished, and upon a requisition 4000; and that one of the Gaekwar's relations should remain at court; and that the troops should at all periods be in readiness, and, if not necessary, that a sum of money should be given in lieu.

Ahmedabad is under two authorities, but the same arrangements continue as under Madhu Rao; and, if any deviation should have been admitted, let it be abolished.

You agreed, in the year 1792, to give the Sirkar three of your best elephants and five horses; but it has not been done: therefore fail not to do it now.

In the year 1793, you borrowed, through our intervention, the sum of one lakh of rupees, for which we were securities, and agreed to pay the bills drawn upon you; but this has not been done: therefore do so now, and pay the interest.

You were also bound to present a lakh of rupees' worth of jewels; but this has not been done: do so now, and adhere to the engagements which were concluded in the time of Madhu Rao.

You owe Balaji Naik Bhora Soukar a sum of money, for which Government became security. Liquidate this at the rate of one lakh of rupees per annum, and so treat Mulhar Rao and his family as to prevent his complaints reaching Government.

In addition to this, engagements were also made in which you admitted the sum of . . . . . Rees	78,33,212
but only paid	28,13,325
So that there is still a balance of . . . . . Rees	50,19,887

Let this be settled.

You have held the village of Rani, in the Pergunna of Sandi, for these thirteen years, which was worth 2000 rupees per annum. Pay this money, and deliver up the village to the Kamavisdar	26,000
	50,45,887

and wherever the villages have been assessed let the money be returned. No. I.

Several of the papers having been destroyed or laid aside during the irruption of Holkar, the accounts cannot be completely made out; but, as the records are found, other items shall be inserted.

In the year 1796, bills were drawn upon you: let an account be furnished.

II.

PAGE 50.

Holkar's Proposition, 11th Dec., 1807, to Sindhia.

No II.

1. His highness the Peshwa is our sovereign, and we are his servants. Let us, therefore, like our ancestors, continue to obey his orders.

2. Let us keep on friendly terms with the Bhonsla and other Sirdars of the Peshwa, and let us consult with them on all occasions.

3. Let the agreements which passed between us at Subbulgerh under the sanction of our oaths be abided by, and let not the terms of friendship which existed between our ancestors be departed from.

4. Any Aumils or officers of either party, who may proceed into the country of the other with a force, will take the greatest care to preserve the country. Should they, contrary to the orders of their master, exact any money from the country, their master will account for it.

5. Should any new enterprise be contemplated, it shall be carried on by mutual consultation.

6. That our friendship may be preserved, and doubts between us be done away, let neither endeavour to tamper with the army of the other; and, should any Sirdar quit the service of either party, let him not be retained by the other.

7. The money collected by Meer Khan from the Mahauls of Sadourah and others, the five Mahauls, shall be repaid to Maharajah Dowlat Rao Sindhia.

8. Let the money which may have been collected by the Soobahdars of one party from the Mahauls of the other since

No. II. the settlement of differences at Subbulgerh be accounted for mutually.

9. Let a respectable vakeel from each party attend the Durbar of the other. Let the tribute from the other Rajas and wealthy chiefs unconnected with us, as the Gackwar and others, remain in the hands of those who have been accustomed to collect them. In this we have no concern. Should, however, it so happen that any new arrangement in regard to them should be proposed, let it be prosecuted by our joint counsels and consent.

10. If any of the ministers or Aumils of either part should treacherously seek the protection of the other, let him not be protected, but delivered over to the state he belongs to; but, if he be a man of rank, let the matter of dispute be fairly inquired into and adjusted.

11. Let the tribute for Jaypore and Joudhpore continue to be collected as they were in the time of our ancestors. You (Sindhia) will not create any disturbance in the country of Jaypore, nor will I (Holkar) interfere in the country of Marwar (Joudhpore).

Let these eleven propositions be well considered, and an answer returned to them.

III.

PAGE 100.

Proclamation.

No. III. THE Right Honourable the Governor in Council having observed that in some late instances an extraordinary degree of agitation has prevailed among several corps of the native army of this coast, it has been his Lordship's particular endeavour to ascertain the motives which may have led to conduct so different from that which formerly distinguished the native army. From this inquiry, it has appeared that many persons of evil intentions have endeavoured, for malicious purposes, to impress upon the native troops a belief that it is the wish of the British Government to convert them by forcible means to Christianity; and his Lordship in Council has observed with concern, that such malicious reports have been believed by many of the native corps.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council deems it

No. III.

therefore proper in this public manner to repeat to the native troops his assurance, that the same respect which has been invariably shown by the British Government for their religion and for their customs will be always continued; and that no interruption will be given to any native, whether Hindu or Mussulman, in the practice of his religious ceremonies.

His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will not give belief to the idle rumours which are circulated by enemies of their happiness, who endeavour with the basest designs to weaken the confidence of the troops in the British Government. His Lordship in Council desires that the native troops will remember the constant attention and humanity which have been shown by the British Government in providing for their comfort, by augmenting the pay of the native officers and Sepoys; by allowing liberal pensions to those who have done their duty faithfully; by making ample provision for the families of those who may have died in battle; and by receiving their children into the service of the Honourable Company, to be treated with the same care and bounty as their fathers had experienced.

The Right Honourable the Governor in Council trusts that the native troops, remembering these circumstances, will be sensible of the happiness of their situation, which is greater than that which the troops of any other part of the world enjoy; and that they will continue to observe the same good conduct for which they were distinguished in the days of General Lawrence, of Sir Eyre Coote, and of other renowned heroes.

The native troops must, at the same time, be sensible, that if they should fail in the duties of their allegiance, and should show themselves disobedient to their officers, their conduct will not fail to receive merited punishment; as the British Government is not less prepared to punish the guilty, than to protect and distinguish those who are deserving of its favour.

It is directed that this paper be translated with care into the Tamul, Telinga, and Hindoostanee languages, and that copies of it be circulated to each native battalion; of which the European officers are enjoined and ordered to be careful in making it known to every native officer and Sepoy under their command.

It is also directed that copies of the paper be circulated to the magistrates and collectors under the Government, for the purpose of being fully understood in all parts of the country.

Dated in Fort St. George, the 3rd December, 1806.

IV.

PAGE 126.

Extract from Lakshman Dawa's Petition to the Agent of the Governor-General in Bundelkhand, 27th March, 1809.

No. IV.

YOU, Sir, told me that you would say everything you could for me to the Governor-General, and do all in your power for me. You also desired me to continue near you: accordingly, I remained in your presence. My condition and case is this:— For some years I have kept an army, with which I have plundered a number of Brahmans, villages, and peasants; and also fought against your forces, and destroyed a great number of your people. I entertained twelve hundred men for these six years, seven or eight hundred of whom have perished in these transactions. I have behaved in an unparalleled, ungrateful, and rebellious manner to your government; so as no one in this country never behaved, nor ever will. I did not give up the fort of Ajaygerh, as I promised to do, within two years; neither did I pay the money which I promised to pay. The greatest ingratitude and faithlessness appear against me. I have become infamous all over Bundelkhand. All the peasantry are in expectation of my death. All the Brahmans, Mahájans, servants, Sipahis, Hindus, Mutseddis, Brothers, connections of my own father, far off or near; all the Rajas, Fojdars, Amils, religious, educated, Gods, Jagirdars, Pádárthis, Byragis, Fakirs, the whole of the inhabitants, great and small, are wishing every instant to be my last. I would that their wishes were fulfilled. If I continue to exist, I had better not remain in this country; my death were preferable. I have four or five people sitting under the fort of Ajaygerh. Having called them to you, you will advise them respecting me, and blow me and my family from the mouth of a cannon. This will be well for me, and it will accord with the wishes of all. They will be pleased, and I wish it. If I consent not to this, I am a liar, and agree to be regarded as hateful to God.

If I hesitate, I call upon God to bear witness. Favour me with this punishment, and it will be well for me. I beg you to reflect upon it, and order it to be done; and I beg of you to give my brothers and connections two villages each for their support. If what I have requested be not agreeeble to you, I beg you will

exalt me, as you have done other Rajas, or still more. The way to exalt me, is to give me a lakh of rupees in money, and all my own country, as well as what is mentioned in the Sunnud given to me by Captain Baillie. If this, Sir, should please you, it is well; if not, pray blow me from a cannon's mouth. The last is honour; the first a mere nothing. Do whichever you please; I shall be content. I cannot be content with anything else. I pray you, consider it well. May the sun of your fortune perpetually shine! No. IV.

V.

PAGE 191.

GENERAL ORDERS.

Head Quarters, Choultry Plain, 28 Jan. 1809.

General Order. By the Commander-in-chief.

No. V.

THE immediate departure of Lieutenant-General Macdowall from Madras will prevent his design of bringing Lieutenant-Colonel Munro, Quartermaster-General, to trial for disrespect to the Commander-in-chief, for disobedience of orders, and for contempt of military authority, in having resorted to the power of the Civil Government in defiance of the judgment of the officer at the head of the army, who had placed him under an arrest on charges preferred against him by a number of officers commanding native corps; in consequence of which appeal direct to the Honourable the President in Council, Lieutenant-General Macdowall has received a positive order from the Chief Secretary to liberate Lieutenant-Colonel Munro from arrest.

Such conduct on the part of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro being destructive of subordination, subversive of military discipline, a violation of the sacred rights of the Commander-in-chief, and holding out a most dangerous example to the service, Lieutenant-General Macdowall, in support of the dignity of the profession and his own station and character, feels it incumbent on him to express his strong disapprobation of Lieutenant-Colonel Munro's unexampled proceedings, and considers it a solemn duty imposed upon him to reprimand Lieutenant-Colonel Munro in general orders; and he is hereby reprimanded accordingly.

(Signed) T. BOLES,
Adjutant-General.

VI.

PAGE 194.

Fort St. George, 31st Jan. 1809.

General Order. By Government.

No. VI. IT has recently come to the knowledge of the Honourable the Governor in Council that Lieutenant-General Hay Macdowall did, previous to his embarkation from the Presidency, leave to be published to the army a general order, dated the 28th instant, in the highest degree disrespectful to the Government; in which that officer has presumed to found a public censure on an act adopted under the immediate authority of the Governor in Council, and to convey insinuations grossly derogatory to the character of the Government, and subversive of military discipline and of the foundation of public authority.

The resignation of Lieutenant-General Macdowall of the command of the army of Fort St. George not having been yet received, it becomes the duty of the Governor in Council, in consideration of the violent and inflammatory proceedings of that officer on the present and on other recent occasions, and for the purpose of preventing the possible repetition of farther acts of outrage, to anticipate the period of his expected resignation, and to annul the appointment of Lieutenant-General Macdowall to the command of the army of this Presidency.

The Governor in Council must lament, with the deepest regret, the necessity of resorting to an extreme measure of this nature: but, when a manifest endeavour has been made to bring into degradation the supreme public authority, it is essential that the vindication should not be less signal than the offence; and that a memorable example should be given, that proceedings subversive of established order can find no security under the sanction of rank however high, or of station however exalted.

The general order in question having been circulated under the signature of the Deputy Adjutant-General of the army, it must have been known to that officer, that, in giving currency to a paper of this offensive description, he was acting in direct violation of his duty to the Government. As no authority can justify the execution of an illegal act, connected, as that act obviously in the present case has been, with views of the most reprehensible nature, the Governor in Council thinks it proper to mark his

highest displeasure at the conduct of Major Boles, by directing that he shall be suspended from the service of the Honourable Company. No. VI.

The general order left by the Commander-in-chief for publication, under date the 28th instant, is directed to be expunged from every public record; and the Adjutant-General of the army will immediately circulate the necessary orders for this purpose.

By order of the Honourable the Governor in Council.

(Signed) G. BUCHAN,
Chief Secretary to Government.

VII.

PAGE 313.

Zemindary Sunnud granted by Jehangir.

IT has happened in this propitious time, that Abhiman Sing, Zemindar of Mahanager in Nizamabad, has embraced Islamism, and been honoured with the title of Raja Nadir Dowlat Khan. We have therefore bestowed upon him twenty-two Pergunnas in Soobah Allahabad, from the commencement of the Khureef crop, and according to the specification below. Our illustrious sons and rulers of the provinces and Mootsuddies must ever use their strongest endeavours perpetually to maintain this grant, and confirm the Zemindari of the above Pergunnas to the aforementioned person and his descendants for ever. They will deduct 1,25,000 rupees as his Nankar from the total Jumma payable to the Government, in order that he may spend it; and the fixed allowance per village and per-centage in the Jumma and other Zemindari dues from his support. This Sunnud will not require renewal. Dated Rubbee ool Akhir 15th, in the 4th year of the reign. (Specification on the reverse.) Pergunnas twenty-two (then follow their names). Nankar 1,25,000 rupees. Zemindari dues per village two rupees, per cent. one rupee.—J. Asiatic Society of Bengal, vol. viii. p. 93. No. VII.

VIII.

PAGE 335.

The Petition of all the Inhabitants of the City of Benarés, etc., etc.

SHEWETH,

No. VIII. That we, your humble petitioners, have been nourished from our infancy by the fostering care of the British Government, and have been protected from every evil. During the government of Mr. Hastings especially we enjoyed ease and tranquillity, when, by the abolition of the tax on pilgrims, the fame of the Government was extended from one end of India to the other. In like manner, in the time of the Marquis Cornwallis, we enjoyed various advantages: the Sayer and town duties, and other descriptions of oppressive duties, were abolished. The affairs of this province were committed to the administration of Mr. Duncan; and such was the indulgence extended to us, that, for the first time, Vakeels were appointed in the courts of justice on the part of Government, and the claims of Government were henceforward judged and determined in common with the claims of other people. A considerable sum of money was also appropriated for the expense of the Hindoo college, and hundreds of people obtained Jageers, pensions, and donations; the people of all descriptions were secured in the enjoyment of their laws and their religion, together with the customs and usages to which they had been long habituated. The fame of the Government extended itself throughout the world; everything submitted to its will, and the population of the country increased with its prosperity.

When the court of justice was originally established at Benares, the fees payable on the institution of suits were fixed at the rate of five per cent.; but the people claimed the interposition of the Governor-General's agent at this place, and the fees were reduced in consequence to the rate of one per cent. We fully expected that in a short time these also would be abolished; but after that gentleman went away, they were again increased; and by the introduction of the stamp duties, transit and town duties, by the Phatuckbundee and other new institutions, your petitioners were reduced to distress and wretchedness.

During the last five years, the seasons have proved unfavourable; the harvests have been injured by drought, hail, and frost;

and the price of every article of consumption has increased two-fold. In this state of things, Regulation xv., 1810, is introduced; and the tax it imposes, by affecting all ranks of people, has thrown the subjects of your Government into consternation. Accordingly, a number of people, in the confident expectation of obtaining that indulgence which Government has always been accustomed to extend to its subjects, exposed themselves to the inclemency of the season; and, with nothing to cover them but the heavens, bowed their faces to the earth in supplication; in this state of calamity, several of them perished. We presented some petitions, setting forth our distresses, to the magistrate; and, as we did not obtain our object, we petitioned the provincial court; but, from our untoward fate, we were again unsuccessful. In this state of trouble, the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811, was issued, under the impression that your petitioners were in a state of disobedience to the Government; which we humbly represent was never even within our imagination. In implicit obedience to this proclamation, as to the decree of fate, we got up, and returned to our homes, in full dependence upon the indulgence of the Government. We set forth our distresses as below stated: we hope that you, under the authority vested by Government in its officers, upon the exercise of which the welfare of the country depends, will be pleased to translate this our petition, and forward it to the Right Honourable the Governor-General in Council, that, under the provision contained in clause 1st, Regulation xli., 1793, we may obtain relief. The indulgent disposition which is invariably manifested by the Government, induces us to entertain a confident hope that the petition of its afflicted subjects will be complied with.

[The following representation relates to Regulation xv., 1810, and the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811.]

First. By Regulation xxiii., 1793, the expense of the police establishments was to be defrayed by a tax levied from the merchants, traders, and shopkeepers, who were considered one of the most opulent classes of the people; but, by the rules in Regulation vi., 1797, the Regulation above mentioned was rescinded, and it was declared that the tax was a source of vexation to the contributors. The Vice-President in Council accordingly resolved to abolish this tax, and to substitute the duties on stamp paper in the room of it. Sire, when the vexations to which the people were exposed by being subjected to the tax, are so fully known to you, there can be no necessity for us to employ much

No. VIII.

detail in representing them; and let it be understood, that the persons who then were affected by Regulation xxiii., 1793, are not now in a condition better calculated to submit to it. In the new Regulation, the tax includes every one; thousands who have not wherewithal to subsist, are affected by it; hence, to extend the tax to everybody, will be the cause of general ruin.

Secondly. The protection of the people is the duty of the Government. The Governments to which we were formerly subjected, established the transit and other duties upon traders to defray the expenses of protecting us; in other words, for the support of the police. Expenses of other descriptions were defrayed by the produce of the Baitoolmaul; and, although these duties still continue to be levied in Benares, the expense of the roads and the general protection of the country, such as the establishment of police, and so forth, was also provided for at the settlement of the province; besides this, the stamp duties were established to defray the expense of the police, as well as the Phatuckbundee, which has, however, been abolished by the proclamation of the 13th January. These various resources for the support of the police, well merit the attention of the Government.

Thirdly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is stated, that, as the tax had been introduced in Calcutta, it should be also introduced into Benares. Sire, the ground of Calcutta is the particular property of Government; it was originally Government property, and became inhabited according to the usages established in England; all consented to pay the tax on the same principle as if it were a ground-rent; and every one, according to his means or pleasure, took ground, and built upon it. But it is otherwise in Benares, where the ground is the property of its inhabitants, who have held it by purchase or other means from time immemorial.

Fourthly. In Regulation xv., 1810, it is declared, that all places of worship are to be exempted from the tax; and the whole extent of the city of Benares as contained within the Punchkos is, in fact, a place of worship; there positively is not a point of ground within it which is otherwise. Let this be ascertained by a reference to the Shaster. Besides this, former Governments, on all occasions of exercising their authority, treated this city with peculiar indulgence; and the British Government also has done the same, as is instanced in the exemption of Brahmins from capital punishment; hence, the city of Benares should be especially exempted from the tax on houses.

Fifthly. The means of procuring subsistence in these times, such as they are, are well known to Government. From the annihilation of the profits of our labour, from the increase of the taxes, from calamities which have raised the price of every article of consumption, from the abolition of the Tehseeldarry system, and from the bankruptcy of the merchants, your petitioners are reduced to such a state, that multitudes are unable to clothe and feed themselves, or support and educate their families: hence numbers, who supported themselves in a respectable manner, have been robbed of their respectability by distress. Had it not been for the native colleges of Calcutta and Benares, there would not have been an educated or well-bred man to be found throughout the country. How, then, is it possible to pay the tax?

Sixthly. Thousands of people in these times have not a kouree in the world; and if, in order to realise the tax, their household property shall be sold, as is prescribed in the Regulation, to what extremities will they not be reduced?

Seventhly. Since the commencement of the English Government, the rules contained in the Shera and Shaster, together with the customs of Hindostan, have invariably been observed: it will be found in the Shera and Shaster, that houses are reckoned one of the principal necessaries of life, and are not accounted disposable property. Even creditors cannot claim them from us in satisfaction of their dues; and in this country, in the times of the Mohammedan and Hindoo princes, houses were never rendered liable to contributions for the service of the state.

Eighthly. Men of business possess no ostensible property but their houses. Houses are the foundation of all worldly affairs, whether in the collector's office, or in courts, or in mercantile transactions. If the tax is enforced, what with providing the means of paying it on the one hand, and what with the apprehension of future innovations from the interference of Government on the other, such general distrust will be excited, that there will no longer be any reliance on the security of property: all mercantile transactions, all worldly affairs, will be overturned, and the public at large will become distracted.

Ninthly. By the usages of this country, the rights of the Government as they were exercised in the times of the Mohammedan and Hindoo princes, do not weigh heavy upon its subjects: hence it is, that under the English Government, in the sale of estates to realise the public revenue, the houses of the landholders are exempted. If the tax is enforced, the public mind will, for many reasons, be filled with apprehensions.

No. VIII.

Tenthly. Although Government certainly devotes particular care and expense to the protection of the inhabitants of the cities, yet the town and transit duties, the mint and stamp duties, the registry of deeds, the duties arising from the quarries and the Abkaree, &c., &c., all of which multiply in proportion to the extent of the population, are levied in a greater degree from the inhabitants of cities than from those who live in the interior.

Eleventhly. If the tax is enforced, the rent of houses will increase; and many of the people, who are come from distant places to reside in this city and rent the houses they occupy, will no longer continue to remain in it. People will build no more stone houses; and in that case, many classes of workmen, such as carpenters, blacksmiths, masons, &c., will be left without employment, and the city will be depopulated.

Twelfthly. Those who, from the fame of the justice and protection to be found under the English Government, are come from distant countries to reside in the city of Benares, and whose residence in it adds to the population of the place, and benefits thousands, will by the introduction of the tax be disheartened. They will go away, and multitudes will be ruined.

Thirteenthly. The Regulations enacted by the Marquis Cornwallis were extended to Benares, and we, your petitioners, satisfied with those Regulations, lived happy and contented; the whole country increased in fertility and population, and the resources of Government were improved, at least so it appeared to us, though we know not if it appears so to the wisdom of the Government.

Fourteenthly. As a number of persons continued for some time assembled together to complain, Government conceived there was a disturbance, and it was so declared in the proclamation of the 13th of January, 1811. Sire, if an order be passed, relating particularly to one individual, and other persons combine to support him, it might in that case be denominated a disturbance. As the introduction of the tax affected every individual of every class, every one presented himself to obtain justice. Thousands of men and women, all the old and the infirm, Brahmins, devotees, and Pundits, who have no occupation but prayer and penance, abandoned their houses and were among them. None were armed, even with a stick. The manner and custom in this country, from time immemorial, is this: that, whenever any act affecting every one generally, is committed by the Government, the poor, the aged, the infirm, the women, all forsake their families and their homes, expose themselves to the inclemency of the seasons and

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to other kinds of inconveniencies, and make known their affliction and distress, that the Government, which is more considerate than our parents, may observe their condition and extend indulgence to its subjects. Besides this, when the Brahmins in general are involved in distress, it is incumbent on all Hindoos to abstain from receiving sustenance, and any one who presumes to deviate from this custom, must incur general opprobrium. If your petitioners, by assembling together in this manner, can be considered to have created a disturbance, it is our misfortune.

[The next representation respects the houses of Benares.]

First. Many Mohullahs are upon ground which pays revenue to Government, and ought accordingly to be exempted.

Secondly. Many houses and several parts of the city are held by grants from the native princes and from the Honourable East India Company, and these are of the same nature as Ultumgah; besides which, thousands of people subsist on the bounty of Government.

Thirdly. Many of the Seraies and other public places were built by the Mohammedan princes or by their principal officers, and ought to be exempted.

Fourthly. There are hundreds of houses in this city, the proprietors of which pay rent for the ground they are built upon, while the owner of the ground receives the rent as his right; which right has never been disputed by any Government. The house having been built by its proprietor, he holds it, like household furniture, exempt from taxation; the materials of which it is built are liable to town and transit duties, and to the quarry duties, which are, of course, paid upon requisition. Many pieces of ground, and several of the houses above mentioned, are let to Government by the proprietors, and such proprietors cannot in consequence be called upon to pay the tax.

Fifthly. Many houses have been purchased by their present proprietors at public auction, with the permission of Government.

Sixthly. Many houses which belonged to the Baitoolmaul, have been purchased by their present proprietors from the Government, who, on paying the value of them to Government, were put into possession.

Seventhly. Many houses are still in the Baitoolmaul, and the occupants pay rent for them to Government.

Eighthly. Many houses have been bestowed upon Brahmins and Fucqueers; and these houses, like Kishnapun, and, according to established rules, must be exempted.

Ninthly. Many benevolent and humane people lend their

No. VIII. houses for the accommodation of pilgrims and travellers, in the hope by so doing to obtain the blessing of Providence; many lend them out of civility to their friends. If the tax is enforced, civility and benevolence will be excluded from the world.

Tenthly. Many houses have been built by persons of rank in former times; these houses are deserted and fallen to ruin. Those to whom these houses have lineally descended, are unable to repair them; they inhabit, perhaps, but one room, without even the means of subsistence: such persons surely deserve indulgence.

Eleventhly. Many houses are mortgaged, and in the possession of the mortgagee. The tax cannot be paid by the mortgager, because he is without the means of paying it; nor can it be paid by the mortgagee without diminishing the legal profit derivable from the established rate of interest.

Twelfthly. Many houses belong to the Nawaub Vizier and other persons of distinction, such as Manmundil and Raujmundil.

Thirteenthly. Several men of rank, such as the Moghul princes, reside in Benares by order of Government; they have either received their houses from Government, or have built them themselves.

Fourteenthly. Many of the buildings of this city are either Hindoo or Mohammedan places of worship, or pious bequests. After exempting buildings of these descriptions and the houses above mentioned, it will appear, upon inquiry, that the produce of the tax will not be worth the consideration of Government, which expends lakhs of rupees for the welfare of its subjects and for the general prosperity of the country.

Our existence and everything we possess have been bestowed upon us by the liberality of Government. Your humble petitioners feel themselves totally unable to contend, even in litigation, with a Government so powerful; but, perceiving that the Government is always disposed to be kind and indulgent, we have presumed to represent what our imperfect understandings have suggested to us. The indulgence of Government has given us the power to make this our representation; and, at all events, we hope for its indulgence and the forgiveness of our offences.

(Translated.)

IX.

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Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Years 1807-8 *and* 1813-14.

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1807.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Receipts	£9,972,000	4,928,000	770,000	15,670,000
Charges	6,372,000	5,194,000	2,059,000	13,625,000
Surplus Revenue				£2,045,000
Deduct Interest on Debt			£2,222,000	
Supplies to England			128,000	
				£2,354,000
Deficit in 1807-8				£309,000

1813-14.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Receipts	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000
Charges	7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000
Surplus Revenue				£3,611,000
Deduct Interest on Debt			£1,537,000	
Supplies to England			116,000	
				£1,653,000
Surplus in 1813-14				£1,958,000

ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14.	1807-8.	1813-14
Mint	£17,000	9,000	,,	16,000	,,	6,000
Post-Office	35,000	43,000	17,000	20,000	,,	6,000
Stamps	,,	16,000	,,	31,000	,,	,,
Judicial	113,000	104,000	,,	26,000	,,	6,000
Customs	611,000	322,000	114,000	190,000	167,000	108,000
Land Reve.	3,729,000	3,928,000	1,040,000	893,000	447,000	37,000
Do. Ceda. P.	1,718,000	2,271,000	,,	,,	,,	206,000
Do. Ceda. & Conq. do.	1,013,000	1,664,000	,,	,,	,,	291,000
Salt	1,895,000	1,779,000	,,	155,000	,,	,,
Opium	801,000	964,000	,,	,,	,,	,,
Marine	,,	31,000	,,	9,000	,,	46,000
Carnatic	,,	,,	1,027,000	1,131,000	,,	,,
Tanjore	,,	,,	502,000	436,000	,,	,,
Mysore	,,	,,	1,399,000	1,519,000	,,	,,
Nizam	,,	,,	718,000	685,000	,,	,,
Travancore	,,	,,	46,000	91,000	43,000	,,
Cochin	,,	,,	,,	32,000	,,	,,
Farms and Licences	,,	,,	57,000	62,000	143,000	53,000
Dutch Settlements	,,	,,	7,000	,,	,,	,,

No. IX.

TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1813-14	£17,228,000	
1807-8	15,670,000	
Increase	£1,558,000	
Of which the increase in Bengal was		£1,200,000
" " Madras		369,000
		1,569,000
The deficit in Bombay		11,000
Net Increase		£1,558,000

INCREASE OF LAND REVENUE IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces	£199,000
Ceded ditto	553,000
Conquered ditto	651,000
	£1,403,000

These particulars are compiled from the Revenue statements of the Second Report of the Select Committee of the House of Commons, 1810, and the Report of the Committee of the House of Lords, 1830. The smaller sums, below a thousand, are purposely omitted. It must be borne in mind also, that, at the valuation of the rupee adopted in the Reports, all the sums are about one-seventh too high.

X.

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Resolutions (communicated by the Honourable the House of Commons to the Right Honourable the House of Lords at a Conference) respecting the Affairs of the East India Company.

No. X.

1. RESOLVED, That it is expedient that all the privileges, authorities, and immunities, granted to the United Company of Merchants trading to the East Indies by virtue of any act or acts of Parliament now in force, and all rules, regulations, and clauses affecting the same, shall continue and be in force for a further term of twenty years; except as far as the same may hereinafter be modified and repealed.

2. Resolved, That the existing restraints respecting the commercial intercourse with China shall be continued, and that the exclusive trade in tea shall be preserved to the said Company during the period aforesaid.

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3. Resolved, That, subject to the provisions contained in the preceding Resolution, it shall be lawful for any of his Majesty's subjects to export any goods, wares, or merchandize, which can now, or may hereafter, be legally exported from any port in the United Kingdom, to any port within the limits of the charter of the said Company, as hereinafter provided; and that all ships navigated according to law, proceeding from any port within the limits of the Company's charter, and being provided with regular manifests from the last port of clearance, shall respectively be permitted to import any goods, wares, or merchandize, the product and manufacture of any countries within the said limits, into any ports in the United Kingdom which may be provided with warehouses, together with wet docks or basins, or such other securities as shall, in the judgment of the Commissioners of the Treasury in Great Britain and Ireland respectively, be fit and proper for the deposit and safe custody of all such goods, wares, and merchandize, as well as for the collection of all duties payable thereon, and shall have been so declared by the Orders of his Majesty in Council in Great Britain, or by the Order of the Lord Lieutenant in Council in Ireland: Provided always, that copies of all such Orders in Council shall be laid before both Houses of Parliament in the session next ensuing.

4. Resolved, That as long as the Government of India shall be administered under the authority of the said Company according to the provisions, limitations, and regulations hereafter to be enacted, the rents, revenues, and profits arising from the territorial acquisitions in India shall, after defraying the expenses of collecting the same, with the several charges and stipulated payments to which the revenues are subject, be applied and disposed of according to the following order of preference:

In the first place, in defraying all the charges and expenses of raising and maintaining the forces, as well European as native, artillery and marine, on the establishments in India, and of maintaining the forts and garrisons there, and providing warlike and naval stores: Secondly, in the payment of the interest accruing on the debts owing, or which may hereafter be incurred, by the said Company in India: Thirdly, in defraying the civil and commercial establishments at the several settlements there: Fourthly, that the whole or any part of any surplus that may remain of the above-described rents, revenues, and profits, after providing for the several appropriations, and defraying the several charges before mentioned, shall be applied to the provision of the Company's investment in India, in remittances to China for the provision of

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investments there, or towards the liquidation of debts in India or such other purposes as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

5. Resolved, That the receipts into the Company's treasury in England from the proceeds of the sales of their goods, and from the profits arising from private and privileged trade, and in any other manner, shall be applied and disposed of as follows:—First, in payment of bills of exchange already accepted by the Company, as the same shall become due: Secondly, for the current payment of debts (the principal of the bond debt in England always excepted) as well as interest, and the commercial charges and expenses of the said Company: Thirdly, in payment of a dividend of ten pounds per cent. on the present or any future amount of the capital stock of the said Company; also in the payment of a further dividend of ten shillings per cent. upon such capital stock, after the separate fund upon which the same was originally charged by the 124th clause of the 33rd Geo. III. cap. 52, shall have been exhausted; the said payments respectively to be made half-yearly: Fourthly, in the reduction of the principal of the debt in India, or of the bond debt at home, as the Court of Directors, with the approbation of the Board of Commissioners, shall from time to time direct.

6. Resolved, That when the principal of the debt bearing interest in India shall have been reduced to the sum of ten millions of pounds sterling, calculated at the exchange of 2*s.* the Bengal current rupee, 3*s.* the Madras pagoda, and 2*s.* 3*d.* the Bombay rupee, and the bonded debt in England shall have been reduced to the sum of three millions of pounds sterling, then and thereafter the surplus proceeds which shall be found to arise from the revenues of India, and the profits upon the trade, after providing for the payments aforesaid, shall be applied to the more speedy repayment of the capital of any public funds or securities which have been or may be created for the use of the said Company, the charges of which have been or may be directed to be borne by the said Company, in virtue of any act or acts of Parliament; and that any further surplus that may arise shall be set apart, and from time to time paid into the receipt of his Majesty's Exchequer, to be applied as Parliament shall direct, without any interest to be paid to the Company in respect of or for the use thereof; but nevertheless to be considered and declared as an effectual security to the said Company for the capital stock of the said Company, and for the dividend of 10½ per cent. per annum in

respect thereof, not exceeding the sum of twelve millions of pounds sterling; and that of the excess of such payments, if any, beyond the said amount of twelve millions, one-sixth part shall, from time to time, be reserved and retained by the said Company for their own use and benefit, and the remaining five-sixths shall be deemed and declared the property of the public, and at the disposal of Parliament.

7. Resolved, That the said Company shall direct and order their books of account, at their several Presidencies and settlements in India, at their factory in China, at the island of St. Helena or elsewhere, and also in England, to be so kept and arranged as that the same shall contain and exhibit the receipts, disbursements, debts, and assets, appertaining to, or connected with, the territorial, political, and commercial branches of their affairs; and that the same shall be made up in such manner that the said books shall contain and exhibit the accounts of the territorial and political departments separately and distinctly from such as appertain to, or are connected with, the commercial branch of their affairs; and that the arrangement of accounts so to be made shall be submitted to the approbation and sanction of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

8. Resolved, That it is expedient to make provision for further limiting the granting of gratuities and pensions to officers, civil and military, or increasing the same, or creating any new establishments at home in such manner as may effectually protect the funds of the said Company.

9. Resolved, That all vacancies happening in the office of Governor-General of Fort William in Bengal, or of Governor of either of the Company's Presidencies or settlements of Fort St. George or Bombay, or of Governor of the forts and garrisons of Fort William, Fort St. George, or Bombay, or of Commander-in-chief of all the forces in India, or of any provincial Commander-in-chief of the forces there, shall continue to be filled up and supplied by the Court of Directors of the said United Company, subject nevertheless to the approbation of his Majesty, to be signified in writing under his royal sign manual, countersigned by the President of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India.

10. Resolved, That the number of his Majesty's troops in India to be in future maintained by the said Company be limited; and that any augmentation of force exceeding the number so to be limited shall, unless employed at the express requisition of the said Company, be at the public charge.

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11. Resolved, That it is expedient that the Church Establishment in the British territories in the East Indies should be placed under the superintendence of a Bishop and three Archdeacons; and that adequate provision should be made, from the territorial revenues of India, for their maintenance.

12. Resolved, That it is expedient that the statutes and regulations framed, or to be framed, by the Court of Directors for the good government of the College established by the East India Company in the county of Hertford, and of the Military Seminary of the said Company in the county of Surrey, as well as the establishment of officers connected therewith, or the appointment of persons to fill such offices, be subject to the controul and regulation of the Commissioners for the Affairs of India; and that the power and authority of the Board of Commissioners for the Affairs of India shall be construed to extend to the issuing or sending orders or instructions to the Court of Directors, for the purpose of their being transmitted to India, respecting the rules and regulations and establishments of the respective Colleges at Calcutta and Fort St. George, or any other seminaries which may be hereafter established under the authority of the local Governments.

13. Resolved, That it is the duty of this country to promote the interest and happiness of the native inhabitants of the British dominions in India; and that such measures ought to be adopted as may tend to the introduction amongst them of useful knowledge, and of religious and moral improvement. That, in the furtherance of the above objects, sufficient facilities shall be afforded by law to persons desirous of going to and remaining in India for the purpose of accomplishing these benevolent designs: provided always, that the authority of the local Governments, respecting the intercourse of Europeans with the interior of the the country, be preserved; and that the principles of the British Government, on which the natives of India have hitherto relied for the free exercise of their religion, be inviolably maintained.

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THE HISTORY
OF BRITISH INDIA,
BY
MILL & WILSON.

IN TEN VOLUMES.

VOL. VIII.

THE HISTORY OF

BRITISH INDIA.

FROM 1805 TO 1835.

BY HORACE HAYMAN WILSON, M.A., F.R.S.

MEMBER OF THE ROYAL ASIATIC SOCIETY, OF THE ASIATIC SOCIETIES OF PARIS, BOSTON AND CALCUTTA, AND OF THE ORIENTAL SOCIETY OF GERMANY; OF THE IMPERIAL INSTITUTE OF FRANCE, AND THE IMPERIAL ACADEMIES OF VIENNA AND ST. PETERSBURGH; OF THE ROYAL ACADEMIES OF BERLIN AND MUNICH, ETC., ETC.; AND BODEN PROFESSOR OF SANSCRIT IN THE UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD.

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HISTORY

OF

BRITISH INDIA.

BOOK II.

FROM THE RENEWAL OF THE EAST INDIA COMPANY'S CHARTER, 1813, TO THE CLOSE OF THE ADMINISTRATION OF THE MARQUIS OF HASTINGS, 1823.

CHAPTER I.

Appointment of the Earl of Moira as Governor-General.— Entrance upon his Office.— Financial Embarrassments of the Indian Government.— Indications of Hostility,— Situation and Extent of Nepal.— Sketch of its History. — Rise of the Gorkhas.— Succession of their Princes.— Their Conquests in the Mountains.— Aggressions on the British Frontier.— Causes of the War.— Claims on Bhotwal in Gorakhpur.— Commissioners appointed.— Aggressions on the Saran Frontier.— Villages in Bettia attached and annexed to the Nepal.— Right of the British Government to Bhotwal established.— Lord Minto's Letter to the Raja.— Military Preparations.— Right to Lands of Bettia determined.— Return to Nepal of Gorkha Commissioners.— Disputed Lands occupied.— Outrage of the Nepalese.— War Proclaimed.— Mode of Warfare to be adopted.— Plan of the Campaign. — Disposition of the British Troops.— Advance of the Second Division:— First Attack on Kalanga — Its Failure— Second Attack,— Repulsed.— Death of General Gillespie.— Third Attack.— Defeated.— Bombardment of the Fort.— Evacuation of Kalanga.— March to

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BOOK II. CHAP. I. 1813.

THE circumstances which recommended the Earl of Moira to the appointment of Governor-General of India have already been adverted to. After the death of Mr. Perceval, he had been authorised by the Prince Regent to attempt the formation of a cabinet which should combine the leading members of both parties in the state; and, although the negotiation was unsuccessful, its failure was not imputed to any want of ability or zeal in the negociator. His long and close intimacy with the Prince, his distinguished rank and high personal character, were also considerations which duly weighed with the Administration; and he was accordingly entrusted with the government of the British Indian empire. The office of Commander-in-Chief was combined with that of Governor-General. Lord Moira arrived in Calcutta in the first days of October, 1813, and on the fourth of that month assumed charge of his important functions.

Although the economical system pursued by the Earl of Minto had permanently lightened the burthen on the public finances, yet the means by which much of the alleviation was effected were not unattended by temporary inconvenience. The establishments in general, and particularly those of the military department, had been reduced below the scale which the public security demanded; and the great exertions which had been made to pay off the remittable loan and supply the home treasury with funds for that purpose, as well as the necessity of furnishing the Governments of the new colonial conquests with pecuniary aid to enable them to defray the excess

of their charges over their receipts, had drawn deeply upon the resources of Bengal. The new Governor-General consequently found the treasury exhausted, and presenting a balance scarcely equal to provide for the current expenditure. He was urgently pressed by the Court of Directors to continue the remittance of bullion to England, and was at the same time called upon to discharge bills to a large amount drawn upon Bengal by the Company's supracargoes at Canton for money which they had received from private merchants for application to the purchase of investments to Europe.[1] The prospect of preserving tranquillity began also to be overclouded. It was evident that contests, which had been threatening for many years, and which it had been the policy of the preceding administrations to evade or to defer, could not be delayed much longer with a prudent regard for the integrity of the British dominions and the reputation of the Government. Lord Moira was therefore called upon to engage in actual warfare while the immediate resources of his administration were in an extraordinary condition of inefficiency. The embarrassments were, however, merely temporary, and they were speedily surmounted by the activity and energy which the character and example of the Governor-General diffused throughout the Company's establishments.

1813.

Omitting, for the present, any further notice of the financial difficulties, we shall proceed to describe the origin and object of the impending hostilities.

1814.

The territories of the kingdom of Nepal extended for a distance of more than seven hundred miles along the northern frontier of the British possessions. Stretching in an oblique direction from north-west to south-east, they skirted the provinces of Delhi, Rohilkhand, Gorakhpur, Saran, Tirhut, and Purnia, and included districts partly of ancient, partly of recent acquisition. Between Rohilkhand and Gorakhpur, a portion of the principality of Oude, conterminous with Nepal, completed the boundary line. The name, Nepal, was properly applicable to

[1] Financial Letter from Bengal, 30th October and 18th December, 1813. Papers relative to the Finances of India during the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, March, 1824.

BOOK II. CHAP. I. 1814.

a valley of circumscribed extent embosomed in the Himalaya mountains, having on its south the first and lowest ranges of the chain, but girdled on the north by some of its loftiest and most majestic elevations; amid which, through passes scarcely lower than the limits of eternal congelation, a communication during the summer months lay open with Tibet. The people are mostly of the Bhot or Tibetan family; but they are intermixed with Hindus, colonies of whom immigrated from the plains at periods within the memory of tradition.[1] The leaders of the colonists seem to have been Rajputs, and with their ordinary superiority in energy and courage, they soon established themselves as petty princes, or Rajas, in various parts of the valley. In the course of time, the number of independent chiefs decreased, the stronger devoured the weaker; and in the middle of the eighteenth century (1765) the valley of Nepal was partitioned among the three Hindu Rajas of Khatmandu, Lalita-patan, and Bhatgaon. Taking advantage of the feuds which arrayed these petty potentates against each other, Prithi Narayan, chief of a mountain tribe termed Gorkha, overpowered the triumvirate and made himself sole master of Nepal. He transmitted his sovereignty to his descendants, and they still reign over the country. The designation of the tribe of which the prince was a member came to be regarded as the national denomination, and the term Gorkha was applied to the government and the military population of Nepal.[2]

[1] According to local traditions, the Hindu Parbatiyas, or mountaineers, came originally from Chitore, in the beginning of the 14th century. Probably the reigning family of Rajputs may have arrived about that date, but Nepal (Naipala) was a Hindu state in much more remote times. The Parbatiyas are more likely to be the relics of a primitive population, or immigrants from the adjacent low-lands of Oude: their language belongs to the Sanscrit family of dialects; but their physical conformation differs much from that of the Hindus of the contiguous plains, who are mostly tall; whilst the Nepalese, although robust, are below the average stature.

[2] The name is generally said to be the name of a district in the mountains, as in Padre Giuseppe's account of Nepal, Asiatic Researches, ix. 307: so also Kirkpatrick, p. 123, and Hamilton, "The town of Gorkha is situated in the district of the same name."—Account of Nepal, p. 244. The latter also enumerates it as one of the Chaubisi, or twenty-four hill states, between the Gandi and Mursiangdi rivulets, the Rajas of which pretended to be members of the Pramara tribes of Rajputs; but he considers them to be of an inferior tribe, called Magars. Gorkha, correctly Gorakhsha, or Gorakh, denotes a cow-herd; and the ancestors of the Gorkhas were not improbably of that caste, from the district below the hills, known as Gorakhpur. The tutelary deity of Nepal is a form of Siva, denominated Gorakhnath, whose priests are Yogis; and the same sect, and the same worship, had formerly equal predominance in Gorakhpur.—As. Researches, vol. xvii. p. 189.

Prithi Narayan died in 1771. He was succeeded by his son, Pratáp Sing, who reigned but four years. He died in 1775, and left an infant son, Rana Bahadur, under the care of his widow Rajendra Lakshmí, and his brother Bahadur Sah. During the regency, the system of aggression and conquest commenced by Prithi Narayan was vigorously pursued; and many Rajas, whose countries lay east and west of Nepal, were forced to acknowledge allegiance to the Gorkha Raja. An army was sent across the northern mountains against Lhassa, and the living type of Buddha was compelled to pay tribute to the Brahmanical ruler of Nepal. The enterprise nearly proved fatal to the nascent power of the invaders. The Emperor of China, incensed by the sacrilegious indignity offered to a religion of which he is the secular head, despatched a large army to Nepal, which defeated the Raja's troops, and advanced to within a few miles of his capital, Khatmandu. The Gorkha prince averted the subjugation of his country by seasonable submission, by engaging to furnish the retiring army with provisions, and by promising payment of a yearly tribute to the Emperor of China. The Chinese army withdrew, the country of the Grand Lama was taken under the political protection of the Court of Pekin, and the Gorkhas were left to efface their discredit and compensate for their discomfiture by prosecuting schemes of aggrandisement at the expense of the Rajas of the mountains. Shortly after the Chinese invasion, an attempt was made by the British Government of India to establish a friendly intercourse with that of Nepal, and Captain Kirkpatrick was sent as envoy to Khatmandu. The mission was frustrated of all political benefits by the insuperable jealousy of the Gorkha ministers, but much interesting information was then for the first time made public respecting the topography and institutions of Nepal.

In 1795, Rana Bahadur took upon himself the authority to which his maturity entitled him, and avenged the thraldom in which he had been held, by commanding his uncle to be put to death. Becoming odious to his subjects through his dissolute habits and ferocious cruelty, he was obliged to abdicate in favour of his infant son, and withdraw from the country. He retired to Benares. After

BOOK II. CHAP. I. 1814.

an exile of two years he recovered his station; but, relapsing into his former atrocious conduct, he provoked a conspiracy of many of his principal nobles, and was murdered by the conspirators, headed by his half-brother Shir Bahadur, in open Durbar. The murderers were immediately attacked and killed by Bhim Sah, of the tribe of Thápa, a faithful adherent of the Raja, who placed an illegitimate son of Rana Bahadur, still in his minority, upon the throne, and assumed the office of Regent. Notwithstanding these internal convulsions, the tide of external conquest had continued to spread to the westward, and it received fresh impetus from the warlike propensities and ability of the Regent. Under his administration, the Gorkhas extended their authority over the hill Rajas as far west as to the Setlej; they crossed the river, and were upon the eve of a contest with Ranjit Sing for the spoils of the Rajput princes[1] established in the hill country of the Punjab, when their ambitious projects in a different direction exhausted the forbearance of a more formidable antagonist, and brought upon Nepal the resentment and arms of the Government of British India.

A spirit of aggrandisement, which had been fostered by success, had long influenced the conduct of the Court of Nepal towards its neighbours of the plains; and its officers on the frontier had for many years been privately countenanced in a system of aggression and encroachment on the territories subject to the Presidency of Bengal. Their encroachments commenced as far back as 1787, and were persisted in, with occasional intervals, until 1813; being perpetrated along the whole of the borders from the frontier of Tirhut to that of the districts between the Setlej and the Jumna. They had given occasion to repeated representations and remonstrances on the part of the Government of Bengal, and had sometimes been suspended or disavowed by the Court of Khatmandu. They were in some instances, however, avowed and justified, on the plea that they were directed to the re-occupation of tracts which had originally belonged to Nepal, or to chiefs whom the Gorkhas had subdued, and whose possessions they claimed by right of conquest. No case had hitherto occurred which was considered of sufficient

[1] The Rajas of Mundi and Kotoch.—See Moorcroft's Travels, i. 129, 174.

magnitude to warrant forcible resistance or retaliation; although as early as 1807 the Governor-General intimated to the Raja, that unless redress were granted for outrages committed on the frontier of Purnea, and lands which had been violently usurped were restored, "the British Government would be compelled to employ the means at its disposal for protecting the rights and persons of its subjects." The threat was carried into execution in 1809; a military force was then employed to expel the Gorkha officers from the disputed lands, and to replace the dispossessed Zemindar of Bhimnagar, whom the Company acknowledged as a subject, in his Zemindari.

The more immediate causes of the war which now took place, were disputed claims to lands included within the British provinces of Saran and Gorakhpur. We shall first notice the latter of these, as they were made the earlier subject of authorised investigation. Gorakhpur, of which the northern boundary is contiguous to the lower range of hills, came into the hands of the British in 1801–2, as included in the cessions exacted from the Nawab-Vizir of Oude. The district in dispute had formed part of the landed possessions of the Raja of Palpa, a hill chieftain of consideration in the kingdom of Nepal; it being not unusual for the Rajas of the first ranges of the hills to hold lands along the borders of the adjacent low country of Oude, either from immemorial succession, or usurpations connived at by the corrupt servants of the Oude Government. When the transfer of his lands was made, the Palpa Raja acknowledged his tenancy under the new authorities, and consented to pay a stipulated amount of revenue to the Collectorate of Gorakhpur. He was afterwards implicated in the conspiracy which ended in the murder of Rana Bahadur, and was seized and put to death by order of the Regent. His lands in the hills were confiscated to the state; and the Nepal Government, extending the sentence of confiscation to the district of Bhotwal, part of the Raja's possessions within the British boundary, made a grant of it to another hill chief, the father of the Regent, who, in order to secure his realisation of the benefaction, assembled a considerable body of troops upon the borders, in 1804, and prepared to take forcible occupation. The pretensions of the Court of Nepal were resisted by

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Lord Wellesley; but, unwilling to involve the Government in a state of warfare upon the eve of his departure to England, he professed his readiness to enter into an amicable discussion of the claims in question, and proposed that Commissioners should be deputed on either side to investigate and adjust them. He also suggested that the Commissioners should at the same time determine other claims preferred by the Nepalese to the revenues of the district of Sheoraj, which was likewise situated within the limits of the Ceded Provinces, but had been usurped by the Gorkhas before the date of the cession. The Court of Nepal refused to entertain the latter proposition, but proposed that the chief to whom Bhotwal had been granted should continue to hold it on the same conditions as the Palpa Raja, and pay the assessed revenue to the British authorities,—virtually recognising, therefore, the right of the Bengal Government to the sovereign property of the land. A Vakíl was sent with these replies to Calcutta, but no disposition was evinced to await the result of his mission, and a body of Gorkha troops took possession at once of more than two-thirds of the contested territory. They were unopposed. The negociation, which had been suspended by Lord Wellesley's relinquishment of office, was resumed by Sir G. Barlow, who offered to forego the claims of the Company on Sheoraj, on condition that the Gorkhas would relinquish theirs on Bhotwal. The disposition thus indicated to compromise the pretensions of the British, served only to confirm those of their opponents. Their proposal to farm the revenues of Bhotwal, was declined, but no steps were taken to recover possession of the district, and the Nepalese remained in undisturbed occupation of the lands into which they had intruded, from 1806 to 1809. At the latter date, a remonstrance against the retention of the territory was addressed by Lord Minto to the Raja of Nepal, which was met by an evasive and unsatisfactory reply; but the Raja expressed a willingness to agree to the appointment of Commissioners to investigate the claims of both parties on the spot. The attention of the Governor-General being directed at this period to the disturbances at Madras, and the expeditions against the French and Dutch Islands, the communication was not

immediately acted upon; but towards the end of 1811, fresh encroachments having taken place, it became indispensably necessary to consider seriously how much longer they were to be endured. The Governor-General having accordingly deliberately reviewed the whole question, determined to accede to the proposed arrangement, although he anticipated little benefit from the result. He had in the first instance repeated the offer made by Sir G. Barlow, to permit the Nepalese to retain Sheoraj, on the condition of their withdrawing from Bhotwal; but their persevering disinclination to assent to any compromise determined him to retract the offer, and to leave the right to both districts to be the subject of investigation. Major Bradshaw was nominated on the part of the British Government to confer with Commissioners appointed by the Court of Khatmandu with regard to the disputed lands on the Gorakhpur frontier, and conferences for the adjustment of the rights of the respective claimants were carried on through the greater part of the two following years. 1814.

While matters were thus circumstanced in Gorakhpur, aggressions of a like origin were committed on the British territory of Saran, lying to the east of Gorakhpur, and, like it, contiguous on its northern division, which constituted the district of Bettia, to the hills throughout the state of Makwanpur. Border disputes had always subsisted between the Raja of Bettia and his neighbour the Raja of Makwanpur. The former had become a subject of the British Government, in 1765; the latter was conquered by the Gorkhas shortly before that date, and, adopting his quarrels, they descended into the low-lands and seized upon part of the Bettia boundary. The aggression was promptly and vigorously repelled. In 1767, a military force under Major Kinloch drove the Gorkhas out of the province, and, following them into the hills, took possession of Makwanpur. When a good understanding with the Court of Khatmandu was restored, Mr. Hastings gave up that part of Makwanpur which was situated in the hills, but retained the low-lands on the Bettian frontier as a compensation for the cost of military expedition which the Bengal Government had been compelled in self-defence to undertake. From that period the con-

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quered tract had formed a portion of the Bettia Zemindari, and had paid revenue to the British Government without any question of its right having been agitated by Nepal. In 1811, however, emboldened by the obvious reluctance of the Government of Bengal to engage in hostilities, — a reluctance which, agreeably to the maxims of Gorkha policy, could only be accounted for by conscious weakness — the Nepalese advanced a claim to the division of Nanore, in Bettia; and the Gorkha governor of the adjacent hill district crossed the border with an armed force, burnt and plundered several villages, levied contributions on several, and called upon others, to the number of twenty-two in the aggregate, to acknowledge allegiance to his government. His incursion provoked resistance: the people of the country took up arms, and, as the Gorkha party was weak, defeated and expelled them. Their leader was killed in the affray. A stronger force was immediately despatched from Nepal, against which no adequate means of resistance were at hand; and the whole of the lands originally separated from Makwanpur were forcibly re-occupied by the Gorkhas, without their condescending to give previous intimation of their pretensions or their purposes.[1]

After long and protracted discussions, the right of the British Government to the disputed lands on the frontier of Gorakhpur was established by documentary evidence, to rebut which no satisfactory testimony was brought forward by the Commissioners from Nepal. They, nevertheless, declined to recognise the claim of the British, or to direct the removal of the Gorkha officers from the usurped districts, without authority from Khatmandu, to which they required to refer. A suggestion was, however, made to Major Bradshaw, that the Raja of Nepal should cede the disputed lands in exchange for a tract, six miles broad, along the skirts of the hills, to be given up by the British

[1] Besides the districts more particularly specified in the text, various encroachments had occurred almost throughout the whole of the border, from the Tista to the Setlej. In Tirhut, between 1787 and 1812, more than two hundred villages had, at different times, been appropriated by the Nepalese. In Bareilly, they had occupied five out of eight divisions of the Pergunna of Khyrapur. They claimed an extensive tract in the Zilla of Moradabad; and in 1813, they attempted to occupy several villages in the territory of the protected Sikh chiefs, but were prevented by the interference of the British Political Agent.—Nepal Papers, printed for the Court of Proprietors, Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings, 677.

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Government. To this compromise Lord Minto refused his concurrence; he considered the proposal to be equivalent to an admission, that the right of his Government to Sheoraj and Bhotwal was substantiated, as was truly the case, and that the Court of Nepal was not entitled to any compensation for the abandonment of unjust and violent usurpations. He regarded the proposition also as evasive and temporising, and as unlikely, even if acquiesced in, to put a stop to the unfounded claims of the Gorkha Government. He, consequently, insisted on the unqualified restoration of the usurped territory; and, as the Commissioners pleaded want of powers, he addressed a letter to the Raja, reminding him of his promise to abide by the result of the inquiry, and calling upon him to fulfil his his promise, by ordering his officers to retire from the disputed districts,—expressing his earnest wish to remain upon terms of amity with the Nepal state, but declaring his intention of occupying the lands in question by force, if they were not peaceably resigned. Military preparations were set on foot for carrying the menace into effect when the season should permit, as little expectation was entertained that the Court of Khatmandu would be induced by conciliatory representations to recede from its pretensions. Before a definitive answer was received from the Raja, the Earl of Moira had succeeded to the government of India.

When the aggressions on the Saran frontier were committed, strong remonstrances were addressed to the Court of Khatmandu, and a demand was made that the lands which had been seized should be immediately restored. It was ceded, however, that the right to them should nevertheless be investigated by the magistrates of Saran and the officers of Nepal; and it was promised, that, if the Gorkha claim to any of the villages should be made good, they should be restored. An investigation accordingly took place, the result of which was to disprove the Gorkha pretensions;[1] but a final decision was not insisted on

[1] A different story is, however, told by the Government of Nepal. In their instructions to an accredited agent, who was to have been despatched to Calcutta, and which document fell into the hands of Lieut.-Col. Bradshaw, they accuse Bir Kishore Sing (the Raja of Bettia), of having originated the encroachments, taken possession of a large portion of land, and committed an atrocious murder in the Nepal territories (referring to the death of the Gorkha

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until the Commissioners in Gorakhpur should be able to extend their inquiries to Saran. It appeared, however, to the new Governor-General, that the question of right had been so unequivocally decided by the previous proceedings, that it needed no further deliberation; and Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw was authorised to proceed to the spot in company with the Gorkha Commissioners, for the purpose only of adjusting any minor points which might remain to be set at rest. The villages had in the mean time been conditionally evacuated by the Nepalese. Their own Commissioners disapproved of the temporary transfer, and, making their disapproval a plea for closing the conference, refused to hold any further communication with the British representative, and returned abruptly to Nepal.[1]

It was evident from the conduct of the Gorkha Commissioners, that the Court of Khatmandu had no serious intention to concur in any amicable settlement; but, unwilling to precipitate a quarrel, the Governor-General renewed in an address to the Raja the remonstrances and arguments that had been hitherto urged in vain, requiring him to acquiesce in the conclusions which had been established by the conferences of the Commissioners both in Gorakhpur and Saran, and to accede to the peaceable occupation of the lands by the civil officers of the British Government. A refusal to acknowledge the Company's rights was, after some delay, received. No alternative therefore, remained but the relinquishment of the claims which had been substantiated, or their resolute vindication.

officer mentioned in the text). The Raja proceeds: "You will state, that in consequence of a letter which I received from Mr. Hawkins of Patna, assuring me that Bir Kishore Sing would be punished by the British Government, I did not punish him as I should otherwise have done. I, however, recovered possession of the twenty-two villages which he had seized. Mr. Young was afterwards sent to investigate the question respecting these villages: . By his inquiries, the right of this government, and aggression of the Zemindar of Bettia, were fully established; the Bettia man could produce no documents whatever in support of his claim. Mr. Young has probably reported this to Government. You will state these observations in a proper manner."—Nepal Papers, 383.

[1] The abrupt departure of the Commissioners is referred by Mr. Prinsep to the receipt, by the Raja of Nepal, of the letter of the Governor-General, declaring his resolution to occupy the disputed lands by force, if not given up within a specified period. According to the document last quoted, it arose from personal dissatisfaction with the British Commissioner. "They had an interview with the Major, who made use of improper language towards them; in consequence of which they remained silent; and, seeing no business brought forward, they came away."—Nepal Papers, p. 384. The state papers of Nepal appear to be no more veracious than those of more civilised nations.

The latter was adopted. The villages on the Saran frontier were retained, and a detachment was sent into Bhotwal and Sheoraj, before which the Nepalese authorities retired without attempting to offer any resistance.[1]

The promptitude and decision which characterised the measures of the British Government convinced the Court of Khatmandu that the crisis which it must have contemplated had now arrived, and that disputes respecting border lands had terminated in the alternative of peace or war. The question was deliberately considered in a council of the principal chiefs, and a summary of their opinions was transmitted to the military governors of the frontier. In deference to the sentiments of the Raja, or rather of the Regent minister, who advocated hostilities, the conclusion of the council was for war; but several of the chiefs entertained sounder views of its probable consequences, urged perseverance in the course of policy hitherto pursued, and recommended, if unavoidable, the ultimate concession of the disputed territory below the hills. To these prudent recommendations were opposed the uniform success which had hitherto attended the arms of Nepal, the powerful military force of the principality, and the natural strength of the country, which constituted an impregnable barrier against an English invasion. The small fort of Bhurtpore, argued the minister, was the work of man, yet the British were defeated in their attempts against it. How little, then, was it likely that they should storm the mountain fastnesses constructed by the hand of God![2] The determination, however unwise, indicated a lofty and patriotic spirit; but the mode in which it was announced was characteristic of a barbarous court.

The approach of the rainy season and the unhealthiness of the country at that period, as well as the seeming ac-

[1] These details are taken chiefly from the Narrative of the War, by the Marquis of Hastings.—Nepal Papers, 673.

[2] The opinions of the Council, as communicated to the Raja of Palpa, fell into the hands of the English, and are printed by Mr. Prinsep. The Raja proposes war, and is seconded by Bhim Sen Thapa, the regent. The strength of the country, and military power and reputation of Nepal, are the chief topics of reliance. On the other hand, some fear is expressed of the defection of the Hill Rajas, by which an opening into the mountains may be afforded to the enemy; and some of the chiefs do not hesitate to declare their opinion of the superiority of the British forces. We have hitherto, say they, but hunted deer; if we engage in this war, we must prepare to fight tigers. It is clear that the war was disapproved of by the most judicious of the Raja's advisers, and that it originated chiefly in the presumption and ignorance of the Regent. —Prinsep's Transactions in India, 8vo. ed. vol. i. App. 457.

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quiescence of the Nepalese in the occupation of the disputed lands, induced the Government to withdraw the troops, leaving a civil force of armed police at the frontier thanas or stations of Bhotwal and Sheoraj. On the morning of the 28th May, a party of Gorkhas, under the command of the late Governor of the district, attacked the post at Bhotwal. The police were overpowered, eighteen men were killed, and the head officer, or Thannadar, who surrendered himself, was tied to a tree and killed with arrows. The stations of Sheoraj were abandoned by the police, but not until one had been surprised and several lives had been lost. The lands were immediately taken possession of by the Gorkhas. Although this outrage demanded instant punishment, the season of the year delayed its infliction, and an opportunity was afforded to the Raja of disavowing the perpetrators of the offence. A letter from the Governor-General required him to fulfil the obligation, but it received an evasive and menacing reply. Hostilities were therefore evidently unavoidable; and, after an interval diligently devoted to preliminary arrangements, and the collection of information regarding a country but little known, war with Nepaul was announced, in a manifesto detailing its causes and vindicating its necessity.[1]

War having been resolved upon, it became necessary to determine the principles upon which it should be carried on—whether a defensive or offensive system should be adopted, and in either case what course should be pursued. The former was open to weighty objections. It was clearly impossible adequately to guard a line of open frontier, extending seven hundred miles, at every assailable point; and the Nepalese would have it in their power to inflict injury and loss upon their enemy with little hazard of suffering retaliation. To maintain large bodies of troops in the field would be attended with the same expense, in whatever manner they might be employed; and the cost was likely to be heaviest in the end, if their inactivity was productive of a tedious and harassing prolongation of hostilities. It was also obviously advisable, not merely to defend the British territory against actual aggression, but to deprive the Gorkha government of the means of repeating their incursions, by contracting the limits of their

[1] It is dated Lucknow, 1st of November, 1814; and is addressed to the Powers in alliance and friendship with the Company.—Nepal Papers, 443.

possessions, reducing their power, and humbling their ambition. The defensive system was therefore discarded, and it only remained to determine the plan of offensive operations—an advance to Khatmandu with a concentrated force; or a simultaneous attack on different points of the long line of the Gorkha conquests, throughout which the recently subjugated people and chiefs were ready to fall off from their oppressive rulers, and welcome and facilitate the approach of the British troops. To this political advantage was to be added the difficulty of moving large bodies of troops in so rugged a country, of providing them with supplies where the soil was so unproductive, and of keeping up a communication with the lowlands in consequence of the deadly miasmata which render the forests on the skirts of the hills utterly impassable during a considerable portion of the year. It was, therefore, determined by Lord Moira to prefer the latter plan, and operating upon the Kali river, which severed the Gorkha possessions nearly in two, as a centre, to direct his first efforts against the western portion, whilst other divisions were to move against the eastern half, and advance into the valley of Nepal.[1] With these views four separate divisions were formed which were to ascend the hills at as many places as soon as the rains had sufficiently subsided to allow of their forward movement.

The first of the divisions, comprising about 6,000 men, under the command of Major-General Ochterlony, was destined to attack the Gorkha positions at the western extremity of their line. The second, 3,500 strong, commanded by Major-General Gillespie, was intended to occupy Dehra Dún, a valley above the first range of hills, and besiege Jytak, the principal fortress of the enemy in the province of Gerhwal. The third division, of about

[1] Lord Moira's Letter to the Chairman, 6th August, 1816.—Nepal Papers, 994. The military policy of the Court of Directors differed from that of his Lordship. In their estimation, the preservation of British honour, and the integrity of the territories might have been secured "by the employment of one concentrated body of troops;" meaning, apparently in this place, their employment on the defensive. In a subsequent paragraph they advocate a similar mode of conducting offensive operations. "We are inclined to the opinion, from the nature of the resistance opposed by the enemy, that if, instead of dividing our force into so many detachments, a concentrated attack had been made, it might possibly have been the means of bringing the war to a successful conclusion, without looking to the issue of a second campaign."—Political Letter to Bengal, 13th Oct., 1815. At a later date, the Court profess their acknowledgment of the "wisdom of the plan on which Lord Moira had acted."—Political Letter to Bengal, 5th March, 1817; Ibid. 998.

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4,500 troops, was placed under the orders of Major-General John Sullivan Wood, and was to march from the Gorakhpur frontier through the long-disputed districts of Bhotwal and Sheoraj to Palpa. The fourth and most considerable division, comprehending nearly 8,000 men, commanded by Major-General Marley, was to make the most effectual impression on the enemy, and was to march through Makwanpur directly to Khatmandu. Arrangements were made at the same time for the defence of the interjacent parts of the British frontier by local corps; and at the south-eastern end of the line east of the Kusi River, Captain Latter, commanding the Rangpur local battalion and a battalion of regular native infantry, was directed to convert a defensive into an offensive attitude, should circumstances be favourable to the change. The whole force amounted to more than 30,000 men, with 60 guns.[1] To oppose so formidable an armament, the Gorkhas

[1] The details of the several divisions were as follows:—

1st Div. Artillery, European and Native	930	...
Native infantry—(2nd battalion 1st, 2nd battalion 6th, 2nd battalion 3rd, 1st battalion 19th, and six companies of the 2nd battalion 19th)	4778	
Pioneers	265	
Ordnance, two 18-pounders, ten 6-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.	—	5,993
2nd Div. Artillery	247	
H.M. 53rd Reg.	785	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 6th, 1st battalion 17th, 1st battalion 7th)	2348	
Pioneers	133	
Ordnance, two 12-pounders, eight 6-pounders, four howitzers.	—	3,513
3rd Div. 8th Native cavalry	114	
Artillery	457	
H.M. 17th Reg.	958	
Native infantry—(left wings of both battalions of the 14th, 2nd battalion 17th, four companies 2nd battalion, 8th and 2nd battalion 12th)	2875	
Pioneers	90	
Ordnance four 6-pounders, three 3-pounders, four mortars and howitzers.	—	4,494
4th Div. Artillery	868	
H.M. 24th Reg.	907	
Native infantry—(1st battalion 18th, left wing 2nd battalion 22nd, 2nd battalion 15th, 2nd battalion 25th, Ramgerh local battalion, Champaran L. infantry)	5988	
Pioneers	276	
Ordnance, four 18-pounders, four 6-pounders, four 3-pounders, twelve mortars and howitzers.	—	7,989
Total sixty-eight guns, and men		21,989

Considerable reinforcements joined the two first divisions, besides irregular troops and Native contingents, to the extent of above 12,000 men.—Nepal Papers, 197, 432.

in the beginning of the war could not muster more than 12,000 regular troops, which were scattered along the extended length of their frontier. They were augmented during the war by levies of local militia; but they were without discipline, imperfectly equipped, and were not always well-affected to their rulers, as they were often raised from the subjects of the conquered hill states. A few forts, strongly situated, but in other respects of little importance, commanded the principal passes of the mountains. The main strength of the Gorkhas consisted in the spirit of the government, the bravery and devotedness of the regular troops, the impracticability of the country, the inexperience of their adversaries in mountain warfare, and their ignorance of the ground on which they were to move, and of the character of the people with whom they were to contend.

Major-General Gillespie's division was assembled at Saharanpur on the 18th of October. On the following day the advance, commanded by Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter, proceeded by the Timli pass into the valley of the Dún. On the 22nd, Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey followed with the main body, and occupied the town of Dehra, which gives the valley its appellation. The Gorkhas fell back, as the British advanced, to the fort of Nalapani, or Kalanga, a small fort about five miles from Dehra, strongly posted to a steep detached hill, six hundred feet high, covered with jungle. The summit was a table-land above half a mile in length; and at the further extremity stood the fort, a stone quadrangular building of no great extent, but enlarged and strengthened by stockades. It was garrisoned by a body of six hundred Gorkhas, commanded by Balbhadra Sing, whom Amar Sing Thapa, the military governor of the western districts, had selected for his intrepidity to encounter the first onset of the enemy.

Lieut.-Colonel Mawbey, having marched upon Kalanga, summoned the garrison to surrender. An answer of defiance was returned to the summons,[1] and an attack was in consequence made upon the fort on the 24th October. With infinite labour guns were carried up the hill, and a

[1] The letter was delivered to Balbhadra Sing late at night; he observed, that it was not his habit to carry on a correspondence at such an unseasonable hour, but that he should shortly pay the writer a visit in his camp.

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battery was constructed; but the place appearing to be too strong to be taken by these means, Colonel Mawbey suspended proceedings and awaited the orders of his superior. General Gillespie immediately moved with the remainder of the force, and joined the advance on the 26th. Heavy guns were brought up, a battery was erected, and preparations were made to carry the fort by storm. The assault took place on the 31st.

The troops had been distributed in four columns of attack and a reserve; and it was intended that the former should move against the several faces of the fort at the same moment, upon a signal being fired from the battery. Three of the columns, having to make a circuit of some distance over very rugged ground, marched before daybreak, but had not reached their appointed destinations at 8 A.M., when the signal-gun was fired. It was not heard by them.[1] In the mean time a sortie was made by the garrison, which was repelled by the remaining column; and General Gillespie, thinking that the retreating enemy might be followed into their own intrenchment by a brisk and vigorous pursuit, ordered the column, together with the reserve and a company of the 8th, or Royal Irish dismounted dragoons, to hasten forward and carry the place by escalade. The troops advanced steadily to the foot of the wall: but the commandant, besides manning the ramparts, had placed a gun in an outwork protecting the gateway in such a way as to enfilade the wall upon that side; the fire from which beat down the pioneers before the ladders could be applied, and destroyed the leading files of the assailants. Foiled in their attempt to scale the wall, which had sustained no damage from the previous fire of the battery, the men attempted to force the outwork and carry the gate. They were received with such a heavy fire, and suffered so severely, that it was found ne-

[1] According to Prinsep, (History of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings, I, 88,) Gillespie's impatience anticipated the time proposed for the joint assault, which was ten o'clock. Major Thorn, in his Memoir of General Gillespie, says the time was to have been two hours after the signal, which was fired at seven. Mr. Fraser says that the signal was given some hours before the time intended, and was not heard, probably because it was unexpected.—Travels in the Himalaya. In Colonel Mawbey's official report, it is said that the signal was fired at eight o'clock, two hours after which was the time for the assault. He also states that it was not heard by Major Kelly, Captain Fast, or Captain Campbell, commanding the other columns of attack. —Nepal Papers, 439.

cessary to draw them off to the shelter of some huts at a little distance from the fort. Although the other columns had not yet come into action, General Gillespie, irritated by the repulse which had been sustained, persisted in renewing the attempt, declaring aloud his determination to carry the fort or lose his life. Accordingly, he placed himself at the head of three fresh companies of the 53rd regiment and of the dragoons, and led them again towards the gate of the fort. When within range of the enemy's matchlocks, the men of the 53rd hung back.[1] The General, in advance of the line, in vain called on them to follow him; and, while waving his sword to encourage them to come on, he was shot through the heart, and immediately expired. His aide-de-camp, Lieut. O'Hara, was killed by his side; Captain Byers, the Brigade-Major, was wounded; and many of the dragoons, by whom the General had been bravely seconded, were killed or wounded.[2] The fall of General Gillespie completed the discouragement of the men, and a retreat was ordered. One of the other columns, that which was commanded by Captain Campbell, arrived in time to cover the retreat. The loss had been, for the duration of the service, considerable: the temper of the men was unfavourable; little prospect existed of carrying the fort by assault; and, as the guns were insufficient to effect a breach, Colonel Mawbey, on whom the command devolved, deemed it prudent to return to Dehra, and there await the arrival of a battering-train from Delhi.

The requisite ordnance having been received on the 24th of November, the army moved on the following day once more against Kalanga. A battery of 18-pounders was constructed, and a practicable breach was effected by noon of the 27th. The storming party, consisting of the grenadier company and one battalion company of the 53rd, and the grenadier companies of the 6th, 7th, and 13th Native infantry regiments, covered by the light

[1] The men of this regiment were in a discontented and sullen mood, conceiving themselves to have been overworked by the unnecessary repetition of parade exercise.

[2] The total loss was five officers and twenty-seven privates killed, fifteen officers and two hundred and thirteen privates wounded. Besides General Gillespie and Lieutenant O'Hara, the officers killed were Lieutenant Gosling, Light Battalion, Ensign Fothergill, 17th N.I.; and Ensign Ellis, Pioneers. Of the hundred dragoons, four were killed and fifty wounded.

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infantry of the 53rd, and supported by the rest of the force, was commanded to advance. The assailants were ordered to move with their muskets unloaded, and to carry the breach by the bayonet alone; — an order which seems to have been ill-timed, as after the previous repulse, and in the prevailing disposition of the soldiery, confidence in their display of that calm courage and desperate determination which such a method of attack implies, could scarcely have been warranted. Either from the discouraging influence of this order, or from causes unexplained, the troops, although they moved without hesitation to the breach, manifested little resolution or perseverance in their attempts to force an entrance into the fort. They suffered considerable loss on their approach; and, on arriving at the breach, they found that within it was a precipitous descent of about fourteen feet, at the foot of which stood a part of the garrison, armed with spears and sharp-pointed arrows, supported by another portion, provided with matchlocks and various missiles. After a feeble effort, the assailants recoiled, and drew off to a short distance from the wall; where they remained for two hours, exposed to a heavy fire and an unceasing shower of arrows and stones. The example and instigations of their officers were in vain exerted to animate them to a second attack; and, finding that their backwardness was insurmountable, it became necessary to withdraw them from their position. They were accordingly recalled, after sustaining serious loss.[1]

The project of carrying the fort of Kalanga by assault was now relinquished, and recourse was had to a bombardment, which was attended with almost immediate success. The fortress, which was little more than an open enclosure within stone walls, afforded no shelter to the besieged, and speedily became untenable. In the course of three days the place was strewn over with the killed, the stench from whose unburied bodies became intolerable; and the commandant abandoned the place with no more than seventy survivors out of the six hundred of whom his

[1] Four officers and thirty-three privates were killed, seven officers and six hundred and thirty-six privates were wounded. The officers killed were Captain Campbell, 6th N. I.; Lieutenant Harrington, his Majesty's 53rd; and Lieutenant Luxford, Horse Artillery. As observed by Prinsep, the British loss exceeded the number of the Gorkha garrison.

garrison had been composed. Balbhadra Sing effected his escape unperceived, and joined a detachment of three hundred fresh troops which had been sent to his relief, but had been unable to make their way through the British posts. The party was pursued by Major Ludlow, who, by great activity, came upon them suddenly on the night of the 1st of December. A brief but smart action took place, in which the Sipahis in some degree redeemed their reputation, and put the Gorkhas to the rout. The enemy disappeared among the recesses of the mountains, and their pursuers returned to camp. The fort of Kalanga was demolished.[1]

The repeated checks and the heavy loss suffered at Kalanga gave an entirely new aspect to the war. The assailants had been unprepared for such resolute resistance, and, from the evidence which the siege had afforded of the extraordinary gallantry of the enemy, learned to look forward with diminished confidence to the result of subsequent conflicts. On the other hand, the Gorkhas were highly elated by the glory of having, with a mere handful of men, so long kept at bay a well-appointed and numerous body of their foes, and of having made them purchase an insignificant intrenchment with the death of many distinguished officers, and the fall of a celebrated commander. The moral effect on the minds of both parties was a principal cause of the protracted continuance of the war. Nor was the loss of time, considered in itself, an evil of slight moment, as it had deranged the whole plan of the campaign. The result was the more to be regretted, as it was obvious that it might have been easily avoided, and that, had the assailants condescended at first to employ the powerful means which European science placed in their hands, and, instead of rushing headlong against stone walls, effectively demolished them, or driven out those whom they sheltered, reputation and life would not have been unprofitably sacrificed. The impetuosity of General Gillespie frustrated his own designs; and his daring courage, failing to awaken a corresponding ardour in his followers, proved fatal to himself and mischievous to his country. His death was, however, in

[1] For the official reports of the occurrences before Kalanga, see Nepal Papers, pp. 460, 490.

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harmony with the whole course of his life; and, if he exhibited some want of the prudent foresight and steady self-possession required in a commander, he displayed that disdain of danger in the discharge of his duty which constitutes one of the highest qualifications of a soldier.[1]

During the interval that elapsed before the repetition of the attack on Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey detached Lieut.-Colonel Carpenter with his division to a position on the right bank of the Jumna, where he might command the fords of the river, and intercept the communication between the Gorkha commanders in the east and west. The same position was favourable for his giving aid to the hill tribes, should any of them show a disposition to rise and throw off the Gorkha yoke. The people of Jounsar in consequence took up arms, and so much alarmed the Gorkha garrison of Barat, a stronghold in the mountains, that they hastily evacuated a fort which could not have been reduced without trouble and loss. After the capture of Kalanga, Colonel Mawbey was directed to march to the westward into the adjacent Dún, or valley, of Karda, in order to carry out so much of the original plan as to effect the co-operation of the division with that under the command of Colonel Ochterlony. The force descended into the lowlands, to avoid the ridge separating the Dehra from the Karda Dún, and returning northwards entered the latter by the pass of Moganand. On the 19th of December the division was within seven miles of Náhan, the capital of the small state of Sirmor, the Raja of which had been dispossessed by the Gorkhas. Their army in this quarter was commanded by Ranjor Sing Thapa, the son of Amar Sing, whose head-quarters were at Jytak, a fort on the top of a mountain lying north from the town, strongly situated in an angle where two mountain ridges met, and perched at the height of five thousand feet above the level of the sea. On the 20th of December, the force was joined by Major-General Martindell, who had been appointed to the command.[2]

[1] A monument to the memory of General Gillespie was erected at Meerut by the officers who had served under him; and a public monument, voted by Parliament, was placed in St. Paul's Cathedral. Two obelisks on the hill of Nalapani mark the spot where he and his companions fell; no vestige of the fort remains.—Memoir of General Gillespie, 240; Mundy's Sketches of India, i. 192; Moorcroft's Travels, i. 26.

[2] Nepal Papers, 498.

After occupying the town of Náhan, General Martindell moved to the foot of the range, on the highest peak of which the fort of Jytak was placed; the approach to it was defended by stockades at various heights; the ascent was rough and difficult, as the hills rose throughout the whole acclivity by steep and abrupt elevations, separated by loose crumbling soil, and deep and precipitous ravines, and afforded no level ground for the evolutions of regular troops. The position having been carefully reconnoitred, it appeared that the garrison depended for their supply of water upon wells situated exteriorly to the fort, and some way below it; and the General consequently resolved to make an attempt to cut off the supply, and at the same time dispossess the enemy of a strongly stockaded post, erected for its defence about a mile to the west of the fortress. With this intention two columns were formed: one, under Major Ludlow, to move against the post on the left and nearest side; the other, under Major Richards, to make a *détour*, and assail the stockade in the rear. The effect of the combined attack was disappointed; and the two columns, being successively overpowered by a superior force, were compelled to retreat.

The party under Major Richards left the camp at midnight.[1] They had a march to make of sixteen miles, by paths rarely admitting two men abreast. It was eight o'clock in the morning before they reached the foot of the hill on which they were to establish themselves; and they halted till ten, to allow the whole of the men to join and rest. They then ascended the mountain, and, having gained the summit, advanced to within three hundred yards of the fort of Jytak. The enemy offered no opposition, being at the time engaged with their other assailants.

The division commanded by Major Ludlow[2] marched an hour later than the column under Major Richards, but, having a much shorter interval to traverse, came earlier in contact with the Gorkhas. Their picquets were en-

[1] It consisted of the 1st battalion of the 13th N. I., the light companies of his Majesty's 53rd, and 7th, 26th, and 27th N. I., and of a company of pioneers. The companies were weak, and the whole mustered little more than six hundred strong.—Nepal Papers, 504.

[2] It was formed of a grenadier company of the 53rd, three companies of the light battalion, and nine of the 6th N. I., with a company of pioneers, mustering about nine hundred.—Ibid.

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countered about three in the morning, and driven back. The column advanced to the summit of a hill, on which stood the ruined village and temple of Jamta, from which the leading files, consisting of the grenadiers of his Majesty's 53rd, dislodged a small Gorkha post. Elated by their success, and attributing the retreat of the enemy to fear, the grenadiers insisted upon being led against a stockade at no great distance, and apparently of no formidable strength. Conceiving that it might be carried by a vigorous attack, Major Ludlow permitted the attempt to be made, and the advance rushed onward without waiting till the whole of the detachment had come up and could be formed. The Gorkha commander, Jaspao Thapa, was prepared for their reception. As soon as the first firing was heard, he had been detached from Jytak with the main body of the garrison, and had stationed them not only behind the stockade, but on the commanding points of the hills on either flank; so that when the assailants reached the foot of the stockade, a sudden and destructive fire was poured upon them from every quarter. Before they could recover from the disorder thus occasioned, they were charged by superior numbers, sword in hand, and driven back in confusion to the point at Jamta, whence they had so confidently advanced. The Native troops were still in disarray, and, having but few European officers to keep them steady,[1] they gave the fugitives no support; on the contrary, sharing in the disorder, and struck with panic, they fled precipitately down the hill, closely chased by the Gorkhas, who inflicted severe loss with their semicircular and heavy swords. The pursuit was, however, arrested by the necessity of returning to encounter the more successful advance of Major Richards. The British detachment, completely disorganised, regained the camp by ten o'clock.[2]

The garrison of Jytak, having thus so easily disposed of one attack, proceeded with augmented confidence and courage to get rid of the other; but some interval elapsed before they were in a condition to resume offensive opera-

[1] There were but three officers with the nine companies of the 13th N.I.

[2] Lieutenant Munt of the 1st N. I. was killed, three officers were wounded; thirty-one Europeans and one hundred and twenty natives were killed and wounded.

tions. In the mean time, Major Richards had accomplished the duty entrusted to him, and had taken up a station which, approaching the fort and commanding the wells, must soon have straitened the garrison and accelerated their surrender. It was therefore of vital importance to Ranjor Sing to dislodge the English before they should be strengthened sufficiently to render the attempt hopeless. At one o'clock he descended from the fort with all his available force, and with intrepid resolution. The detachment stood its ground bravely, and the Gorkhas were repulsed. They renewed their attacks and displayed the greatest courage, advancing to the very muzzles of the muskets, and endeavouring to hew down their opponents with their swords. The struggle was continued for six hours, until it grew dark, and the ammunition of the Sipahis began to fail — so that they were obliged at last to defend themselves with stones. At seven in the evening a message was received from General Martindell, commanding the detachment to retreat. Previous messages of the same tenor had been despatched, but the messengers had been intercepted. Although confident, if furnished with supplies, of being able to maintain his position, Major Richards found himself obliged to comply with the General's positive orders, and commenced a retreat under the most unpropitious circumstances, from the nature of the ground and the exhaustion of the men. Moving slowly in single file along narrow, rough, and precipitous paths, the whole must have fallen a sacrifice to an enemy familiar with the locality, and experienced in mountain warfare, had not the retreat been covered with singular devotedness by Lieut. Thackeray and the light company of the 26th N.I. The whole Gorkha force was kept in check and repeatedly repulsed by this officer and his small party, until he and his next in command, Ensign Wilson, and many of the men, were killed. The retreating body were then overtaken by the Gorkhas, but they had nearly cleared the most difficult and exposed portions of their path; and although much confusion ensued, and many of the officers and men were separated from the column, yet most of them subsequently found their way to camp, and the loss proved less serious than there was reason at first to apprehend. The darkness of

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the night and the ruggedness of the surface were as unfavourable for pursuit as for flight, and the Gorkha general did not care to commit his men too far beyond the vicinity of the fortress.[1]

It was admitted by the Governor-General that the object proposed by General Martindell was highly important, and justified an effort for its attainment; and the judiciousness of the plan was proved by its partial success. It is evident, however, that serious mistakes were committed in its execution. The movements of the divisions must have been ill concerted to have allowed an interval of so many hours between attacks intended to have been simultaneous; and the omission of any arrangements to succour or support Major Richards — the absence apparently of all knowledge of his proceedings — indicated a want of common activity and precaution. The failure of the entire project was, however, mainly owing to the unsteadiness of the Native troops of Major Ludlow's division, and that may in a great degree be ascribed to a deficiency of European officers.[2] This repulse, also had a most mischievous effect upon the progress of the campaign, as General Martindell did not think himself competent to resume offensive measures until he was reinforced; and military operations in this quarter were consequently arrested.

The campaign further to the west, where General Ochterlony was opposed by the most celebrated of the Gorkha leaders, Amar Sing Thapa, although not unche-

[1] Three officers were killed—Lieutenant Thackeray, and Ensigns Wilson and Stalkard; five were wounded. Of the men, seventy were killed, two hundred and twenty-eight wounded; forty of the light company of the 26th and a Subahdar were taken, but were released by Ranjor Sing on condition of not serving again during the war.

[2] Prinsep says, the disasters of the day were owing solely to the irretrievable error of Major Ludlow, in allowing himself to attempt the stockade before he had formed his men and secured the post he was intended to occupy. He admits, however, that Jamta might have been held if the force had been adequately officered. i. 103. Mr. Fraser and General Martindell, in his report, affirm that the officer in command did all in his power to restrain the impetuosity of the men, and prevent their rushing against the stockade in advance. Both Prinsep and Fraser intimate that Richards might have been reinforced, and that he would then have been able to maintain the advantageous position he had gained. According to General Martindell's report, Major Ludlow was to have been accompanied by some artillery for the purpose of throwing shot and shells into the stockade; but the guns, as well as the spare ammunition, were left behind, not being ready to move with the detachment. "Had I known this," he adds, "I should have certainly countermanded the march."—Nepal Papers, 504. It was fortunate that the guns were not carried up the hill, to have served as trophies to the victors.

quered by disaster, was unsullied by disgrace, and was equally honourable to both the combatants. The scene of action was a rugged country, inclosed in the angle which is traced by the Setlej river, where it turns abruptly from a westerly to a southerly course. From the left bank of the southern arm of the stream rises a succession of lofty mountains, which run in an oblique direction towards the south-east, and are separated into nearly parallel ranges by rivers, which, springing from their summits, work themselves a passage at their base into the bed of the Setlej. On three of the ranges the Gorkha general had constructed the forts of Nalagerh, Ramgerh, and Malaun, — stone structures, the approaches to which, sufficiently arduous by the steepness and irregularity of the hills, were rendered still more difficult by strong timber stockades. Beyond the third range, and upon the bank of the Setlej, stood Bilaspur, the capital of the Bilaspur Raja, who remained faithful to the Gorkha cause, and kept Amar Sing well supplied with both provisions and men. On this side of the mountains lay the petty Ráj of Hindur, and its capital Palási. The Raja of Hindur was the hereditary enemy of the Raja of Bilaspur, and had suffered much oppression from the Nepalese. He, therefore, became the willing ally of the British, and rendered them valuable service. North-east from Malaun, about thirty miles, was situated the town of Arki, the head-quarters of Amar Sing.

General Ochterlony's division ascended the hills at the end of October, and on the 2nd of November arrived before the first and lowest of the mountain ridges occupied by the Gorkhas. Here stood the fort of Nalagerh, with the outwork of Taragerh, higher up the hill, commanding the entrance into the mountains. The posts were inconsiderable, both as to extent and strength, and were not numerously garrisoned. With much labour the guns were raised to an elevation whence they could be brought to play effectively upon the walls of the fort; and, by the 4th, batteries were opened, which did such execution, that, on the 6th, the garrison, despairing of successful resistance, surrendered. Taragerh was at the same time given up.[1]

[1] Nepal Papers, 452.

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From the summit of the pass of Nalagerh, but towering far above it, rising to an elevation of four thousand six hundred feet above the sea, appeared the mountain on which the fort of Ramgerh was situated. As soon as Amar Sing was apprised of General Ochterlony's advance, he had marched thither, from Arki, with a force of about three thousand regular troops, and had encamped on the ridge. The Gorkha right rested upon the fort; the left about two miles distant, upon a strongly stockaded hill; and stockades protected the intervals along their front. After a careful examination of the position of the Gorkhas, it appeared to the cautious and experienced judgment of the British commander that the nature of the ground precluded an attack in front; and, having received information that the northern face of the range was less broken and precipitous, he resolved to turn the left of the enemy, and assail their position from the rear. He, therefore, moved to the heights of Nahar, an eminence seven miles north-east from Ramgerh, commanding a complete view of the Gorkha lines. As this seemed to be the most assailable point of their defences, General Ochterlony determined to erect batteries against it. A road over the hills for the conveyance of the heavy ordnance from Nalagerh was constructed with great labour; in accomplishing which, twenty days were consumed. When the battery opened, it was found to be too distant to fire with effect, and a position more within the range of the guns was therefore to be sought for. A small party under the engineer officer, Lieutenant Lawtie, sent to explore the ground nearer to the stockade, had selected an elevation fit for their purpose, and were on their return to camp, when they were surrounded by a numerous body of Gorkhas, by whom their movements had been observed, and who came down in great strength to intercept their retreat. Availing themselves of a small stone enclosure, the party defended themselves with steady resolution until the failure of their ammunition compelled them to give way: some reinforcements, sent from the battery, shared in their discomfiture; and the whole were routed with much loss before their retreat was covered by a strong detachment despatched to their succour from the

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camp.[1] The affair was of little moment, except from its tendency to confirm the confidence, and animate the courage, of the enemy.

Notwithstanding the check thus sustained, General Ochterlony persisted in his plan of carrying the stockaded works of Ramgerh, when news of the second repulse at Kalanga arrived.; and anticipating the moral effects of this disaster, both upon his own troops and those of his antagonist, he considered it prudent to suspend offensive operations until his strength should preclude the possibility of failure. He therefore applied for reinforcements, and, while awaiting their arrival, employed himself in extending his information, and improving his means of offence. The mountain countries forming the first steps of the Himalaya range, had hitherto been unvisited by Europeans; and scenes, destined at no remote period to become their peaceable and familiar haunts, were now for the first time to be explored by them for the purposes of war. It was of indispensable necessity to ascertain the topography of the adjacent regions, the base on which the movements of the Gorkha general rested, the sources whence his supplies were drawn, and the expedients by which the latter might be cut off. Roads were also to be made practicable for artillery, as well as for troops; and something

[1] Lieutenant Williams commanding the reinforcement was killed; seventy Sipahis were killed and wounded.—Nepal Papers. Prinsep says the whole party was surrounded, and obliged to cut their way through the enemy.—Transactions, &c., i. 107. According to Fraser, the chief cause of the disaster was the defective construction of the cartouch-boxes, by which they could not be turned so as to render the cartridges in the under part of the box available when those in the upper part were expended, A cessation of the firing being thus caused, the Gorkhas rushed in and put the Sipahis to the rout.—Tour in the Himalayas, 18. The author of Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, an eyewitness, attributes the defeat to the misconduct of the troops. According to him, the party, having reached a neighbouring eminence without molestation, came suddenly upon a breastwork, from which a heavy fire was opened upon them. The men, in obedience to the commands of their officer, rushed forward and dislodged the Gorkhas with great gallantry; but when the latter were reinforced, and "came back in superior numbers, the Sipahis could not be prevented from wasting their ammunition by keeping up a useless fire. The upper layer of their cartridges being expended, some voices called out for a retreat, alleging that they would not have time to turn their boxes. The place appeared tenable with the bayonet; the Gorkhas were, however, now at hand, and arguments, threats, and entreaties, proved equally vain; our men broke in confusion, and turned their backs; the enemy, plunging among the fugitives, cut to pieces all whom their swords could reach. At this time a small reinforcement, all that could be spared from the battery, was ascending the hill, under Lieutenant Williams of the 3rd N. I. It appeared the intention of that young officer to throw his party between Lawtie's and their pursuers, but he had the mortification to see his Seapoys turn about and join the flight, just before he perished himself."—Sketches, &c., p. 9.

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like organisation was to be given to the irregular levies of the adherents to the British cause. In these occupations a month was advantageously spent; when, the force being joined by the 2nd battalion of the 7th N. I., with a train of field artillery, and by a Sikh levy, General Ochterlony immediately resumed active operations. On the day

27 Dec.

following their junction, Colonel Thompson was despatched to prosecute the plan of spreading along the enemy's rear, and intercepting his communications with Arki and Bilaspur, by occupying the Dibu hills, a low range on the north-east of Ramgerh. A lodgement was effected; the consequences of which being distinctly comprehended by the Gorkha general, he made a desperate but a fruitless effort to drive the detachment from its new position. The division was attacked at dawn of the 28th with so much impetuosity, that some of the enemy forced their way into the camp. The difficulties of the ground, however, impeded their concentration; and the resolution with which the attack was received, completed their discomfiture. They returned to their position in connection with the fort of Ramgerh, but changed their front so as to oppose the British, now upon their north; their right, as before, resting upon the fort. On the other hand, General Ochterlony, leaving a division under Brigadier Arnold to watch the enemy's movements, marched in a direction which was to place him on the north of the last range of hills between Malaun and the Setlej. On the 6th of January he ascended the bed of the Gambhira river, and, crossing the mountains on which Malaun was situated, took post at Battoh, on the north bank of another mountain stream, the Gamrora, nearly opposite to the centre of the range, sending forward two thousand Hinduris under Captain Ross to occupy the heights above Bilaspur. This movement effected his object. Amar Sing, alarmed for the security of the communications upon which his being able to maintain his mountain posts depended, withdrew his main body from Ramgerh, and, leaving a garrison in the fort, concentrated his force on the ridge of Malaun, Colonel Arnold, in consequence of his retreat, moved round the opposite extremity of the ridge to co-operate with General Ochterlony on its northern base; and after marching through a very rough country, in which he was

further delayed by a heavy fall of snow, he turned the north-western extremity of the line, and there received the submission of the Government of Bilaspur, as well as possession of the fort of Ratangerh, divided only by a deep and extensive hollow from Malaun. A detachment, under Lieut-Colonel Cooper, dislodged the Gorkhas from Ramgerh and other posts which they had continued to hold to the south, and then advanced to co-operate with the main body. These subsidiary movements, with the state of the country, and the severity of the season, prevented the completion of the investment of Malaun until the 1st of April. In the mean time, the armies acting at the eastern extremity of the line of operations had been engaged with the enemy, but had made little progress towards accomplishing the objects of the campaign.

CHAPTER II.

Operations of the Third Division. — March from Gorakhpur.—Stockade of Jitpur,—Attacked,—Attack repulsed.—General Wood falls back, —remains on the defensive.— Frontier harassed on both sides. — Return of Force to Cantonments. — Operations of the Fourth Division.— Advanced Detachment under Major Bradshaw. — Gorkha Posts surprised. — Parsuram Thapa killed. — Tirai conquered. — March of Main Body delayed. — Outposts at Samanpur and Parsa, —Surprised by the Gorkhas, — Great Alarm among the Troops. — General Marley retreats, — Reinforced, — Leaves his Camp. — General G. Wood appointed to the Command. — Defeat of a Gorkha Detachment. — Gorkhas abandon the Tirai. — Division broken up, — Troops cantoned on the Frontier. — Success of Major Latter's Detachment. — Alliance with the Raja of Sikim. — Invasion of Kamaon. — Colonel Gardner's Success. —Captain Hearsay defeated and taken. — Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls sent to Kamaon. — Gorkhas under Hasti-dal defeated. — Stockaded Hill of Sitauli carried. — Almora surrendered. — Kamaon and Gerwhal ceded. — Fort of Jytak blockaded. — Operations against Malaun. — Positions of Ryla and Deothal carried.—The

latter strengthened, — Attacked by Amar Sing. — Valour of the Gorkhas, — Their Repulse. — Bhakti Sing Thapa killed. — Garrison evacuate Malaun. — Amar Sing capitulates. — The Country West of the Jumna ceded to the British. — Negotiations for Peace. — Conditions imposed. — Delays of the Gorkha Envoys. — Insincerity of the Court. — Hostilities renewed. — General Ochterlony commands. — Operations. — Churia-ghati Pass ascended. — Action of Makwanpur. — Nepal Envoys arrive. — Peace concluded, — Conditions. — Objections to the War, — To the Mode of carrying it on, — Considered. — Votes of Thanks. — Results of the War.

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THE third division of the British forces, commanded by Major-General J. S. Wood, was assembled at Gorakhpur early in November, but was not ready to take the field before the middle of December. The destination of the division was the district of Palpa, lying beyond Bhotwal, and accessible by a difficult mountain pass. Being informed that the pass was strongly stockaded, but that it might be turned by a different route, General Wood

1815. marched on the 3rd of January to reconnoitre the stockade of Jitpur, which was situated at the foot of the Majkote hills, one mile west of Bhotwal, which it would be necessary to carry. Detaching Major Comyn with seven companies to turn the left flank of the position, the General himself proceeded with twenty-one companies to attack it in front and on the right. The latter detachment had expected, on clearing a wood through which lay their march, to come out upon an open plain at some distance from the stockade; but the information was either erroneous or deceptive, as the General, with his staff and part of the advance, found themselves, upon emerging from the thicket, unexpectedly within fifty paces of the defences. A heavy and galling fire was at once opened upon them, which was followed by a sortie of the garrison. The arrival of the head of the column preserved them from destruction, and the Gorkhas were driven back. The main body then attacked the works in front, while one company of H. M.'s 17th, under Captain Croker, carried a hill to the right which commanded the enemy's stockade. Major Comyn meanwhile effected a passage

between the stockade and Bhotwal, and approached the eminence on which the latter was situated. There appeared to be every reasonable probability of success, when General Wood, apprehensive that it would be impossible to drive the Gorkhas from the thickets at the back of the stockade, the possession of which rendered the post untenable, determined to prevent what he considered a fruitless waste of lives, by commanding a retreat.[1] Nor did his distrust of his chances of success here terminate. Conceiving his force to be inadequate to offensive operations, he confined his measures to arrangements for the defence of the frontier, concentrating his force at Lautan, covering the road to Gorakhpur: the border line was, however, too extensive and too vulnerable to be thus protected; and the Gorkhas penetrated repeatedly at various points, inflicting serious injury, and spreading alarm throughout the whole tract. As the division moved to repress incursions in one direction, they took place in another. The town of Nichoul was burnt to ashes, and at one time Gorakhpur was scarcely considered to be safe. Reinforcements were supplied; but no better plan could be devised for counteracting the irruptions of the enemy than the retributive destruction of the crops in the lowlands belonging to them, and the removal of the population of the British territory to a greater distance from the hills.

After harassing his troops by unavailing marches against an enemy whose activity eluded pursuit, and retaliating upon the Gorkhas by wasting their fields and burning their villages, General Wood was compelled by the injunctions of the Commander-in-Chief to undertake a forward movement, and attempt the occupation of the town of Bhotwal. Having advanced to that place in the middle of April, he made some ineffectual demonstrations against it, and then returned to the plains. As exposure to the insalubrity of the climate had begun to affect the health of the troops, they were withdrawn in the beginning of May into cantonments at Gorakhpur.

The chief reliance of Lord Moira for the success of the entire plan of the campaign rested upon the division

[1] In this affair several officers were wounded, of whom Lieutenant Morrison, of the Engineers, died of his wounds.

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which was to be directed against the Gorkha capital. The troops were assembled at Dinapore, and commenced their march towards Bettia on the 23rd of November. A local corps, the Ramgerh battalion, had been previously detached under Major Roughsedge, to join Major Bradshaw, commanding on the frontier of Saran. Thus reinforced, Major Bradshaw proceeded to clear the frontier forests of the Gorkha posts. He moved on the night of the 24th of November, with three companies of the 15th N.I., two companies of the Champaran light infantry, and a troop of Gardner's irregular horse, to Barharwa, a plain on the west bank of the Bhagmati river, where Parsuram Thapa, the governor of the district, was encamped with four hundred men. The surprise was complete; and, although the Nepalese behaved with their usual intrepidity, they were entirely routed. Their commander was killed, with fifty of his men, and many were drowned in the Bhagmati. One officer, Lieutenant Boileau, commanding the Commissioners' escort, was wounded in a personal encounter with a Gorkha chief, who fell by his hand. Detachments under Captain Hay and Lieutenant Smith took possession of the post of Baragerhi and Parsa, in advance of Barharwa, without opposition, and the tract known as the Tirai was occupied, and annexed by proclamation to the British territories.[1]

The main army arrived at Pachraota on the frontier on the 12th of December, and the remainder of the month was spent in preliminary arrangements for ascending the hills, and in waiting for the junction of the battering-train; a delay which was contrary to the tenor of General Marley's instructions, as it was intended that he should leave the guns in the rear until he had established a solid footing in advance. This suspension of operations allowed the Gorkhas time to recover from the alarm which had been spread among them by the defeat and death of Parsuram Thapa; and they were emboldened to undertake an enterprise, the successful execution of which had a material influence in paralysing the movements of the division, and frustrating the purposes of its equipment.

With a view to preserve the occupation of the Tirai until the arrival of the main body, Major Bradshaw had

[1] Nepal Papers, 307.

stationed Captain Hay, with the head-quarters of the Champaran light infantry, at Baragerhi; Captain Blackney, with the left wing of the second battalion of the 22nd light infantry, at Samanpur, about twenty miles on his right; Captain Sibley, with about five hundred men, at Parsa, about as many miles on Captain Hay's left. General Marley encamped near Lautan, two miles west of Baragerhi. The outposts at Samanpur and Parsa were unsupported, and no precautions were taken to secure either position by temporary defences, although they were situated in the immediate proximity of the enemy, who, as the month advanced, began to exhibit signs of increasing activity. This negligence, originating in an undue contempt of the Gorkha detachments, was signally punished. Both posts were attacked by the Gorkhas in force on the 1st of January. Captain Blackney was taken completely by surprise, and, with his second in command, was slain at the first onset. The tents were set on fire, and the troops were killed or dispersed, with the exception of a few, who were kept together by Lieut. Strettell, and conducted to Gorasahan. At Parsa, Captain Sibley had suspected an approaching attack, and applied for reinforcements. Four companies of the 15th N.I. were consequently detached on the evening of the 31st, but they arrived only in time to cover the retreat of the fugitives. That any of the party effected their escape, was owing to the Gorkhas having been engaged in plundering the tents, as the camp had been surrounded before daybreak by an overpowering force. Captain Sibley, and more than half his detachment were killed, and the whole of the stores and magazines were in possession of the enemy. The result of these two affairs seems to have struck the men and their commander with unreasonable panic. Desertions were numerous; doubts were felt if much dependance could be placed on those who stood by their colours; and General Marley, impressed with the opinion that the Gorkhas were both so numerous and so daring, that, in place of advancing against them, it would be difficult to maintain a defensive attitude, and protect the borders, made a retrograde movement to the westward, in order to guard the depôt at Bettia, and provide for the security of the Saran frontier, leaving a strong

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division with Major Roughsedge at Baragerhi. The same feeling of alarm infected the authorities of Gorakhpur and Tirhut; and the approach of a Gorkha army, of irresistible strength and valour, was universally apprehended. The Gorkhas, however, were neither sufficiently numerous, nor sufficiently well apprised of the pusillanimity of their opponents, to follow up and improve their success; although they recovered the whole of the Tirai, with the exception of the country immediately protected by the military posts, and made various predatory and destructive incursions into the British territories.

Great exertions were made to add to the strength of General Marley's division; and reinforcements of troops and artillery, the former comprising his Majesty's 17th and 14th regiments, were immediately despatched to the frontier, raising the amount of the division to thirteen thousand men, a force more than adequate to encounter the whole Gorkha army, even if its numbers had approximated to the exaggerated estimates to which they had been raised by vague report and loose computation.[1] The General, nevertheless, hesitated to move; and, after spending the month of January in mischievous indecision, suddenly quitted his camp.[2] Colonel Dick assumed temporary command, until the arrival of Major-General George Wood, towards the end of February. On the 20th of that month a smart affair with the enemy took place, which redeemed the character and revived the spirit of the native troops. Lieutenant Pickersgill, while surveying, and attended by a small escort, came unexpectedly upon a party of four hundred Gorkhas. By skilful manœuvring he drew them from the cover of the forest towards the

[1] The Gorkhas were calculated by General Marley to be twelve thousand, or even eighteen thousand strong.—Nepal Papers, 540. The real number seems to have been seven or eight thousand, of which the greater part were new and ill-armed militia. The whole regular force of the Gorkhas was computed, upon authentic information, not to exceed twelve thousand, of which one-half at least was in the Western provinces.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 724.

[2] He left in a rather singular manner. "He set off before daylight in the morning, without publishing any notification of his intention to the troops, and without taking any means of providing for the conduct of the ordinary routine of command."—Prinsep, i. 129. He was, no doubt, influenced by the unqualified disapprobation expressed by Lord Moira; first, of his unnecessary delay for his battering-train; and next, of his neglect in leaving distant and exposed outposts without support or reinforcements.—Lord Moira's Narrative; Nepal Papers, 745.

camp, from whence, as soon as the firing was heard, a troop of one hundred irregular horse was despatched to his succour, while Colonel Dick followed with all the picquets. Before the infantry could come up, the cavalry, joined by a number of mounted officers, charged the Gorkha detachment, when the commander, a chief of some note, and a hundred of his men, were killed; fifty were taken, and the rest fled across a rivulet, in which many were drowned. The action struck so much terror into the Nepalese, that they hastily fell back from their forward position, and again abandoned the Tirai. The road to Makwanpur was now open. A month remained for military operations before the unhealthy season commenced, the army was reinforced with European troops and artillery, and the confidence of the native soldiery was beginning to revive. General Wood, however, infected by the same spirit of caution and procrastination which had retarded the operations of his predecessor, and entertaining similar notions of the difficulties opposed to offensive movements, pleaded the advanced season of the year as an excuse for confining his operations to the plains; and after a march to Janakpur, on the Tirhut frontier, and back, by which it was ascertained that the Gorkhas had entirely evacuated the low-lands, the army was broken up and distributed in cantonments, in convenient situation along the borders, from the Gandak river to the Kusi.[1]

While the two divisions in Gorakhpur and Saran disappointed the calculations upon which they had been organised, the smaller body, under Major Latter, in the same direction, had surpassed expectation, and accomplished more than it was destined to attempt. Not only had the boundary east of the Kusi river been protected from insult, but the Gorkhas had been driven from all their positions: occupation had been taken of the province of Morang, and an alliance had been formed with a hill chief, the Raja of Sikim, a small state east of Nepal; which, while it rescued him from the risk of being

[1] Nepal Papers, 560. As Captain Sutherland observes, "the results of the first campaign must have confounded the calculations of the noble Marquis, and every one else. That portion of the army with which it was meant to make an impression on the enemy in the seat of his power remained inactive, whilst the skirmishes on the left flank, which could have been only intended to produce a diversion, succeeded to an extent that shook the Gorkha on his throne."—Pol. Relations, 37.

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crushed by his ambitious neighbour, gave the British a useful confederate, and additional means of acting upon the resources of the enemy.[1]

Another element in the plan of the campaign, intended to take but a subordinate and contingent share, was equally attended with success, and was productive of highly important consequences. The province of Kamaon, forming the central part of the Gorkha conquests, was under the authority of a chief, Chautra Bam Sah, who was known to be disaffected to the ruling dynasty of Nepal; while the people of Kamaon, and the adjacent province of Gerhwal, who had been subject to the Raja of Srinagar, but had been alienated by his tyrannical conduct, and had consequently facilitated the Gorkha invasion, were now as hostile to their new and not less oppressive rulers, and were anxious to transfer their allegiance to the British. No serious obstacles were thought likely, therefore, to impede the British possession of the country, and its occupation was strongly recommended by its central situation. The want of a disposable force delayed for some time any attempt to enter the district, and it was at length determined to commence operations with a body of irregulars, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Gardner, an officer of merit, who had risen to notice and distinction in the service of the Raja of Jaypur. On the 15th of February, Colonel Gardner ascended the hills; the Gorkhas fell back, occasionally skirmishing with the detachment, but offering no resolute resistance. The gallant bearing of the irregulars, consisting chiefly of natives of Rohilkhand, and the judicious dispositions of their leader, dislodged the enemy from every position, until they had concentrated their force upon the ridge on which stands the town of Almora.

During the advance of Colonel Gardner, another body of irregular troops, commanded by Captain Hearsay, entered the province by the Timli pass, near the Gogra river, in order to create a diversion in Colonel Gardner's favour, and prevent Gorkha reinforcements from crossing the river. This movement, also, was at first successful. Captain Hearsay took possession of the chief town of the district, and laid siege to a hill-fort in its vicinity: here,

[1] Nepal Papers, 560.

however, he was attacked by Hasti Dal Chautra, the Gorkha commander of the adjoining district of Duti, and was defeated and taken prisoner. He was conducted to Almora, to which the Gorkhas repaired to assist in its defence.

The importance of securing and extending the advantages obtained in Kamaon determined the Governor-General to send a regular force into that quarter; and Lieutenant-Colonel Nicolls, of his Majesty's 14th regiment, was despatched thither to take the command, with three battalions of Native infantry and a proportion of field artillery.[1] Colonel Nicolls joined the troops before Almora on the 8th of April. The Gorkhas were nothing daunted by his arrival; and, whatever inclination Bam Sah had originally manifested to join the invaders, no indication of any disposition to surrender the fortress entrusted to his charge was exhibited: he had been taught, no doubt, by the little progress which the British arms had yet made, to question the probability of their ultimate triumph, and to adhere to the safer path of fidelity to his sovereign. Almora was resolutely defended, and measures were taken to render the position of the besiegers untenable. On the 21st, Hasti Dal marched from Almora to occupy a mountain pass on the north of the British camp. He was immediately followed by Major Paton, with five companies of the 2nd battalion of the 5th, as many companies of the light battalion, and a company of irregulars: the enemy were overtaken on the evening of the 22nd of April, and, after a spirited action, put to flight with the loss of their commander. No time was suffered to efface the effects of this discomfiture. On the 25th, a general attack was made on the stockaded defences of the hill of Sitauli, in front of Almora, which were all carried after a short resistance, and the troops, following up their success, established themselves within the town: a vigorous effort was made at night by the garrison to recover possession of the posts, and, for a time, a part was regained, but the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. On the following morning the troops were advanced to within seventy yards of the fort, and mortars were opened

[1] The 2nd battalion of the 14th, 2nd of the 5th, flank battalion from the Dún; four 6-pounders, two 12-pounders, and four mortars.

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upon the works; the effect of which was soon discernible in the desertion of great numbers of the defenders. A flag of truce was sent out by the commandant, and, after a short negociation, the Gorkhas were allowed to retire across the Kali, with their arms and personal property; and the fort of Almora, with the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, were ceded to the British. They were permanently annexed to the British territories.[1]

The conquest thus achieved was the first blow of importance suffered by the Government of Nepal, and intimated to it, in intelligible terms, the consequences to be anticipated from a prolongation of the contest. The celerity with which it was effected, although ascribable in some degree to the favourable temper of the inhabitants, was still more to be attributed to the gallantry and activity of Colonel Gardner, and the vigour and judgment of his successor in the command. The moral influence of character in the leaders, upon the courage of the troops, was strikingly exemplified in this short campaign: the victory was won by Native troops alone: and the same men, who had in other places behaved with unsteadiness or cowardice, here, almost invariably, displayed personal firmness and intrepidity.

While these transactions occurred upon the eastern line of operations, others, of varying influence upon the objects of the campaign, took place in the west. Little progress had been made by the division of General Martindell. This division had continued to be encamped against the fort of Jytak, but no serious impression had been effected. Heavy ordnance had been carried up the mountain with prodigious labour and protracted delay; and, on the 20th of March, a battery, having been opened upon the first of the stockades, levelled it, in the course of one day, with the ground. No attempt was made to advance the batteries sufficiently near to bear upon the remaining defences, the General being apprehensive that it would bring down the whole garrison upon his positions. He therefore decided to try the result of a blockade. In furtherance of this

[1] Nepal Papers, 570. The total loss in the Kamaon campaign was one hundred and eighty killed and wounded. The only officer killed was Lieutenant Tapley of the 27th N. I., doing duty with the flank battalion, who was shot on the night of the 26th of April.

project, Major Richards was sent on the 1st of April to occupy a station on the ridge east of the fort. He accomplished the duty assigned him, and, pursuing his advantage, drove the Gorkhas from several stockades, until he reached the point which he judged best adapted to intercept all communication in that direction with the fort. Other advantageous stations were occupied with equal success; and Jytak would probably have been reduced by famine, had not its fall been accelerated by the brilliant result of General Ochterlony's contest with Amar Sing.

Having reduced all the detached Gorkha posts, and confined them to the heights of Malaun, and having all his force disposable, General Ochterlony judged that the time had arrived to straiten the enemy still further by breaking through his defences, and taking such positions in the line as should cut off the communication between the two forts on which it rested, Surajgerh and Malaun. The British camp was pitched at Battoh, on the northern bank of the Gamrora, a small stream running immediately at the foot of the Malaun range. Looking southward from the encampment, the Gorkha posts were descried stretching along the summit of the mountain, having the fort of Malaun on the extreme right, that of Surajgerh on the extreme left: most of the intermediate peaks being occupied, and stockaded. The stockades were strongest in the vicinity of Malaun; and directly below the fort, on the slope of the hill, lay the Gorkha cantonments, similarly protected. On the right of Malaun, upon an eminence of somewhat less altitude, and separated from it by deep ravines, was situated the fort of Ratangerh, which had been occupied, as has been mentioned, by Colonel Arnold. The fort of Surajgerh was observed by a detachment under Captain Stewart, stockaded upon a contiguous elevation. In the course of the works upon the top of the ridge there appeared to be two assailable points: one of them, named Ryla, was unprotected, except by the posts on the adjacent peaks; the other, termed Deothal, lying more to the right and nearer to Malaun, was defended by a stockade, but not in great strength. As the possession of these two points would separate Malaun from most of its dependent outworks, General Ochterlony determined

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to attempt their capture, distracting at the same time the attention of the enemy by an attack upon the cantonments.

For the occupation of Ryla, a detachment of two companies of light infantry, and a considerable body of irregulars, under Lieutenants Fleming and Grant, ascended the mountain on the night of the 14th of April, and effected a lodgement. Before they could be attacked, they were joined by a division under Captain Hamilton, and a grenadier battalion from head-quarters; and the whole, under Major Innis, established themselves firmly in their position. At the same time, day-break of the 15th, Lieutenant-Colonel Thompson, with two battalions of the 3rd N. I. and two field-pieces, left the camp for Deothal; and Major Lawrie, with the 2nd battalion of the 7th and a body of irregulars, moved in the same direction from the village of Kali, on the right of the camp. From the latter column, a detachment under Captain Bowyer, of two hundred and sixty regular and five hundred picked irregular troops, diverged to the right towards the Gorkha cantonments, to co-operate with Captain Showers, who was to march upon the same point from Ratangerh, with a force of equal strength, similarly composed.

The columns under Colonel Thompson and Major Lawrie ascending the hill united about ten o'clock, and, moving briskly to Deothal, quickly carried the post. Colonel Thompson, leaving Major Lawrie at Deothal with the rest of the force, put himself at the head of the light infantry, and advanced to the right with the intention of seizing a stockade within battering distance of the fort of Malaun. The Gorkhas, lurking behind rocks and bushes, kept up an annoying fire upon the column, but failed to arrest its progress until it had neared the stockade, when a small but resolute body of the enemy rushed suddenly from their lurking-places among the leading files, and, attacking them with their heavy swords, cut down many, and filled the rest with so much terror, that, in spite of the exertions of their officers, they fell back in confusion to the point they had recently quitted. Fortunately, the men left with Major Lawrie stood firm; and, the foremost of the pursuers falling under their fire, the pursuit was checked, and the fugitives were rallied. The Gorkhas

then retired: defences were immediately thrown up, and this post also was secured.

The attack upon the cantonments, although it completely answered the object for which it was undertaken, and, by the powerful diversion which it created, materially facilitated the occupation of Ryla and Deothal, was repulsed by the Gorkhas with some loss both of life and credit to the assailants. The division under Captain Showers had nearly reached the Gorkha stockades when it was encountered by the enemy, whose resolute charge shook the steadiness of the men. The officer commanding the hostile party being in advance, Captain Showers hastened to meet him; and a single combat took place, in which the Gorkha champion fell. His troops immediately fired a volley, by which Captain Showers was killed: his detachment fled in irrecoverable confusion, and were followed by the victors, who destroyed all whom they overtook, until they were checked by a party under Lieutenant Roughsedge, which had been sent by Colonel Arnold from Ratangerh. The fugitives also rallied, and the Gorkhas were compelled to retrace their steps up the hill. The party under Captain Bowyer met with better fortune. He had made some way towards his destination, and taken up a position in the village of Malaun, before he was attacked by the Gorkhas. The irregulars fled upon the approach of the enemy, but the regular troops were steady, and made good their footing: but, observing the discomfiture of the detachment which was to have joined him, Captain Bowyer confined himself to a defensive attitude until the evening, when he was withdrawn; no further benefit being attainable from his advance.

As the British position at Deothal was not likely to be long held with impunity, great exertions were made during the 15th to render it as strong as possible: reinforcements were despatched; defences of the nature of a stockade, as strong as circumstances permitted, were constructed; and two field-pieces were sent up, and planted in the embrasures. On the other hand, Amar Sing, anticipating the fall of Malaun from so near an approach of the British, resolved to make a desperate attempt to drive them down the mountain again; and for this purpose placed his whole force under the command of Bhakti

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Sing Thapa, the commandant of Surajgerh, a leader of known intrepidity, whilst he supported the attack in person. At day-break on the 16th, the Gorkhas advanced to the assault in a semicircle along the ridge and the declivity on either hand, so as to turn both flanks of the position. Bhakti Sing headed the charge; while Amar Sing with his youngest son took his station within musket-shot with the Gorkha standard, urging the backward and animating the bold. The Gorkhas displayed the most undaunted resolution, advancing to the very muzzles of the guns, and endeavouring to strike down their opponents over their bayonets. Although repeatedly swept away by the discharge of grape from the two field-pieces which commanded the approach, they returned to the attack with such obstinacy, and kept up so close and destructive a fire upon them, that all by whom the guns were served were either killed or disabled, except three privates and as many officers, by whom alone they at last were worked.[1] The action had lasted two hours, when reinforcements from the post of Ryla having joined, and it being evident that the spirit of the enemy was beginning to fail, while that of the Sipahis rose with the continuance of successful resistance, Colonel Thompson commanded a charge with the bayonet to be made by the regular troops, and the irregulars to fall on, sword in hand. The charge was led by Major Lawrie. The Gorkhas gave way and fled, leaving their brave commander, Bhakti Thapa, dead on the field. Amar Sing collected the fugitives, and retired into the fort.[2] The body of Bhakti Sing, when found, was decently wrapped in shawls, and

[1] The officers were Lieutenant Cartwright of the Artillery, Lieutenant Armstrong of the Pioneers, and Lieutenant Hutchinson of the Engineers.

[2] The slain of the enemy exceeded five hundred. The loss of the British was two hundred and thirteen killed and wounded: Lieutenant Bagot, of the Pioneers, died of his wounds. Although not included in the loss on this occasion, a short subsequent period deprived the army of one of its most efficient officers, in the death of Lieutenant Lawtie, the field-engineer, whose public deserts were thus recorded by the Commander-in-chief: "It is painful to think that an individual, whose skill, whose judgment, and whose animated devotion materially forwarded the proud result, should not have survived to share in the triumph; but the grateful recollection of his fellow-soldiers and of Government will associate the memory of Lieutenant Lawtie with all the trophies which he so eminently contributed to raise." Lieutenant Lawtie died at the early age of twenty-four of fever, brought on by the fatigues and exposure he had undergone. The army went into mourning, and afterwards erected a monument to his memory in the Cathedral Church of Calcutta.—Nepal Papers, 581; Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, p. 33.

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sent to his countrymen. On the following day, two of his wives burnt themselves with his corpse in the sight of both armies.

The repulse of their attack upon the post of Deothal so completely depressed the courage of the Gorkha army, that little opposition was offered to the subsequent arrangements of General Ochterlony for the closer investment of Malaun. Most of the exterior works had fallen during the last half of April. On the 8th of May a battery of heavy guns had opened upon the principal redoubt, and preparations for storming were commenced, when the main body of the garrison quitted Malaun without arms, and gave themselves up to the nearest British post,—unable longer to endure the hardships which they suffered from the blockade, seeing no prospect of being relieved, and being unsuccessful in their endeavours to prevail on Amar Sing to surrender. As the chief with a few of his adherents still maintained a show of resistance, guns were opened on the 10th of May upon the fort, and their fire continued during the day. On the following morning Amar Sing sent his son to intimate his father's desire to negociate; and a convention was finally concluded with him, by which he consented to give up all the possessions of the Gorkhas on the west of the Jumna, and to send orders for the evacuation of Gerhwal. Amar Sing with the garrison of Malaun, Ranjor Sing with part of that of Jytak, and all members of the Thapa family, were allowed to return to Nepal with their private property and military equipments. The men were left the choice of departing for Nepal, or taking service with the British; and, most of them having preferred the latter alternative, they were formed into battalions for duty in the hills, for which they were peculiarly fit.

The discomfiture of their most distinguished officers, and the loss of their most valuable conquests, lowered the confident tone of the Government of Nepal, and induced it to sue for peace. Bam Sah Chautra was authorised to communicate with the British Commissioner in Kamaon; and Gaj Raj Misr, the spiritual teacher or Guru of the late Raja was summoned from his retirement at Benares, and sent as a more formal envoy to treat with Lieutenant-Colonel Bradshaw, who had been empowered by the

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Governor-General to conclude a pacification on prescribed conditions. These were, 1, the relinquishment of all claims on the hill Rajas[1] west of the Kali river; 2, the cession of the whole of the Tirai, or low-lands, at the foot of the hills along the Gorkha frontier; 3, the restoration to the Sikim Raja of all territory wrested from him, with the cession of two stockaded forts, and, 4, the admission of a Resident at Khatmandu. The first and third conditions were submitted to, and the mission of a Resident reluctantly acquiesced in; but the cession of the Tirai was a demand which the Court of Nepal pertinaciously resisted.

The Tirai, or low-land of Nepal, extends from the Tista river on the east, to the Ganges on the west. It forms a grassy plain at the foot of the hills, which are fringed by a belt of forest, and divided into various irregular portions by the numerous and large rivers which cross it, from north to south, on their way from the mountains to the main stream of the Ganges. It is in general not above twenty miles in breadth, but is, with local intervals, above five hundred in length. From the copiousness of its natural irrigation, the soil is peculiarly fertile, is clothed throughout the year with a rich carpet of verdure, and, where cultivated, is productive of abundant crops of rice: and although from the same cause it is at different seasons of the year especially insalubrious, yet during the healthy months much cultivation is carried on, and grain is raised for exportation;[2] while spots least favourable for agriculture afford a coarse but exuberant pasture for the herds and flocks from the adjacent hills. From these circumstances, the Tirai yielded a valuable revenue to the Court of Nepal, of which it could not afford to endure the deprivation; and the interests of the state were powerfully enforced by those of influential individuals, as the principal chiefs and military leaders derived their subsistence mainly from Jagirs situated in this quarter.[3] On the other hand, an exaggerated opinion

[1] They were the Rajas of Kahlur, Hindur, Sirmor, Bisahar, Keonthal, Bagul, Jubal, and Gerhwal.—Prinsep, 177.

[2] Hamilton's (Buchanan) Account of Nepal.

[3] It was stated by the Gorkha chiefs to Mr. Gardner, the British Commissioner in Kamaon, that most of the military leaders and their followers derived their support from lands in the Tirai; that the Raja's household ex-

of the productiveness of the Tirai rendered the British Government equally anxious to retain it in their possession, as the only source whence any compensation for the charges of the war could be expected. It was also considered desirable to hold it, in order to preclude the repetition of those border quarrels in which the recent hostilities had originated.

The negociations, which began in May, were protracted through the rainy season, when military operations were necessarily suspended. The Court of Nepal appeared disposed to concede the points demanded, and letters from the Raja and the Regent gave to the Nepal Commissioners full authority to conclude the negociation.[1] Although nothing was definitively settled, the Government of Bengal, under an impression that the Nepal Government was sincere, professed a willingness to make some modifications of the original plan; the low-lands from the Kali to the Gandak were insisted on; but from the Gandak to the Kusi, along the frontiers of Sarau and Tirhut, only those portions were to be retained into which the British authority had been already introduced. The district of Morang, between the Kusi and the Michi, was to be given up, leaving a narrow tract east of the Michi, between it and the Tista, to preserve a communication with Sikim. Pensions to the annual extent of two lakhs of rupees were offered as an indemnification to the chiefs who had Jagirs in the districts which were to be separated from Nepal.[2] These terms were made known to the Court of Khatmandu in the early part of September, but no answer was received until the 29th of October, when the commutation of the proposed pensions for further portions of the Tirai was stipulated for. This was declared by Lieut.-Colonel Bradshaw to be inadmissible, and the

penses were defrayed from the same source; and that of twenty lakhs of rupees a-year the revenue of Nepal, Tirai alone yielded ten lakhs.—Nepal Papers, 776 and 810.

[1] The letter from the Raja was thus expressed: "The country of Kamaon on the west, and the Tirai, have been conquered by the British Government. With regard to those conquests, whatever may be the result of these negociations will be approved by me. Do not entertain any doubt on this head, but pursue the course which shall establish friendship between the two states." And Bhim Sen, while he notices that there is a party opposed to the peace, adds, that whatever the Commissioners should do or say, he would advocate the same with the Raja, and obtain his confirmation.—MS. Records.

[2] Draft of Treaty, Nepal Papers, 835.

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negociation to be at an end; but the Commissioners solicited for a delay of a few days, until a reference could be made to the Court. The delay was granted, but the answer was delayed beyond the time proposed, and, when it did arrive, was unsatisfactory. The Commissioners then proposed to repair themselves to Khatmandu, engaging to return in twelve days with a definite reply. They accordingly departed, and rejoined the British Agent at Sigauli on the 28th instant, bringing with them authority to terminate the negociation on the basis proposed. On the 2nd of December the treaty was duly executed; the Commissioners promising that its ratification under the red seal, the signet of the Raja of Nepal should be delivered in fifteen days. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General in council on the 9th December, but the promised ratification from Khatmandu failed to make its appearance; and in its stead a private agent from the Regent apprised the Gorkha Commissioners that the war-party, headed by Amar Sing Thapa, prevailed in the councils of Nepal.[1] Another effort was made to procure the ratification of the treaty, and hopes were held out, authorised by the instructions of the Governor-General, that, if it were agreed to, its execution would not be rigorously enforced.[2] The emissary of the Regent returned to Khatmandu, but no further communication was received; and on the 28th of December the two negociators set out also for the Gorkha capital. It could no longer be doubted, that, although the Court of Nepal had at first been inclined to purchase peace on any conditions, its courage had been reanimated by the chiefs who had returned to the capital from the west, and that its policy was now to defer the definitive conclusion of the treaty until the season should be too far advanced for hostilities to be resumed with effect, and the losses and expenses of an unprofitable campaign should induce the British Government to relax in its demands.

[1] Although apparently averse to the beginning of the war, Amar Sing was unwilling to purchase peace by ignominious concessions. A very remarkable and characteristic letter from him to the Raja was intercepted, and is given in the Appendix.

[2] It had been, in fact, determined to give up the lands of Bhotwal and Sheoraj, the whole cause of the war. Their cession Lord Moira considered indispensable to the satisfaction and honour of the British Government; but, this object being effected, the lands themselves were not worth keeping.—Nepal Papers, 840.

As soon as the purpose of the Gorkha Government was detected, active preparations were set on foot for a vigorous renewal of hostilities. Upon the abandonment of the provinces west of the Kali, by the Gorkhas, the regular troops employed in that quarter had been marched to their stations, with the exception of small garrisons in the principal forts, and the irregulars had been dismissed, except the Gorkha battalions, to whom principally the defence of the conquered provinces was entrusted. The Gorakhpur and Saran divisions had, however, been held in readiness on the frontier, or at Dinapore, in anticipation of the possibility of a second campaign; and they were quickly collected under Major-General Sir David Ochterlony,[1] who was invested with the chief political as well as military authority. The Gorkhas, on their part, strongly fortified the passes by which an army might penetrate into the hills, on the route towards Makwanpur, and the valley of Nepal.

By the beginning of February, Sir David Ochterlony had taken the field with a force of nearly seventeen thousand men, including three King's regiments. This he disposed in four brigades,[2] severally commanded by Colonel Kelly, of his Majesty's 24th; Lieutenant-Colonel Nicoll, of the 66th; Lieutenant-Colonel Miller, of the 87th; and Lieutenant-Colonel Burnet, of the 8th N. I. The first was detached to the right, to penetrate by Hariharpur; the second to the left, to enter the hills at Ramnagar; General Ochterlony, with the other two brigades, marched on the 12th of February, from Simlabasa, through the forest to the foot of the Bichu-koh, or Chiria-ghati pass, formed by the bed of a mountain torrent. Whilst encamped at this place, the Gorkha Commissioners arrived

[1] General Ochterlony had been created a Baronet after the surrender of Malaun; he had previously been gazetted a Knight Commander of the Bath. All the field-officers serving at Malaun were made Companions of the Bath.

[2] They were composed as follows: 1st brigade of his Majesty's 24th, 1st battalion 18th N. I., divisions of the 2nd battalion and the Champaran L. I.; 2nd brigade of his Majesty's 66th, 5th and 8th grenadier battalions N.I.; 1st battalion of the 8th and 2nd of the 18th; 3rd brigade of his Majesty's 87th, 2nd battalions of the 13th, 22nd, and 25th N. I.; 4th brigade, 2nd battalions of the 4th, 8th, 9th, and 15th N. I., and part of the 1st battalion of the 30th, with details of artillery, pioneers, and irregular horse. Two other divisions were also formed: one at Sitapur, in Oude, under Colonel J. Nicolls, intended to enter the district of Duti, between the Kali and Rapti rivers; the other at Gorakhpur, under Major-General J. S. Wood, intended as a reserve.—Nepal Papers, 983.

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from Khatmandu; but, instead of the ratified treaty, they brought repeated demands for territorial concession, and a proposal that the pecuniary compensation should be paid to the Raja, not to his officers. As they were informed that the ratification of the treaty must precede all subordinate arrangements, they shortly left the camp.

The Chiria-ghati pass, in addition to its own difficulties, was defended by successive tiers of strong stockades, and could not have been forced by an attack in front without disproportionate loss. After some delay, another access to the mountains was discovered, and which, although difficult and dangerous, was undefended. It was, in fact, little better than a dark and deep ravine, between lofty and precipitous banks clothed with trees, whose intermingling branches over head excluded the light of day. The General, leaving the fourth brigade on the ground, and his tents standing, marched at night on the 14th of February, with the third brigade, and wound his way slowly and laboriously up the pass, almost in single file; Sir David Ochterlony marching on foot at the head of the 87th regiment, leading the column. After proceeding some distance, the troops emerged into more open, but broken, ground, whence they again entered into a water course; this led to the foot of a steep acclivity, about three hundred feet high, up which the advance clambered with the assistance of the projecting boughs and rocks.

It was eight in the morning before the advance reached the summit, and nine at night before the rear-guard ascended; the day being spent in getting up the remainder of the men, with a couple of field-pieces. The troops marched five miles from the top of the pass before they found a supply of water, when the brigade halted, while the pioneers were busily employed in rendering the ascent practicable for laden cattle, and stores, and ammunition, which was the work of three days.[1] On the fourth, the General moved to Hetaunda, on the bank of the Rapti, where he was joined by the fourth brigade, which had mounted the hills by the Chiria-ghati pass, from the

[1] Besides the official despatches, particular and graphic descriptions of the ascent of the Balukola ravine are given by the author of Military Sketches of the Gorkha War, p. 39. and by Lieutenant Shipp, a Lieutenant of the 87th regiment.—See his Memoirs, ii. 63.

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stockades of which the Gorkhas retired when they found that the position had been turned.

After making the arrangements necessary for securing the communications in his rear, General Ochterlony advanced, on the 27th of February, to the fortified heights of Makwanpur, and encamped on a piece of level ground two miles to their south. The town and fort lay to the right of the camp: opposite to its left was the village of Sekhar-khatri, held by a strong detachment of the enemy; but they evacuated it on the following morning, and it was immediately taken possession of by three companies of the 25th N. I. and forty men of the 87th. They were not long unmolested. At noon, the Gorkhas returned in greater force, and endeavoured to recover the position; they drove in the picquets, and fell upon the village with great impetuosity; but the flank companies of the 87th, and the rest of the 25th, having been despatched to reinforce the post as soon as the firing commenced, arrived in time to check the fury of the assailants. Fresh numbers of the enemy poured along the summit of the heights from Makwanpur, to the extent of at least two thousand men: reinforcements were also sent from the camp, of two companies of the 87th and the 12th Native corps, and, after repeated attacks, the Gorkhas were finally repulsed. Although forced to retreat, they fell back only to a neighbouring eminence, from which they kept up a galling fire, until they were dislodged by the bayonets of the 8th N. I. The action lasted from noon till five o'clock, when it became dark. The Nepalese loss was computed at five hundred: of the British, forty-five were killed, and one hundred and seventy-five wounded.[1] On the following day the division was joined by the first brigade, under Colonel Nicoll, who had ascended the mountains by a pass on the north of Ramnagar, and marched up the valley of the Rapti without encountering an enemy.

The second brigade, commanded by Colonel Kelly, succeeded in ascending the mountains to the south of the fort of Hariharpur, by a route which had not been stockaded. Finding the fort unassailable on the quarter by

[1] Lieutenant Tirrell, of the 20th regiment, was killed in the first assault on the village.—Nepal Papers, 987. A Gorkha chief was killed in single combat by Lieutenant Shipp.—Memoirs, ii. 102; Prinsep's History, i. 199.

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which he had advanced, Colonel Kelly moved round to a village on its west. The approach to the fort was protected by a strong semicircular stockade, with two guns, the flanks of which rested on perpendicular rocks. This defence was, however, commanded by an eminence at a distance of about eight hundred yards, which the Gorkhas had neglected to occupy in strength, and which was, therefore, carried without much difficulty by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel O'Halloran. The party was scarcely in position when it was attacked by a superior force, and an obstinate struggle ensued, which continued for five hours, when some field-pieces having been carried up decided the contest. The Gorkhas fled from their fire; and the result seems to have so disheartened the garrison, that on the following day the fort was abandoned by the commandant, Ranjor Sing Thapa, the chief who had so gallantly defended the fort of Jytak in the previous campaign.[1]

Immediately after the action at Sekhar-khatri, preparations were set on foot for erecting batteries against the stockades and fort of Makwanpur; but, before they were well opened, operations were arrested by the apprehensions of the Government of Nepal. The commandant, who was the brother of the Regent, sent word to Sir David Ochterlony that he had received the ratified treaty from his court, and requested permission to send an authorised agent in charge of it to the British camp. The envoy was received accordingly on the 3rd of March; but the treaty was not accepted without the additional stipulation, that the cession of territory exacted from Nepal, should comprehend the country conquered in the actual campaign, and the valley of the Rapti. The Commissioner and the Governor of Makwanpur acceded to the conditions, and their acquiescence was confirmed by the Raja. Peace between the two states was consequently re-established.

The principal conditions of the treaty have already been adverted to; but, in their execution, the British Resident appointed to Khatmandu, the Honourable Mr. Gardner, was authorised to commute the proposed annual pensions for restoration of a portion of the Tirai conveniently separated from the British boundary. The proposal was

[1] Nepal Papers, 940.

gladly accepted. A line of demarcation generally was agreed to, to be determined by subsequent survey; and a considerable tract between the Michi and Gandak rivers, exclusive of a small space on the Saran frontier, but comprehending Bhotwal, was restored to the Nepalese. A treaty was at the same time concluded with the Sikim Raja, by which he was guaranteed in the possession of his territory on condition of his submitting all disputes between him and his neighbours of Nepal, to the arbitration of the Government of Bengal, joining its troops when employed in the mountains, and affording protection and encouragement to merchants and traders from the Company's territories. On the west of Nepal, the provinces of Kamaon and Gerhwal, the valleys above the first range of hills, and some military posts were annexed to the British possessions; while the petty hill Rajas lying still more to the west and north, were mostly re-established in their principalities under the general stipulation of allegiance and subordination to the British authority. The Raja of Nepal died shortly after the close of hostilities, and was succeeded by an infant son. The regency continued in the hands of Bhim sen Thapa, and the event occasioned no change in the relations established between the two Courts; which, although no cordiality has been manifested by the Nepal Government, has ever since continued undisturbed.

Thus terminated a war which presented many features of a novel aspect, and which in its outset threatened to tarnish the splendour of the British military character in India. The causes of disappointment rested, in some cases, with the commanders of the several divisions, who, alarmed by discomfiture brought on by precipitation, or by injudicious arrangements, fell into the error of exaggerating the resources of the enemy, and, with the exception of Sir David Ochterlony, distrusted their ability to cope with the Nepalese. In some respects, also, the Native troops failed to maintain their reputation. Unaccustomed to a country the broken surface of which often rendered it impossible for them to observe the compact order on which they had been trained to rely for support, and startled by the unusual charge of the Gorkhas, who, like the Highlanders of North Britain, rushed, after firing their

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matchlocks, sword in hand, and in fierce though disorderly masses, upon the ranks of their adversaries, they exhibited, in some of the early actions, a want of steadiness which proved fatal to themselves, and embarrassing to their leaders. With experience came a juster appreciation of their own strength, and of that of their opponents; and on the heights of Malaun and Makwanpur, the Sipahis gallantly redeemed their reputation.

The occurrence of hostilities so immediately after the renewal of the Company's charter, and the diversion to military expenditure of the funds with which many of the members of the Court of Directors had confidently expected that the competition to which the Company's trade was now exposed might be advantageously encountered,[1] produced in the Court a strong feeling of opposition to the war, and induced a considerable and influential party to deny its necessity,[2] and to condemn the mode in which it had been conducted. We may pause to consider briefly how far they were warranted in their conclusions.

The encroachments of the Nepalese were not the sudden growth of a recently awakened spirit of presumption, or a

[1] In the Letters of the Court, of the 13th October, 1815, they write:—"We find, with extreme concern, that the effects of the Nepalese war are so strongly felt in your financial department, as to induce the apprehension that the advances to be issued for our European investment will be reduced to a very small sum indeed. . . . If the advances for the investment are to be withheld, the sales at this house for Indian goods will soon be brought to a stand; in which case, not only will the operations of our home finances be impeded, but it will also involve the impossibility of our being able to afford to India the assistance, in the event of the continuance of warfare, which would be so necessary, and which we should be so desirous to furnish."—Nepal Papers, 548. The necessity of supplying funds from home was little likely to arise, unless those which were available for political disbursements were absorbed in the purchase of commercial investments.

[2] The Court of Directors expressed a confident hope that, "as the result of the local inquiries had satisfied you of the Company's right to the disputed lands, the Government of Nepal would yield to your application for the surrender of those lands, without your being under the necessity of having recourse to more decided measures."—Letter to Bengal; Nepal Papers, 547. The expectation was based upon a very inaccurate knowledge of the temper of the Gorkha Government, and the necessity of having recourse to arms was recognised by the Court in a dispatch, dated 18th July, 1814. The necessity of the war was further demonstrated by Lord Hastings in a letter to the Chairman; and, as there stated, he was pledged to a definite course by the measures of his predecessor. The alternative of hostilities was the decision of Lord Minto. Lord Moira observes: "In this state I found things. I certainly had an option; I might shrink from the declaration plighted by Lord Minto, abandoning the property of the Company, sacrificing the safety of our subjects, and staining the character of our Government, or I had to act up to the engagements bequeathed to me, and to reprove the trespass of an insatiable neighbour. That I should have chosen the latter alternative will hardly afford ground for censure."—Nepal Papers, 992.

transitory ebullition of overweening pride. They were the deliberate and progressive crop of a long series of years, and had not even yet attained their full development. They were the result of a uniform and consistent design against the integrity of the Company's dominions. They had been long leniently dealt with; calm expostulations and menacing remonstrances had been tried repeatedly; and, finally, an amicable adjustment by an appeal to evidence and proofs of various kinds, had been attempted, but all conciliatory measures had been tried in vain. Aggressions were committed almost in the presence of the Commissioners professing to conduct a friendly and impartial investigation, and promises to abide by their decision were evaded or disregarded. It was evident that forbearance only gave audacity to insult, and boldness to usurpation; and the only questions that remained for consideration were, the relinquishment of the disputed lands, or the assertion of the right to them by arms.

All history records the impolicy of yielding to the demands of barbarians. Concession invariably inspires them with presumption, and stimulates them to fresh exactions. It would have been contrary to all experience to have relied upon the pacific effects of giving way to the pretensions of Nepal, to have expected that the Court of Khatmandu would have been soothed into moderation by acquiescence in its claims. Such an expectation was in an especial manner unwarranted by the known character of the Gorkha Government, whose whole policy for half a century had been the extension of their possessions, and who were confirmed in their notions of the wisdom of their policy by the success with which it had been almost invariably pursued. It might have been thought likely that they would nevertheless have paused before they provoked the enmity of a power so superior as the British to the unwarlike and disunited principalities over which they had triumphed; but an accurate comparison of resources, and appreciation of means, were scarcely to be expected from a cabinet so imperfectly instructed as that of Khatmandu in the circumstances of its neighbours, so strongly impelled by personal interests, and so deeply swayed by arrogance and passion. We have seen that the war-party anticipated little more peril from hostilities

with the British, than with a petty Raja of the hills; and that, confiding in their past fortunes, the courage of their troops, and the strength of their country, they entertained no doubt of keeping their antagonist at bay until he should be weary of the contest. Nor did they depend solely upon their own means of resistance. They calculated upon the co-operation of still more powerful allies; and, endeavouring to interest Ranjit Sing, Sindhia, the Raja of Bhurtpur, Mir Khan, and even the Pindaris, in their quarrel,[1] they sanguinely anticipated that the reverses experienced by the British arms would be the signal for a general rising of the Princes of Hindustan.[2] The crisis was not altogether impossible; and a continued repetition of the disasters of the first campaign might have seriously compromised the peace and security of the British empire in India.

A danger of a less formidable nature presented itself in the interposition of the Government of China, to which the Court of Khatmandu had earnestly appealed at an early period of the war, ascribing its origin to the refusal to give a passage through Nepal to a British force intended to take possession of Lassa. The Court of Pekin, although suspecting the truth of the story,[3] appears to have been seriously alarmed; and troops were despatched to reinforce those stationed in Tibet: a considerable body was assembled at Digarchi, and moved towards the frontier; but as its advance occurred no sooner than August, 1816, hostilities were at an end. Explanations had also been

[1] A mission was also sent, in the beginning of 1816, by Amar Sing to Ava. His death, which happened in the early part of the year, put an end to the activity of these intrigues, although they were not entirely abandoned by the court of Nepal until the breaking out of the Pindari war.—MS. Records.

[2] Proofs were obtained by the Resident at Gwalior that these several powers had been addressed by the chief officers of Nepal: To Sindhia accredited agents were deputed. Letters from Namdar Khan, the Pindari, to Sindhia, were detected, mentioning the application made to him and Mir Khan.—MS. Records. A Vakil, sent by Amar Sing to Ranjit Sing, offered to pay largely for his assistance, and to place the fort of Malaun in his hands. He affirmed that the Nawab Vizir, the Mahrattas, and the Rohillas, were all ready to rise as soon as they heard of the Sikh chieftains joining the Gorkhas. Ranjit was too shrewd to be caught by these assertions, and inferred from the offers made to him that the Gorkhas were hard pressed.—Nepal Papers, 559. That some of the Native Princes looked anxiously to the course of the war, and built upon it hopes of being enabled to resist the British power in the collision which was at this time menaced, was established by subsequent events. A correspondence between Sindhia and the Gorkha Government was intercepted.

[3] A letter from the Government of Pekin observed: "If your statement be true, if the English be the aggressors, they shall suffer; if the Gorkhas, the country shall be swept clean."

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exchanged between the Chinese authorities and the Governor-General, which furnished the former with a reasonable plea for discontinuing their hostile indications.[1] They adopted the safe course of venting their displeasure upon their allies, and treated the Nepalese envoys sent to their camp, with great indignity.[2] Their overbearing demeanour excited the apprehensions of the Court of Khatmandu, who were glad to deprecate the anger of the Emperor by a penitential mission to Pekin.

To return, however, to the consideration of the general question: Admitting that war was inevitable, it became a subject of question whether it was judiciously carried on. The comparative merits of a defensive or offensive system have already been considered; and it has been attempted to shew that the latter realized the advantages and avoided the inconveniences of the former, and was alone likely to lead to a speedy termination of the disputes between the two powers. It is only necessary here to observe, that practical demonstration was afforded of the futility of the defensive plan, by the actual occurrences on the frontier

[1] The Chinese Commander-in-chief professed to be satisfied with the explanation of the causes of the war, and the conduct of the English, as furnished by his correspondence with the Governor-General and the British authorities on the frontier. At the request of the Court, however, he so far interfered in their behalf as to suggest the withdrawal of the British Resident. You "mention that you have stationed a Vakil in Nepal. This is a matter of no consequence; but as the Raja, from his youth and inexperience, and from the novelty of the thing, has imbibed some suspicions, if you would, out of kindness to us, and in consideration of the ties of friendship, withdraw your Vakil, it would be better, and we should feel very much obliged to you."—Letter from Shi-Chuin-Chang, Vazir. To this it was replied, that a Resident on the part of some civilized power was necessary, in order to investigate and suppress at once any border quarrels that might be occasioned by the unrestrained violence of a barbarous people; and that, if the Emperor of China would appoint an officer on his part to reside at Khatmandu, that would equally well answer the object. The Vazir on this acquiesced in the arrangement; for as to the alternative, he observed it was not the custom of the Court of Pekin to depute their officers to foreign Courts, as the traders at Canton could inform the Governor-General. This was the only allusion to the Company's establishment at Canton, although a dispatch had been forwarded through the supracargoes to the Court of Pekin on the breaking out of the war. The conduct of the Chinese officers towards the Indian Government, in a somewhat protracted communication, as it did not close in 1813, when presents were interchanged, was uniformly temperate and judicious.—MS. Records; see also Prinsep, i. 213.

[2] In the interview with the Chinese authorities, the Nepal envoys were asked by the Chun-chun, "What number of soldiers have you, and what is the amount of your revenues? The former, I suppose, do not exceed two lakhs (200,000)." The envoys replied, the number of troops was correct, and the revenues were five lakhs and a half of rupees. "Truly," said the Chinese officer with a sneer, "you are a mighty people!" and he observed that they merited the chastisement they had received: adding, that their statements were manifestly false, as, if the English had wished to invade the Chinese dominions, they could have found a nearer route than that through Nepal.—MS. Rec.

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of Saran and Gorakhpur. With two large armies, those of General Wood and General Marley, in the field, but acting on the defensive, the Gorkhas ravaged the borders almost in sight of them with impunity; and no more efficacious arrangement for the protection of the Company's subjects could be devised than driving them into the interior, beyond the reach of the enemy, leaving their fields and homes to the spoiler. No such injury or insult was suffered where the British armies carried on the war within the confines of Nepal.

The objections to the advance of a concentrated British force, in preference to assailing the Gorkha line at different points, have also been adverted to. Testimony to its judiciousness was borne by the best authority,—the Government of Nepal. The Raja expressed his fears that the British would endeavour to obtain a footing in the centre of his country, in which case both extremities would be thrown into disorder.[1] This was the main object of the first campaign; and although its complete execution was disappointed by the unfortunate failure before Kalanga, yet the extremities of the Gorkha state were disordered: the east was kept in a state of alarm by the demonstrations of the British divisions; in the west the best generals and troops of Nepal were hemmed in, and finally overpowered; and a secure footing was obtained with little difficulty in the centre by the occupation of Kamaon. Although, therefore, the instruments employed by the Governor-General were not in all cases of the most perfect description, yet it could not be said that his plans failed because they were radically defective; as in truth, although their success was delayed, they did eventually succeed,—and succeeded, too, in a single campaign: for when the renewal of hostilities was provoked by the vacillation of the cabinet of Khatmandu, the whole of the Gorkha conquests and the disputed territories were in the hands of the British, and little accession to their conquests was claimed or sought for when peace was at last established.

Whatever doubts might have been entertained by the authorities in England of the necessity of the war, or the wisdom with which it was conducted, they were finally

[1] Nep. Papers, 533.

dissipated by the close of the contest. Unanimous resolutions of the Courts of Directors and Proprietors recognised the prudence, energy, and ability of the Governor-General, combined with a judicious application of the resources of the Company, in planning and directing the operations of the late war against the Nepalese.[1] Thanks were also voted to Sir David Ochterlony and the officers and men engaged in the war. To the honours conferred upon General Ochterlony by the Prince Regent, the Company added a pension of a thousand a year. The Earl of Moira was elevated to the rank and title of Marquis of Hastings. 1815.

Although the territory acquired by the British Government was not of great extent or financial value, yet few accessions have been obtained of deeper interest or greater prospective importance. The territories actually appropriated, or those held under British authority by the dependent hill Rajas, have given to British India the command of an impenetrable barrier on the north, and of a path across the loftiest mountains of the Old World to the regions of Central Asia. Countries before unknown have been added to geography; and Nature has been explored by Science in some of her most inaccessible retreats, and most rare and majestic developments. The elements of civilization have been introduced amongst the rude inhabitants of the mountains, and they have been taught the value of industrious habits, and the advantage of social intercourse. Roads have been cut along the sides of precipices; bridges constructed over mountain torrents; stations have been formed which have grown into towns; and the stir and activity of human life have disturbed the silence of the lonely forests, and broken the slumber of the eternal snows. Still mightier changes are in progress. Barren as are the rocks of the Himalaya, they are not wholly unproductive; and they are fringed at least by fertile valleys that want only cultivators to become the seats of prosperous cultivation. Under a climate more congenial to European organisation than the sultry plains of India, and with space through which they

[1] Resolutions of the Court of Proprietors, 11th December, 1816, and Court of Directors, 16th Nov. 1816, communicated to the Government of Bengal.—Pol. Letter, 4th March, 1817; Nepal Papers, 991.

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may freely spread, the descendants of a northern race may be able to aggregate and multiply; and if British colonies be ever formed in the East, with a chance of preserving the moral and physical energies of the parent country, it is to the vales and mountains of the Indian Alps that we must look for their existence,—it will be to the Gorkha war that they will trace their origin.

CHAPTER III.

Transactions in Ceylon.— Embassy to the King of Kandy. —Aggressions by his People.— Declaration of War.— March of Troops and Capture of the Capital.— Mutusami made King.— Force withdrawn.— Major Davie left at Kandy.— Attacked by the Cingalese.— Kandy evacuated.— Europeans murdered. — Hostilities continued.— Suspended.— Tyranny and Cruelty of the King.— Fear and Hatred of his People.— British Subjects seized.— War resumed.— The Capital again taken. — The King captured, deposed, and sent Prisoner to Madras.—Ceylon subject to British Authority.— Universal Discontent and Rebellion.— A Pretender to the Throne.— Great Loss on both Sides.— Rebels disheartened. — Leaders arrested and the Pretender captured. — The Insurrection suppressed.— Change of System.— Affairs of Cutch.— Disputed Succession.— General Anarchy.— Depredations on the Gaekwar's Territories.— Disturbances in Kattiwar.— Suppressed.— Troops ordered into Cutch. — Anjar surrendered.—Agreement with the Rao.— Operations against the Pirate States.— Intrigues at Baroda.—Occurrences at Hyderabad.—Disorderly Conduct of the Nizam's Sons.— Put under Restraint.— Disturbances in the City.—Critical Position.— The Princes sent to Golconda.— Discussions with the Nawab of Oude.— Views of the Governor-General.— Death of Sádat Ali.— Succeeded by Ghazi-uddin.— Visit to the Governor-General at Cawnpore.—Loan to the Company.— Complains of the Resident.— Retracts. —Submits final Requisitions.— Principles of future Intercourse.— The Nawab an Independent Prince in his own Dominions.— Second Loan.— Resident's Vindication of himself.—His Removal.—Observations.—Internal Dis-

turbances.— House-Tax at Bareilly opposed by the People.—Tumults.—Troops called in.—The Rioters defeated.—Contumacy of great Landholders in the Western Provinces.— Dayaram of Hatras.—Shelters Robbers.— Resists the Authorities.—A Force sent against him.—Hatras taken.— Disorders on the South-Western Frontier.— Insurrection in Cuttack.—Causes.—Excessive Assessments.— Sales of Lands.—Corruption of Authorities.—Oppression of the People.— General Rising.— First Successes of the Insurgents.— Puri taken by them.—Recovered.— Commissioners appointed.— Special Commission.— Cuttack tranquillised.

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THE successful termination of the war with Nepal, enabled the Government of India to prepare for a contest of a still more formidable description, with improved resources, and augmented reputation: but before we describe the occurrences which then took place, it will be convenient to notice the transactions of foreign and domestic interest which originated in the intervening period, and were unconnected with the events of the Pindari and Mahratta war.

Ceylon, although a dependency of the Crown, and unaffected by the political circumstances of the Indian continent, may yet be considered, from its geographical position and the general analogy of its connexion with Great Britain, as a part of the British Indian Empire, and some notice of the transactions of which it was at this time the scene, may therefore be consistently offered. The island, first colonised by the Portuguese, and subsequently by the Dutch, was finally taken from the latter, as identified with the Republic of France, in 1796, by an expedition fitted out from Madras, and was for a short interval subject to the government of Fort St. George. In 1798 it was annexed to the colonial dominions of the British Crown, and the Hon. Frederick North was nominated Governor on the part of Great Britain. The settlements which were thus transferred extended along the sea coast, forming a narrow belt round the centre of the island, where native princes continued to rule over the remnants of an ancient kingdom, whose origin was traceable,

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through credible records, for above two thousand years.[1] Deprived of a valuable portion of their ancestral domains by races which they despised as barbarians while they hated them as conquerors, the kings of Kandy had been almost always at variance with their European neighbours, and had been principally protected against their military superiority by the deadly atmosphere of the forests which interposed an impenetrable rampart between the interior of the island and the coast. The last but one of these princes co-operated with the English in their attack upon the maritime provinces held by the Dutch, in expectation of advantages which were never realised. He died shortly after the establishment of the British power. Leaving no children, he was succeeded by the son of a sister of one of his queens, who was elected to the throne by the head minister, or Adigar, with the acquiescence of the other chief officers of the state, the priests of Buddha, and the people.[2]

Shortly after the accession of the new Sovereign in the beginning of 1800, the Governor of Ceylon deputed the commanding officer of the troops on the island, General Macdowal, on an embassy to the court of Kandy. The avowed purpose of the mission was the establishment of a friendly intercourse with the King; but there were objects, also, of a political nature, the precise purport of which does not appear, but which seem to have been based upon an imitation of the policy of the Indian Government, and to have had in view the formation of a subsidiary alliance in Ceylon. In order to fulfil this project, advantage was to be taken of the intrigues which agitated the Kandian Court. The Minister who had raised the Sovereign to his present rank, is said thus early to have plotted his deposal, and the usurpation of his crown. For the accomplishment of his treacherous designs, he sought the assistance of the British Government, and although his overtures were at first rejected, he was admitted to a conference with the Governor's Secretary, and the mission

[1] See Turnour's Translation of the Mahawanso,—a Buddhist Chronicle of Ceylon, and various tracts by the same eminent Pali scholar in the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal and the Ceylon Almanack.

[2] Davy, 310; also Turnour's Epitome of the History of Ceylon. The new King, Sri Wikrama Rajasingh, ascended the throne in 1798. Adigar is a provincial corruption of the Sanscrit word Adhikára, a superintendant.

to Kandy was the result. To elude the arts of the Adigar and place the King, with his own consent, in security, are declared to have been the chief objects proposed: but the security intended was to be provided for by the removal of the King to Colombo; and while his person was safe in British keeping, the real power was to be exercised by the Governor of Ceylon, through the agency of the faithless Adigar.[1] That these designs could not be accomplished without a display of force, was manifested by the equipment of the mission, the strength and quality of which denoted hostile, rather than friendly intentions.[2] Whatever might have been the real objects of the plot, it was frustrated by the timidity and suspicion apparently of both the Minister and the King. Although met on the frontier by the Minister, the troops were made to advance by a circumscribed and difficult route: every step of their progress was watched with extreme jealousy; no communication with the country was permitted; and finally the greater part were obliged to halt, and General Macdowall proceeded to Kandy with a much less numerous, but a more appropriate, retinue. He was received with civility, but without cordiality; his audiences were few and formal; and he returned to Colombo without having made any progress in the purposes of his mission, secret or avowed. On the contrary, the proceedings of the British Government seem to have excited the suspicion and ill-will of both the King and the Adigar, and to have

[1] According to Cordiner, the chief Adigar, to whom the King owed his elevation, was plotting against his power and his life, and had endeavoured to persuade the English Government to assist in deposing him. Apparently, the only difficulty was that of finding a pretext, as the acting Secretary to the Government declared to the Adigar, that "the Governor would never consent to depose a prince who had not made any aggression on him. The Adigar then asked what would be considered an aggression, and whether an invasion of the British territories by the Kandians would not come under that description." Inferring that the King's life was in danger, it was determined to elude the arts of the Adigar by a more perfect knowledge of the Court, and to send General Macdowall with a sufficient force to maintain his Majesty's independence. It was at the same time proposed, that if the King should approve of it, he should transport his person and his Court, for greater safety, into the British territories, there to enjoy his royal rights, and depute to Pilima Talawé (his treacherous minister) the exercise of his power in Kandy; also that a British subsidiary force should be maintained there, and a sufficient indemnification for its expense given by the Kandian Government either in land or produce.—Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 162. Notable expedients for maintaining the King's royal rights and independence!

[2] The ambassador's suit consisted of five companies of the 19th regiment, as many Sipahis, and as many of Malays, with four field-pieces, two howitzers, artillery and pioneers.—Percival, Account of Ceylon, 376.

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united them against a common enemy; while an excuse for an appeal to arms seems to have been solicitously sought for by the British. At length some Cingalese traders from the British territories, having been despoiled of a parcel of Betel nuts which they had purchased, complained to the Governor. Their case was advocated by him with the King; its truth was admitted, and redress was promised but never granted. In the mean time reports reached Colombo that the people of the villages on the frontier were in training, and practising archery, and that active preparations, of a menacing tenor, but rather of a defensive than an offensive character, were in progress. Upon these occurrences, Mr. North determined to make war upon the King, unless he subscribed to a treaty promising compensation for the expenses of military equipments, and the plunder of the Betel nuts; to permit the formation of a military road from Colombo to Trincomalee, and suffer Cinnamon peelers and wood cutters to follow their calling in the Kandyan districts. It was intimated at the same time, that the aggressions which had been perpetrated, had left the Governor at perfect liberty to recognise and support the claims which any other Prince of the family of the Sun might form to the diadem worn by his Kandyan Majesty.[1] The intimation was not likely to conciliate his accession to a friendly convention, and was replied to by predatory incursions into the British frontier, and the plunder and murder of its subjects. To repress and avenge these injuries, a force under General Macdowall was despatched from Colombo, and another under Colonel Barbut from Trincomalee. The two divisions encountering no serious opposition on their march, met on the Mahavali-ganga, three miles from Kandy, and on the 21st of February entered the capital. The town, which was completely deserted, had been set on fire by the inhabitants, but the flames were speedily extinguished, and Kandy was in the occupation of the British.

As the reigning monarch had been so little sensible of the benefits to be derived from the British alliance, a more tractable sovereign was brought forward in the person of

[1] Proclamation by the Governor of Ceylon, Jan. 29th, 1803, also letter to the King.—Papers printed for Parliament, 5th April, 1804.

Mutu-sami, a brother of the late Queen, and a competitor for the throne, who had been obliged to seek refuge in the colony. A treaty was concluded with him, by which he ceded certain districts and immunities, and in requital was acknowledged as monarch of Kandy, and promised, as long as he might require it, the aid of an auxiliary force. Mutu-sami was conducted to the capital, where he arrived on the 4th of March. He brought no accession of strength, as the people were either afraid or disinclined to support his cause; and hence perhaps its sudden abandonment by the Governor, who presently afterwards engaged to invest the Adigar with regal authority, on condition of his delivering up his master, assigning a pension to Mutu-sami, and making the same cessions which that unfortunate Prince had consented to grant.[1]

After a short stay at Kandy, during which several skirmishes took place with the Cingalese, invariably to their disadvantage, but without any decisive results, the prevalence of jungle-fever, generated by the pestilential vapours of the surrounding forests, to which many of the men and officers fell victims, compelled the retirement of the greater part of the survivors; and, finally, the protection of Kandy, and of Mutu-sami, was consigned to Major Davie, with a body of 500 Malays and 200 Europeans of the 19th regiment,—the latter almost incapacitated for duty by sickness, and the former speedily thinned by frequent desertions. In this state, they were attacked on the 24th of June by the Cingalese in immense numbers, headed by the King and the Adigar, and encouraged by their knowledge of the enfeebled state of the garrison: a severe conflict ensued, which lasted for seven hours, when Major Davie was under the necessity of proposing a suspension of hostilities. The proposal was acceded to, and a capitulation agreed upon, by which the garrison, accompanied by Mutu-sami, were to be permitted to retire with their arms, on giving up Kandy and all military

[1] Parliamentary Debate, 14th March, 1804. The engagement is not mentioned by Cordiner, although he observes that at this time Pilame-Talawé had the effrontery to carry on a deceitful correspondence, under the mask of friendship, with the Commander of the British forces, and no art was left untried which might dupe or cajole our Government. The engagements with the Adigar are specified upon the authority of Major Forbes.—Eleven Years in Ceylon, i. 25.

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stores. It was promised that the sick, who were incapable of being removed, should be taken care of until they could be sent to a British settlement. Upon these stipulations Major Davie evacuated Kandy, and marched to the banks of the Mahavali-ganga, which, being swollen by the rains, was no longer fordable: no boats were at hand, and the enemy showed himself in force in different quarters. On the following day, a mission came from the King, demanding that Mutu-sami should be given up, when boats would be furnished to the English. After some hesitation, the demand was complied with. The unhappy Prince, with several of his kinsmen, were immediately put to death. That his abandonment, and the disgrace which it entailed upon the British faith, might have been avoided by a greater display of resolution than was exhibited, is not impossible; but a determination to preserve the Prince at all hazards, even if it had been entertained by the officers, was little likely to have been acquiesced in by the men, consisting almost wholly of Malays, who saw in his surrender their only hope of safety. The hope was fallacious, as might have been expected from the treachery of the enemy. The King commanded the destruction of the whole party. The Adigar is said to have manifested some reluctance to violate the capitulation; but at last consented to become the instrument of his master's revenge. He prevailed upon Major Davie and his officers to accompany him out of sight of the men, who were then told that that their officers had crossed the river, and that, upon laying down their arms, they would be also ferried across to join them. Conducted in small parties to the edge of the river, at a spot where they could not be seen by their comrades, they were successively stabbed, or butchered in various ways, and their bodies were thrown into a contiguous hollow. At the same time the whole of the sick, a hundred and fifty, of whom a hundred and thirty-two were British soldiers, were barbarously put to death, the dead and the dying having been thrown promiscuously into a pit prepared for the purpose.[1] Most of the officers were also murdered, or died shortly afterwards. Major Davie survived till about 1810, when he died at Kandy, latterly unmolested and almost unnoticed.[2]

[1] Davy's Ceylon. [2] Forbes, i. 34. Heber's Travels, ii. 256.

The recovery of his capital and the destruction of the garrison, inspired the Kandyan Monarch with the ambition of expelling the Europeans from the island; and during the remainder of 1803 and the ensuing year, repeated efforts were made to penetrate into the colony. At first, during the exhausted state of the troops, some advantages were obtained by the enemy; and on one occasion they penetrated to within fifteen miles of Colombo. Their attempts were, however, repulsed. Reinforcements were sent to the island,[1] and the British became strong enough to retaliate. Several spirited incursions were made into the Kandyan territories, which served to check and intimidate the enterprises of the enemy. In 1805, the first Adigar acquired additional authority by the indisposition of the King; and a cessation of hostilities ensued, which was continued by mutual acquiescence, without any express armistice, for several years.[2]

Whatever may have been the designs of the Adigar, Pilame Talawe, in his negotiations with the English, he remained apparently faithful to his Sovereign, until the King's tyranny and cruelty taught him fears for his own life. He then engaged in open rebellion — was unsuccessful — was taken and beheaded. He was succeeded in his office by Ahailapalla, who in his turn incurred and resented the suspicion and tyranny of the King. He instigated a rebellion in the district of Jaffragam, over which he presided: but his adherents fell from him upon the approach of a rival Adigar with the royal forces, and he was obliged to fly. He found refuge in Colombo: but many of his followers were taken and impaled. The King's savage cruelty now surpassed all that can be imagined of barbarian inhumanity. Among a number of persons who were seized and put to death with various aggravations of suffering, the family of the fugitive Minister, which had remained in the tyrant's grasp, were sentenced to execution; the children, one of them an infant at the breast, were beheaded, the heads were cast into a rice-mortar, and the mother was commanded to

[1] In 1804, two regiments of volunteer Sipahis went from Bengal. Native levies were also made in the Madras districts. A regiment of Caffrees was formed, and his Majesty's 66th regiment arrived.

[2] Cordiner's Ceylon, ii. 259.

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pound them with the pestle, under the threat of being disgracefully tortured if she hesitated to obey. To avoid the disgrace, the wretched mother did lift up the pestle, and let it fall upon her children's heads. Her own death was an act of mercy. She, her sister-in-law, and some other females, were immediately afterwards drowned. These atrocities struck even the Kandyans with horror; and for two days the whole city was filled with mourning and lamentation, and observed a period of public fasting and humiliation. The King's ferocity was insatiable: executions were incessant, no persons were secure, and even the Chief Priest of Buddha, a man of great learning and benevolence, fell a victim to the tyrant's thirst for blood. A general sentiment of fear and detestation pervaded both chiefs and people, and the whole country was ripe for revolt.

The urgent representations of Ahailapalla, and a knowledge of the state of public feeling in the Kandyan provinces, induced the Governor, Sir Robert Brownrigg, to prepare for a war, which was certain to occur, in consequence of the disorders on the frontier, and the insane fury of the King. Occasion soon arose: some merchants, subjects of the British Government, trading to Kandy, were seized by the King's orders as spies, and so cruelly mutilated that most of them died; and about the same time a party of Kandyans ravaged the villages on the British boundary. The Governor immediately declared war against the King, and sent a body of troops into his country.[1] They were joined by the principal chiefs and the people, and advanced, without meeting an enemy, to the capital. They arrived there on the 14th of February. On the 18th, the King, who had attempted to fly, was taken and brought in by a party of Ahailapalla's followers.[2] On the 2nd of March he was formally deposed,[3] and the allegiance of the Kandyans was transferred to the British Crown. Vikrama Raja Singha was sent a captive to Vellore, where he died in January, 1832.

[1] Proclamation, 10th Jan., 1815. As. Journal, Feb., 1816. Account of the War in Kandy. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819.

[2] Narrative of Events in Ceylon.

[3] By a convention made between the Governor of Ceylon on the part of the King of Great Britain, and the Adigars, Dessaves, and other principal chiefs of the Kandyan provinces, on behalf of the inhabitants, in the presence of the head men and of the people, 2nd March, 1815.—Davy's Ceylon, Appendix, i. Parl. Papers, 17th May, 1819, No. 3.

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The change of authority, and the substitution of a new and foreign dominion for that of the ancient native rulers, however acceptable under the influence of popular terror and disgust, began to lose their recommendations as soon as apprehension was allayed, and the chiefs and people were able calmly to consider the character of the revolution to which they had contributed. The chiefs found that their power was diminished and their dignity impaired; the priests felt indignant at the want of reverence shown to them and to their religion: and the people, sympathizing with both, had also grievances of their own to complain of, in the contempt displayed for their customs and institutions, and the disregard manifested for their prejudices and feelings by the English functionaries and their subordinates. A general rebellion was the consequence. It broke out at the end of 1817, and was headed by Kapitipalla, the brother-in-law of Ahailapalla, who, notwithstanding the protection he had received from the English, was suspected of having secretly fomented the insurrection, and was consequently arrested.

In the beginning of 1818, most of the Kandyan provinces were in arms against the British; and a pretender to the throne was brought forward in the person of an inferior Buddhist priest, who was falsely represented to be a member of the royal family. Troops were sent against the insurgents, but for some time with little success; as although they rarely met with open resistance, they were perpetually harassed by the natives, waylaid and cut off in detail; and this system of warfare, combined with the difficulty of the country, and the unhealthiness of the climate, inflicted so much loss and discouragement, that, after some months of unavailing exertion, it became a question whether the contest should not be abandoned.[1]

Reinforcements were earnestly applied for from the Presidencies of Bengal and Madras; and although the state of affairs on the continent of India rendered compliance with the requisition inconvenient, yet the urgency of the case compelled the Indian Governments to make an effort for the purpose; and one regiment of Europeans and several battalions of native troops were despatched

[1] Dr. Davy estimates the loss of the British at one thousand men. That of the natives at fully ten times that number.—p. 331.

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to Ceylon. Other circumstances contributed to encourage the Government to persevere: the people of the country had suffered even more severely than the British; their villages were burnt, their fruit trees cut down, their crops laid waste, and they were driven to the thickets and mountains, among the wild tribes in the interior of the island. Exposure, hunger, and disease, were equally fatal as the sword, which descended heavily upon them in retaliation of the cruelty they showed to stragglers who fell into their hands. Equally disheartened by the aspect of affairs, the chiefs quarrelled among themselves. The pretender was disavowed and exposed, and even put in the stocks by one of his former adherents. Three of the leaders of the insurrection were taken, — two of them, Kapitipalla and Madugalle, were tried and beheaded; the third, the son of Pilama Tulawe, was banished to the Mauritius, as were Ahailapalla and several other chiefs of inferior note. With their apprehension, the disturbances ceased; for although the pretender escaped and remained at large until 1829, his cause found no supporters.[1] When ultimately seized, he was tried and condemned to death, but received a pardon from the Crown. Upon the restoration of tranquillity, various alterations were made in the mode of managing the Kandyan provinces calculated to conciliate the good will of their inhabitants. The power of the Adigars and Desawes was circumscribed by associating with them European civilians in the administration of justice, and the collection of the revenue. The appointment of head men of the districts was taken from the chiefs, and reserved to the Government. All taxes were merged into a tax of one-tenth of the produce of the rice-fields, payable in kind.[2] Several minor provisions were enacted of a similar purport. The immediate effect of these arrangements was beneficial; and the people gradually came to be reconciled to the altered circumstances of their political condition.

Returning to the continent of India, we find that hos-

[1] Another event which contributed to the pacification of the island was the recovery of the *dalada*, or tooth of Buddha, a sacred relic carefully preserved in the principal temple at Kandy, and occasionally exhibited to the devout. According to the superstitious belief of the people, the possession of this tooth ensures sovereignty.—See an account of its exhibition in Forbes, i. 290.

[2] Proclamation by Sir Robert Brownrigg, 21st Nov., 1818.—Davy's Ceylon, App. No. II.

tilities were carried on almost simultaneously with the Nepal war in a different and distant quarter, in consequence of which a political connexion was first established with the state of Cutch. The country had long been the scene of disorder. The authority of its nominal ruler, or Rao Raidhan, had been superseded by that of two adventurers, — the one, Hans-raj, a Hindu merchant, the other, Fatteh Mohammed, an officer of the Arab mercenaries in the service of the Rao. These two disputed the post of Minister, and divided between them the power of the Prince. Application had been frequently made by each of the competitors for the interference of the British Government; but as no advantage appeared likely to result from such interposition, it was declined. The quarrel was terminated by the death of Hans-raj, the Hindu, in 1809: and his rival, Fatteh Mohammed, continued in possession of the office of Minister until 1813, when his death, and that of the Rao, his master, left affairs even in a more troubled condition than had prevailed during their lives.

The Rao, under the influence of Fatteh Mohammed, had apostatized to the Mohammedan religion; and left a son, Manuba or Bharmalji, by a wife of the same faith. The Jhareja Rajputs, of whom the Rao was the head, and the other military tribes of Cutch, disputed Manuba's succession, holding him to be illegitimate and an outcast; and raised to the throne his cousin Lakhpati, or Ladhuba, the nephew of the late Rao.

Each of the competitors was supported by a party sufficiently powerful to neutralize the efforts of his opponents, and to prevent the establishment of any recognized authority. The slender control to which the chiefs had ever submitted was annulled, and a general state of anarchy prevailed in the province. No attempt was made to repress the disorder, until it became necessary to prevent its effects from extending to the territories, of which the defence was a duty imposed on the British Government by the terms of its alliance with the Gaekwar. The peninsula of Kattiwar is separated from Guzerat by the Ran, an extensive tract of low saline land, inundated partially by the sea, but at times capable of being traversed. It was crossed at all times by marauding bands from Wagar, the eastern portion of Cutch, the people of which, when the

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Ran was dry, came over to Kattiwar in strong bodies of both horse and foot, and burnt the villages, carried off the cattle, and murdered the inhabitants. When the sea was in, they crossed it in boats, and committed similar depredations. The points of access were too numerous to be all sufficiently guarded; and the movements of the plunderers were too sudden and rapid to be effectively counteracted by the two troops stationed on the frontier. Remonstrances and threats were alike unavailing in preventing the repetition of these inroads, and the people exposed to them contemplated abandoning the country; when it was resolved to give them efficient protection by sending a body of troops against Bhooj, the capital of Cutch, where Bharmal-ji had been established in some degree of power by the acquiescence of the contumacious Jharejas, and had been reconciled with his cousin, who was a mere youth, and who resided also at the capital. Rao Bharmal-ji, however, manifested no inclination to endeavour to repress the incursions of the Wagar banditti, but on the contrary, contracted an alliance with their chiefs, and ordered the British native Agent to retire from Bhooj.

Under the settlement made by Major Walker in Kattiwar, the turbulent Rajputs of that province continued for some years peaceable and submissive; but towards the year 1814, the intrigues of the Peshwa generated a spirit of insubordination, which hurried some of the subordinate chiefs into acts of violence and rebellion. The troops of the Gackwar, sent against them, were defeated, and Colonel East, with part of the subsidiary force marched against the rebels.[1] They were afraid to encounter the British. The chief of Juria, one of the most considerable, gave up his fort, and the rest following his example, order was quickly restored.[2] So easy a suppression of the disturbances disappointed the policy of the Court of Cutch, which had despatched a body of Arabs to the aid of the Khwas of Juria; and to punish this act of hostility, as well as effectually to put a stop to the depredations of the plunderers from Wagar, Colonel East was directed to

[1] The force was his Majesty's 17th light dragoons and 65th foot. The (Bombay) European regiment, and the 6th, 7th, and 8th N. I., with a train of artillery, with above three thousand of the Gackwar troops.

[2] See Government Gazette, Jan., 1816.

advance into Cutch; and accordingly crossed the Ran, in December, 1815.

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The first operations of the British were directed against Anjar, of which Hasan Meya, one of the sons of the late minister Fatteh Mohammed, had possessed himself. On the approach of the force, this chief professed to entertain friendly sentiments; but it was discovered that he had directed the wells and tanks of the neighbourhood to be poisoned, and in punishment of his treachery batteries were opened against the fort. When a practicable breach was effected, Hasan Meya gave up Anjar and the port of Juner on the Gulph of Cutch, one of its dependencies, which were occupied by a detachment of British troops. The force then proceeded towards Bhooj, but was met by a pacific deputation from the Rao, and an agreement was concluded, guaranteed by five chiefs, by which the Rao promised to indemnify the parties who had rights in Kattiwar for the losses suffered from the Wagar banditti, to reimburse the British Government the expenses of the expedition, to prevent the commission of acts of piracy and plunder, and to receive an agent of the Bombay government at Bhooj. The fort and district of Anjar were ceded in perpetuity, and an annual payment of two lakhs of cowries (about 70,000 rupees) was pledged to the British Government. On their part, they undertook to assist the Rao in re-establishing his power over those places which had been alienated from him by the insubordination or treachery of his officers, and to chastise the robbers of Wagar and demolish their strongholds. A definitive treaty to this effect was executed on the 16th of January, 1816.[1] The latter stipulations were soon realised. The officers of the Rao hastened to relinquish their usurpations, and the plundering tribes of Wagar, retired to the north to the great sandy desert of Parkur before a British detachment. To prevent their return, the troops of the Rao were posted in commanding situations, and the marauders were for some time deterred from a repetition of their destructive inroads.

Having thus restored tranquillity in Cutch, and brought the principality within the pale of the system of sub-

[1] Treaties with Native powers, published by order of the House of Commons, 27th May, 1818, p. 32.

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sidiary alliances, Colonel East was directed to take the only measure which experience had shown to be effective for the final suppression of piracy on the southern coast of the Gulph of Cutch, by dispossessing the chiefs of the district of Okamandel of their forts and towns, and placing them under British authority. Little opposition was offered. The fort of Dingi was taken by storm; batteries were opened against the sacred city of Dwaraka, but the chief surrendered himself before the assault was given, and a Sipahi garrison took the place of his Sindhian mercenaries. The Raja of Bate also gave himself up on condition of an adequate provision being made for himself and family, and protection being assured to private property and the religious establishments on the island. At Wasaye a skirmish occurred, in which Nur-ud-din, a notorious pirate and ringleader, was slain,—an event which materially accelerated the submission of the district. Colonel East then proceeded in the beginning of March, to Junargerh, where order was in like manner restored. The objects of the armament were thus accomplished, and the force returned to cantonments early in May. The district of Okamandal was in the following year transferred to the Gaekwar.

The connexion with the Court of Baroda had undergone no material alteration. The debts of the Gaekwar, for which the British Government had become the guarantee, although considerably reduced, had not yet been liquidated, and the incapacity of the Prince still continuing undiminished, the administration of affairs by Fatteh Sing, under the general superintendance and control of the Resident, remained unaltered, with the express sanction of the Court of Directors.[1] The administration had been strengthened by the addition of Gangadhar Sastri, Colonel Walker's able native assistant, as the associate of Fatteh Sing.

Active intrigues were kept on foot by a powerful party in the Court, for the restoration of the discarded minister Sitaram Raoji to power, and every proposal to send him to

[1] Letter to Bengal, 19th March, 1815. "We have no hesitation in declaring that at least the time of our ceasing to interfere in the internal affairs of the Baroda State should be extended to the period when the debt should be liquidated."

a distance was successfully resisted, although his removal to Bombay was at length consented to. In the mean time, he had opened secret communications with the Peshwa, in which the Raja himself was implicated, the consequences of which were fatal to the head of the Mahratta state, as will be hereafter described.

Passing to the Mohammedan allies of the Company, with whom the existing relations were unaffected by the subsequent hostilities, we find that the friendly intercourse with the Court of Hyderabad was threatened with some interruption, towards the close of 1815. The Nizam, and the minister of his nomination, Munir-ul-Mulk, had alike withdrawn from all concern in public affairs, and devoting their whole time to low and sensual gratifications, committed, with sullen indifference, the charge of the state to the minister's nominal deputy, Chandu Lal, who, depending for his power entirely upon British support, was assiduous in cultivating the good will of the Resident. Excluded from offices of credit and activity, the sons of the Nizam, abandoned to their own discretion, followed the example of the Court, and became notorious only by their excesses. The two youngest, Samsam-ud-dowla and Mubarik-ud-dowla, distinguished themselves in this outrageous career; and, surrounded by a band of profligate retainers prompt to execute whatever their masters enjoined, these young men filled the city with tumult and alarm, and excited the aversion and terror of the peaceable citizens by their contempt for all authority and law.[1] Repeated representations of the evil consequences of their conduct were made by the Resident, and the Nizam was, after some time, prevailed upon to direct that they should be placed under restraint, and that guards should be stationed at their dwellings. Captain Hare, with a party of the Nizam's regular infantry, was commanded to execute the order; but, on his approach to the palace, he was

[1] Among other lawless acts, they established a tribunal of their own, in which judgment was avowedly given in favour of those who most liberally bribed the judges, notwithstanding the groundlessness of their claims. The rightful owners of houses and gardens were dispossessed of their property in behalf of any one who chose to assert a claim to them, and who purchased the award of the Prince and the services of his myrmidons. The Nizam himself and the members of his family were not safe from their insolence, and the immunities of the Resident were invaded by the seizure and corporal castigation of one of his servants.

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received with a heavy fire of matchlocks from the tops of the houses, by which several of his men and Lieutenant Darby, an officer of the Resident's escort, were killed. The party made their way, nevertheless, to the palace, and blew open the gates, but the resistance they encountered from the Prince's adherents was too formidable to be overcome, and Captain Hare deemed it prudent to retreat. He was reinforced by 100 European and 400 native troops, who took up their station for the night at the residence of the minister. Much alarm was felt by the Nizam and his principal courtiers at the advance of the European detachments; but this subsided when its weakness was known, and some of the principal Omras urged the Nizam to fall upon the Residency, and exterminate its defenders. A general ferment pervaded the city, and a popular sentiment was expressed that Mubarik-ud-dowla was alone a worthy descendant of Nizam-ul-Mulk, and that if he would hold out he should not want support. The moment was critical. The subsidiary force had been sent into the field, and a small division only remained in cantonments. In addition to the numerous population of Hyderabad, there remained in the neighbourhood ten thousand Patan soldiers, whom the minister was engaged in disbanding, and who would gladly have joined in any tumult. The firmness of the Nizam, who, on this occasion showed, that when roused to action he did not want ability, and the prudence of the Resident prevented a collision. The Europeans were withdrawn from the city—no movement of the people or of the chiefs was sanctioned or encouraged, and measures were promptly taken to obtain reinforcements. General Doveton was summoned from Akole, and troops were also required from Bellari. Although Chandu-Lul was afraid to press the confinement of the Princes, the measure was insisted on, and, with some reluctance, was acceded to by the Nizam. The interval that elapsed before the troops could arrive, allowed the Princes an opportunity of discovering the dangerous predicament in which they stood, and they no longer opposed the Nizam's pleasure. They were sent off to Golconda, where were the remains of a palace of the Mohammedan kings of the country, and an extensive fort. Tranquillity was restored before the arrival of the additional troops,

and their march was countermanded—an extensive rising of the Mohammedans of Hyderabad, headed by the princes, or by the Nizam, would at this season have seriously embarrassed the Government of India.

The discussions which took place with the Nawab of Oude during the latter years of Lord Minto's administration have been described. Approving entirely of the manner in which the Resident had urged the reforms which the Government of Bengal pressed upon the Nawab's adoption, one of that nobleman's last acts was, as we have seen, the expression, in strong terms, of his determination to uphold the measures and enforce the recommendations of the Governor-General's representative at the Court of Lucknow. Nothing seemed to be left to the Nawab but to submit, when the arrival of Lord Moira suggested the hope that a less unrelenting policy might be pursued. He was not disappointed. The habits of his past life had taught the Governor-General to sympathise with royalty in distress: and although he concurred in the principle of reform, and in the expedience of the particular arrangement which had been devised for the administration of Oude, he conceived that the Nawab had been treated with less deference than was due to his rank, or was consistent with the nature of the connection which united him with the East India Company. He determined, therefore, to adopt a tone of conciliation,[1] and enjoined the Resident to refrain from agitating questions of minor consideration, which, while they led to no important result, could not fail to excite irritation and dissatisfaction in the mind of the Nawab. Finally, perceiving that the Nawab's consent and co-operation in the proposed measures of reform were not to be hoped for; and believing that to insist upon their being carried into effect without his cordial concurrence, would amount to a dissolution of the existing relations between the two states, the Governor-General determined to relinquish the specific plan proposed by Lord Minto, and confine the object of the Government to

[1] Major Baillie ascribed the change of purpose which took place in the counsels of the Government, to private influence and intrigues at Calcutta; a negotiation was carried on there, he says, for his removal, for effecting which, the Vizir offered twenty-five lakhs of rupees. An English gentleman was noticed as an agent in the negotiation without mention of his name.—Letter from the Resident, 3rd Nov., 1815. Oude Papers, printed for the use of the Proprietors of India Stock, June, 1824, p. 563.

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obtaining from the Nawab such measures of reform as he should himself propose, although of more limited scope and efficacy. Compliance with such suggestions, coming from the Prince himself, would, his Lordship expected, have a beneficial effect, and would prepare the way for more advantageous innovations. A letter to this purport was addressed to the Nawab Vizir; and for the remainder of his life, which was not long protracted, the question was at rest. Sadat Ali died on the 11th of July, 1814. He was succeeded by his eldest son, who assumed the designation of Ghazi-ud-din Hyder.[1]

The gratitude which was felt by the new Sovereign towards Major Baillie, for the prompt and judicious arrangements by which upon the demise of Sadat Ali he had guarded against all risk of opposition[2] to the succession, rendered the Nawab at first amenable to the advice of the Resident. His Ministers were chosen upon the recommendation of that officer, and as they looked to him for support, they were ready to become the instruments of accomplishing his wishes. No time was lost in instituting the revenue reforms which he had so strenuously advocated. The Principality of Oude was portioned out into Zillas and Mahals, and collectors on the part of the Government were deputed to the latter, subject to the superior authority of the Zilla-dar Nazim, or Lieutenant-Governor of the larger district. Arrangements for the administration of justice were also proposed, and an attempt was likewise made to introduce an armed police; but the opposition of the villagers to this part of the project was so universal and vehement, that its prosecution was suspended. The new system of collection was scarcely less unpopular, and was far from realising the benefits which were expected to result from it. It was, in fact, an injudicious repetition of the mistake committed in the

[1] The success with which Sadat Ali prosecuted his favourite project of amassing wealth, was proved by the accumulated treasure found in his coffers; his hoards amounted to thirteen millions sterling, the accumulation of eleven years.—Comm. Committee, 1832. Political Evidence of Col. Baillie.

[2] Some had been expected from Shams-ud-dowla, the second and favourite son of Sadat Ali, who, during his father's life-time, had been appointed the Deputy (Naib) and Representative (Kaim Mokam) of the Nawab, and to whom Sadat Ali had apparently desired to bequeath his power. No time was given for a party to be formed in his favour. To prevent subsequent dissension he was persuaded to retire to Benares upon a pension from Lucknow, guaranteed by the British Government.—Oude Papers, 869.

Company's territories, that of prematurely forcing upon the people institutions foreign to their habits, strange to their notions, and repulsive to their feelings. Troops were still required, therefore, to compel payment of the revenues, and their collection was as uncertain and irregular as before; while to the imperfect apprehension of the Nawab the payment of the collectors by a per-centage rate upon the amount collected, appeared to be an unnecessary and unreasonable deduction from his own receipts. Ghazi-ud-din, therefore, soon withdrew his confidence, both from the Resident and from his own Ministers, looking upon them as the creatures and spies of the former. There were not wanting in his court intriguing individuals to aggravate the Nawab's dissatisfaction, and, he became no less anxious than his father had been to accomplish Major Baillie's removal from his councils.

The Earl of Moira, in order to be near the scene of action in the Nepal war, had repaired to the Upper Provinces, and arrived at Cawnpore in October, 1814. He was immediately visited by the young Nawab, and returned with him shortly afterwards to Lucknow. On this occasion, the Nawab offered to the Company, as his free gift, a crore of rupees, about a million sterling.[1] Acceptance of the gift was declined; but the money was received as a loan, which the charges of the approaching campaign rendered highly opportune. The amount was accordingly registered as an item of the public debt, bearing interest at 6 per cent.,—the current rate; the interest being applied to the acquittance of sundry pensions which were payable by the Nawab, under the guarantee of the government of Bengal. The arrangement was advantageous to the pensioners as well as mutually convenient to the contracting parties. On this occasion[2] the Nawab presented a paper, which, although obscurely worded, manifested some degree of dissatisfaction with his actual condition; expressed a desire that the system of collection should be suspended in favour of a plan to be subsequently

[1] Political Letter from Bengal, Aug. 1815.—Papers, 846. The offer was not, however, an original idea. The Resident says, "I was instructed to open a negotiation with the Vizir for the loan of a crore of rupees to the Honourable Company, to appear as a voluntary offer to Lord Moira."—Papers, 952.

[2] Minute of the Governor-General, 30th Nov., 1814.—Oude Papers, 920.

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proposed; and clearly intimated the wish of the Nawab to be made more independent of the Resident's control, although professing a personal attachment to Major Baillie, and a firm reliance upon the reciprocity of his regard.[1]

Private information having reached the Governor-General that the Nawab had not unreservedly and sincerely communicated his wishes and sentiments with respect to the Resident, having been deterred from so doing by Lord Moira's having recommended to him to place implicit reliance upon Major Baillie's counsels, some pains were taken to induce him to be more explicit. Several conferences ensued, not only with the Governor-General, but with members both of his civil and military staff.[2] From the former the Nawab continued to withhold his entire confidence; but to some of the latter he imparted with different degrees of explicitness his anxiety for Major Ballie's removal. He also delivered to Mr. Ricketts, the chief secretary, and to the Governor-General two several statements, alike in tenor, in which he preferred a number of complaints against the conduct of the Resident on various occasions, as disrespectful and vexatious, or as encroaching upon the rights and derogatory to the dignity of the Nawab. Both these documents were presented in the course of the 31st of October. On the 1st of November they were retracted. A confidential agent was sent by the Nawab to disavow the averments of the preceding day — declaring that the statements delivered by him did not express his sentiments, and that they had been prepared and put into his hands by European gentlemen attached to his service, who had persuaded him that any representations unfavourable to the Resident would be agreeable to Lord Moira. A similar disavowal was repeated by the Nawab, in a letter to Lord Moira, and in a conference with Mr. Ricketts, Mr. Adam, and Mr. Swinton, in which the principal subjects of complaint, as exhibited in the papers, were deliberately canvassed. They were all disowned, and were referred to the advice of evil coun-

[1] 13th Oct.—Papers, 870.

[2] Conversation with Captain Gilbert, about 29th Oct., Oude Papers, 922. Conference with Mr. Ricketts, 31st Oct., ibid. p. 875. Ditto with Messrs. Ricketts, Adam, and Swinton, 4th Nov. Ibid. 885.

sellors, who had led him to believe that their tenor would be acceptable to the Governor-General. Inferring, however, from the language and deportment of his Lordship, that this information was erroneous, and actually entertaining no cause of complaint against the Resident, the Nawab hastened to withdraw the accusations which had been put into his mouth, and declared his readiness to punish his prompters by their immediate dismissal.[1] They were accordingly dismissed, although they unequivocally denied having had any concern in preparing the documents, or in having influenced the Nawab to present them to the Governor-General. It cannot be doubted that their assertions were true, although they had been repeatedly the confidants of the Nawab's grievances; had apparently sympathized with him; and had assured him that a candid and open exposition would command the Governor-General's attention.[2] The motives of the Nawab's sudden change of purpose are among the worthless secrets of an intriguing Court: his first representations may not have been free from sinister influences, but there is no reason to question the reality of his desire to get rid of the Resident, or to doubt that he sacrificed both his friends and his veracity to a sudden and ungrounded dread of having incurred the Governor-General's displeasure by the open avowal of a wish which, contrary to his expectation, appeared to be unacceptable to his Lordship.[3] The manner in which he pursued and abandoned his design is characteristic of Asiatic duplicity, as well as of unsteadiness of purpose and irresoluteness of execution.

The charges made by the Nawab were communicated to the Resident, and were shown by him to be, in many

[1] Papers, 885.

[2] Papers, 905.—The Resident ascribes this attempt to have him removed to a conspiracy set on foot by Hakim Mehdi Ali Khan, who had been removed from the office of Prime Minister to the late Nawab, at the Resident's suggestion, as he was a principal opponent of the plan of reform, being a farmer of the revenue to a considerable extent. His object was to be restored to his appointment, which he knew was impossible while Major Baillie held office.—Papers, p. 955. On the other hand, it appears probable the Nawab's retractation was owing to a panic inspired by the Aga Mír, a personal friend of the Nawab, who, besides his apprehensions of the consequences of his master's complaints, since they had failed to impair the Resident's credit, probably expected by this means to secure the Resident's support in his appointment as the successor of Mehdi Ali. The interested rivalry of these two persons seems to have been the pivot round which the other parts of the plot revolved.

[3] See Baillie's account.—Oude Papers, 957.

instances, frivolous, unfounded, or false.[1] Some originated, apparently, in misunderstanding, and others out of the ungracious duties inseparable from his office under the instructions of the Government. As, however, they were withdrawn, no further investigation was considered necessary. A final representation was made by the Nawab, the objects of which were to secure the integrity of his dominions, and to reserve the right of ruling his own territories, of determining the course to be followed in his fiscal and judicial administration, and of electing the persons to be employed; to deprecate the attention of the Government to complaints against his measures preferred by his relations and dependants, to be allowed permission to bestow charitable endowments, and to have the privilege of going out on hunting-parties whenever so inclined. The requests were generally granted, and, in communicating the correspondence to the Resident, instructions were added with regard to the spirit in which his functions were to be exercised, and the connexion with the Nawab maintained. According to Lord Moira's view of that connexion, the right to interfere with advice or remonstrance upon any mismanagement of affairs within the Nawab's reserved dominions was confined to such occasions as might injuriously affect the British interests. In all other respects the administration of the Nawab was to be absolutely free, for it seemed evident to the Governor-General, from the whole tenor of the treaty, that an uninterrupted exercise of his own authority within the reserved dominions was assured to him in order to qualify the very strong step of appropriating, in exchange for the subsidy, so large a portion of his territories. The Nawab was consequently to be treated in all public observance as "an independent Prince."[2] Agreeably to this recognition, the conduct of the Resident was to be regulated by the deference due to regal rank, and to be characterised by a respectful urbanity and a strict fulfilment of established ceremonials. In an especial manner he was to refrain from countenancing or encouraging any servant of the Nawab in contumacious opposition to his master, and from recommending any person from his

[1] Letter from the Resident, 9th Nov.—Papers, p. 96.

[2] Papers, 919.

own household for reception into the Nawab's immediate service. By adherence to these, and similar injunctions, the Governor-General hoped that both the actual Resident and his successors would obtain from the Nawab a willing compliance on every occasion where it might be necessary to interpose advice. With these monitory instructions the inquiry terminated, and cordiality was apparently restored. It was not of long duration. 1815.

In the month of March following, as the war expenditure still continued, recourse to the hoards of Sadat Ali again became convenient, and the Resident, acting in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General, extracted from the Nawab a second crore of Rupees. Although Ghazi-ud-din complied with the application, his unwilling consent seems to have confirmed his estrangement from the Resident, and rendered him still more than ever hostile to all projects of reform. The Resident, ascribing their imperfect success to underhand opposition, offended by the removal from the Nawab's councils of persons whom he supported, and upon whom he relied, and weakened in influence as well as wounded in feeling by the distrust implied in Lord Moira's private inquiries, and public injunctions, could no longer restrain his indignation. A letter, dated the 29th of April, but not transmitted till the 20th of September, was addressed by him to the Governor-General, in which he vindicated his conduct, and ascribed the proceedings of the Nawab to factious intrigues, encouraged by the prejudice cherished against him by Lord Moira. The Governor-General thought it incumbent upon him to reply, and exonerate himself from the imputation of unfairness, or prejudice against the Resident: doing justice to the character of that officer for integrity and zeal, but avowing his conviction of his having, in his intercourse with both the late and present Nawab, exhibited a grasping and domineering disposition, which justified the jealousy and resentment felt by both the Princes. As it was impossible that the confidence and harmony which should subsist between the Governor-General and his representative at the Court of Lucknow could longer be maintained, the Governor-General, with the concurrence of his council, removed Major Baillie from his office, and left the Nawab of Oude to the uncon-

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trolled constitution of his own cabinet, and the absolute direction of his own domestic administration.

Thus terminated a dissension which is deserving of record for the illustration it affords of the incidents likely to trouble the equable current of a connection of the nature of that established with the sovereign of Oude. That Major Baillie should be an object of dislike to Sadat Ali and his successor was inevitable, from the irksome duties he was appointed to discharge, and the zeal with which he engaged in them: it was impossible, whatever they might profess, that these Princes could have felt a sincere regard for an individual who pressed upon them with unchanging pertinacity, reforms which they were secretly resolved never to carry into operation. They might, perhaps, have made a distinction between the individual and the functionary, and felt for Major Baillie the regard which they withheld from the Resident: but it is clear from Major Baillie's own language, as exhibited in his correspondence, that he took little care to soften the harshness of his public acts by the suavity of his private manners. He is ever importunate and dictatorial; not unfrequently disrespectful; and occasionally insulting. This is most manifest in his intercourse with Sadat Ali. The evidence is less ample in regard to Ghazi-ud-din, but the precipitancy with which the projected reforms were set on foot, and the interference exercised with the court patronage, combined with his ordinary deportment to intimidate and offend the Nawab. The want of candour and consistency in the latter, which nullified his own purposes, were in part inseparable from the Asiatic character, but were in part also attributable to his inability to discriminate between the private feelings and public principles of an individual exercising the high office of Governor-General. Undoubtedly Lord Moira was prejudiced against Major Baillie, and had imbibed and strengthened his prejudices from sources scarcely worthy of his exalted station—the private information of unofficial persons. This bias was not, however, derived solely from this cause, and was taken, in part, from the tone of the Resident's correspondence which jarred with his high sentiments of loyal deference to princely rank. Whatever were his prepossessions, however, he founded upon them no public proceedings injurious to the Resident; and, entirely satisfied with

that officer's ability and uprightness, retained him in his post, and recommended to the Nawab to place entire confidence in his judgment and friendship. It was not to be expected, however, that the degree of independence which he had acknowledged in the Nawab, would dispose that Prince to follow his recommendation, or would be palatable to the political representative who, long fortified by the unqualified confidence of the Government, had possessed little less than regal sway throughout the principality of Oude. His retirement was, therefore, unavoidable for the preservation of a good understanding with the Court of Lucknow, and was followed by a perfect cordiality which was cemented by the events of succeeding years.[1]

The internal tranquillity of the British dominions suffered at this time partial interruptions, which, although not affecting the permanent preservation of public order, or impairing the credit and authority of the Government, exhibited characteristic illustrations of the difficulty of legislating for a people imperfectly known by those who enacted or administered their laws, and who as imperfectly appreciated the real objects and intentions of their rulers; in other words, of the difficulty of governing a people without admitting them to any participation in the conduct of their own affairs. Disturbances, which for a time assumed a serious aspect, broke out in the Western provinces, and in Cuttack. The former was speedily repressed by a prompt and vigorous exertion of the power of the Government: the latter were of more protracted continuance, and were at last quelled rather by conciliatory than rigorous measures.

It was noticed on a former occasion, that in consequence of the opposition made to the imposition of a tax on houses, the Government of Bengal had adopted a different mode of providing for the cost of the municipal police, and had empowered the chief inhabitants in several of the towns to assess themselves in the amount necessary to defray the support of a sufficient number of watchmen, or choukidars. The plan being found to succeed in the cities in which it was first introduced, was extended in the

[1] The second loan was commuted by treaty with the Nawab for Khyraghur and the country between the Gogra and the North Eastern Boundary of Oude, 1st May, 1816.

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beginning of 1814 to other towns in the Lower Provinces, and in the course of the same year to those places in the districts of Benares and Bareilly, which were the stations of the magistrates, to whom was entrusted the duty of effecting the requisite arrangements.[1]

The regulation thus enacted by the Government was not at all palatable to the towns to which it was to be applied, but after some little delay, the repugnance of the people was overcome everywhere, except in Bareilly. This city was the residence of a considerable population, many of whom were of Afghan descent, and were notorious for their military propensities and impetuous disposition. Among them, also, were the representatives of families formerly of rank and consideration, which were reduced to comparative insignificance by the change of Government, and the members of which were consequently discontented with the present state of affairs. A similar spirit pervaded the class of Mohammedans throughout the province; and, although no acts of oppression or injustice could be charged against the Government, yet a system that sought to render all alike amenable to public justice was peculiarly distasteful to men who regarded themselves superior to all law, and able to protect their own rights and avenge their own wrongs. The defects of the judicial administration — its expensiveness and delay — the unrelenting, and, in some instances, excessive assessments on the land, and the procrastination of a settlement either for a stated period, or in perpetuity, enhanced the unpopularity which difference of origin and religion affixed to a foreign Government. Neither was the past forgotten; and the defeat of the Rohillas at Bithora, twenty-two years before, which was currently attributed, not to the superior valour or discipline of the victors, but to the treachery of their own leaders, still rankled in the hearts of the people of Rohilkhand. Local causes of popular animosity also prevailed. The Kotwal, or head of the Police, was a Hindu of an overbearing and tyrannical disposition; and the European magistrate, by reserved and uncourteous manners, had given so much offence to the most respectable of the inhabitants, that they avoided as much as possible all private and friendly intercourse with him. He had

[1] Reg. ii., 1814, and xvi., 1814.

thus deprived himself of the most natural and efficacious means of influencing the feelings and conduct of the people.

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In this temper of men's minds the new regulation was promulgated. The repugnance felt by the natives of India to any new impost was immediately displayed, although in the present instance it could scarcely be regarded as a novelty, as in those parts of the town, where the principal shops were situated, the inhabitants had been long accustomed to assess themselves with a moderate rate for the express purpose of maintaining a municipal police. The only grounds of objection were, therefore, the augmented amount of the tax, and its universal application, falling upon those who had been hitherto exempt, and who were chiefly the more respectable and influential householders — the impoverished gentry of Bareilly. To these circumstances were to be added the fear, that if this impost were introduced, it would be a prelude to others, and the knowledge of the success with which resistance to the house-tax had been attended at Benares, further encouraged the people of Bareilly to resist the execution of the law. Few of the principal men would undertake the apportionment and collection of the tax in their respective divisions, and those who at first assented, were compelled by pasquinades and popular songs, by abuse and threats, to evade or decline the fulfilment of the duty. Frequent assemblages of the people were held, especially at the house of the Mufti Mohammed Aiwaz, an individual of great age and reputed sanctity, who was held in profound veneration throughout Rohilkhand, and who was induced by the persuasions of some designing and discontented persons of consideration in the town to countenance the popular excitement. The proceedings of the people seem at first to have been modelled after those at Benares; business stood still, the shops were shut, and multitudes assembled near the magistrate's office to petition for the abolition of the tax; but as their application was unavailing, they were soon weary of such moderate means of seeking redress, and in harmony with their natural temperament, assumed a more menacing and formidable attitude.

Finding that the opposition of the people was not to be overcome through the agency of the higher classes, the

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magistrate, Mr. Dumbleton, commanded the assessment to be made by the Kotwal, who aggravated the popular indignation by threatening the lower orders with the stocks, and the superior with chains and imprisonment, if they continued refractory. The actual collection of the tax was commenced by the magistrate in person, and by his orders the shop of a recusant trader was forcibly entered, and property to the amount of the sum assessed was distrained for sale. In the execution of his commands, a woman in the shop received a wound from some of the Police Peons, and as soon as the Magistrate had withdrawn, she was placed on a bed, and carried by the people to the Mufti. By his direction she was conveyed to the residence of the Magistrate, who ordered that she should lodge her complaint in due form in the chief criminal court. The people carried her back to the Mufti, who exclaimed, that if such was the Magistrate's justice, no man's life or honour was safe in Bareilly; and that it was high time for him to leave the town. It does not appear that the injury inflicted on the woman was very severe, but the little regard paid to the case exasperated the angry feelings that prevailed.

As the excitement continued to increase, and numerous mobs of both Mohammedans and Hindus, assembled in the streets of Bareilly, and in the vicinity of the Mufti's residence, the Magistrate apprehended a serious breach of the public peace, and deemed it necessary to disperse the multitude. For this purpose he repaired on the 16th of April to the city, attended by a few horsemen and about thirty Sipahis of the provincial battalion. Upon his approach, a rumour spread abroad that he was coming to apprehend the person of the Mufti, and place him in confinement; and the old man, either apprehending, or feigning to apprehend, the disgrace of being dragged to prison, left his home to take sanctuary in a shrine in the suburbs of the city, held in peculiar reverence by the Mohammedans. The mob fell back as the magistrate's party advanced, but when near the Mufti's residence they turned, and in order to cover his flight, barred further access. The horsemen who were sent to clear the passage were resolutely resisted by the people, who were armed with swords and pikes, and two of the troopers were

killed and several wounded. The Sipahis then fired, but, although many fell, the rioters stood their ground until the escape of Mohammed Aiwaz was secured: they then dispersed. The Mufti received a slight wound in the affray, but he effected his retreat to the shrine of Shahdara, and there his associates hoisting the green flag of Islam, proclaimed that the religion of the faithful was in danger. He was immediately joined by a great part of the armed population of the town, and letters having been despatched to the surrounding districts, numbers of resolute and enthusiastic Mohammedans flocked to his rescue, particularly from the towns of Pilibhit, Shahjehanpur, and Rampur, the two last being comprised in the independent Jagir of Ahmed Ali Khan, the Nawab of Rampur. Religious enthusiasm, national aversion, and the love of tumultuous excitement, thus combined to attract recruits to the standard, and, in the course of two days, assembled some five or six thousand men, armed with swords and matchlocks, scarcely knowing for what they were about to contend, but not the less resolved to peril their lives in the contest.[1]

On their part, the European functionaries were active in preparing for the encounter. The force at their disposal consisted only of about two hundred and seventy men of the 2nd battalion of the 27th regiment of Native infantry, with two guns, under Captain Boscawen, and one hundred and fifty of a Provincial Battalion commanded by Lieut. Lucas. Two companies of the former were immediately posted near the mosque to keep the Mufti and his adherents in check, while the cantonments and European residents were under the protection of the remainder. Application for reinforcements was despatched to the nearest stations, and Captain Cunningham, with a regi-

[1] Great exaggeration prevailed in the reported numbers of the insurgents. They were said to amount to five thousand matchlockmen, seven thousand swordsmen, and a large body armed with spears and clubs. One thousand five hundred matchlocks were said to have come from Pilibhit alone, the whole of the Pilibhit party not exceeding three or four hundred. About the same number moved from Rampur, but did not all arrive in time. There is nowhere any exact report of the number engaged, but that stated in the text seems to be most probable. Had time permitted, the multitude would have greatly increased, as many bodies were on the march, when news of the result of the action sent them back.—Asiatic Monthly Journal, Jan. 5, 1817. In the evidence of Major Macan, he states that ten or fifteen thousand men assembled in 1816 at Bareilly.—Comm. Comm. Evid, Military, p. 209.

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ment of irregular horse, and Major Richards, with the 2nd battalion of the 13th N. I., marched immediately from Moradabad; both corps made forced marches, and the former arrived on the ground on the 19th, the latter on the 21st. In the mean time, repeated conferences were held with the Mufti and his chief adherents by officers deputed by the magistrate. The Mufti would willingly have listened to terms, but he could not allay the storm which he had been so instrumental in rousing; and many of the more respectable individuals, including the members of the family of Hafiz Rehmat, who had at first joined the insurgents withdrew, and left them to the ungovernable passions, which listened to no controul. The rioters declared that they would not be satisfied, nor retire, unless the Choukidar tax was abolished — the Kotwal was delivered up to them to suffer the law of retaliation for the blood shed on the 16th; provision was made for the families of those who fell on that occasion, and a general pardon was proclaimed. As compliance with these demands was refused, they hastened to a decision of the struggle before the junction of the 13th, of the approach of which they were aware. On the morning of the 21st, they signalized their purpose by murdering a young gentleman, the son of Mr. Leycester, one of the Judges of the Court of Circuit, as he passed peaceably and unarmed from one military post to another. This was followed by an onset upon the troops who were drawn out to receive them. A short distance divided the encampment of the infantry from that of the irregular horse; the intervening space, a plain covered with Mohammedan tombs, was occupied by the rioters. Their first attack was made upon the Sipahis, whom they greatly outnumbered and surrounded. Being formed in a square the troops repulsed every charge, although the assailants fought with fury; some of them making their way into the square, where they were cut down or bayoneted. On his side, Captain Cunningham's horse charged the masses of the multitude, and threw them into confusion. Repulsed in their forward movements, they took up their ground in a grove defended by a low wall, but were soon driven out of it by the troops, who pursued them into the old town and set fire to the huts in which they had taken shelter. This

put an end to the conflict. The insurgents dispersed, leaving between three and four hundred dead, and a greater number wounded and taken prisoners. The loss of the troops was inconsiderable.[1] The arrival of the 13th soon after secured the victory. The result of this engagement was a legitimate subject of congratulation, as the success of the rioters would, in all probability, have been a signal for the rising of the whole province, and the commencement of an insurrection, which could not have been suppressed without much loss of life and the aggravated hatred of the people. The town submitted peaceably to the regulations. Of the rioters, the Mufti and some of the principal ringleaders quitted the Company's territories, and were never allowed to return. A few of those who were apprehended were brought to trial before the Court of Circuit, but were dismissed, after some detention, for want of evidence to convict them; the greater number were at once pardoned, and set at liberty on promise of good behaviour at the suggested intercession of their countrymen in the ranks both of the Provincial corps and the Rohilla horse, who had faithfully discharged their duty, although in deadly conflict with many of their relatives and friends; the principles of military honour and allegiance silencing, in a remarkable manner, on this occasion, the promptings of natural affection. Great courage and constancy were displayed in the suppression of the tumult; but it would probably not have occurred had the people of Bareilly been taught to regard those placed in authority over them with confidence and good-will.[2]

The other proceedings in the western provinces, although of a more imposing character, involved considerations of inferior importance, as popular feeling was rather in unison with, than arrayed against, the measures of the Government. The forbearance or negligence of former administrations had allowed a few of the great Talukdars of the Doab to retain many of the privileges which the most

[1] Twenty-one killed, sixty-two wounded.

[2] A Committee of Inquiry was appointed by the Government to investigate the causes of the disturbance, the conduct of the public officers, and the state of public feeling in Rohilkhand. The details in the text are taken chiefly from the report made in consequence in August, 1816, and from the accompanying documents furnished.—MS. Records.

considerable of their order had usurped, during the preceding times of anarchy; and although the districts, for the revenues of which they were held accountable, were not intended to be exempted from the jurisdiction of the Company's officers, yet no measures had been formally adopted to bring them within the sphere of the regulations. The Talukdars were silently suffered to exercise supreme judicial authority within their own estates, to regulate their own police, to keep up large bodies of military followers, and to convert their places of residence into fortresses of formidable extent and strength. Of these petty chieftains, one of the most considerable was Dayaram, Talukdar or Zemindar of a number of villages in the Doab, in the district of Aligerh. His residence was at the fort and adjacent walled town of Hatras. The fort was of the usual construction of similar strongholds, built of mud, or rather of sun-dried clay, having walls of great height and thickness, with towers at the angles, mounting a number of guns, and defended by a very broad and deep ditch. The town was also protected by a wall and a ditch. The force kept up by Dayaram was about eight thousand strong, of which three thousand five hundred were horse.

The consequence of possessing so many of the attributes of independence were a belief in its reality and a spirit of opposition to any interference with its exercise. While professing obedience to the will of the Government, the authority of its officers was perpetually evaded or defied, and although the revenue was duly discharged, yet the means by which it was collected were often oppressive and tyrannical, and the villagers in vain appealed to the protection of the paramount power: any attempt to enforce either civil or criminal justice within the Taluk was baffled or resisted: criminals were either openly sheltered, or covertly enabled to escape from punishment, and gangs of robbers were permitted to fix their head-quarters in the country of the Talukdar, on condition of paying him a share of the spoils, levied from the adjoining districts. These evils had been frequently noticed by the Government, the Landholders menaced with its displeasure, and the judicial officers directed to carry the regulations into effect; but the demolition of their forts

was an indispensable preliminary to the humiliation of their possessors, and this it had not hitherto been found convenient or deemed prudent to attempt. The Governor-General in Council now determined to take advantage of the concentration of troops in progress in the Western Provinces, and to accomplish the extinction of the power of the contumacious landholders, if necessary, by military operations. Dayaram, as the most powerful and most audacious, was accordingly required to testify the sincerity of his profession of allegiance, by disbanding his troops and dismantling his fortress of Hatras; and a strong division,[1] under the command of General Marshall, took the field in the beginning of the year, to show that the requisition was not to be trifled with.

The troops employed against Hatras marched from the several military stations of Cawnpur, Muttra, and Meerut, early in February, and the fort was completely invested by the 12th of that month. Overtures of submission were made by Dayaram, but the demolition of his stronghold was a condition to which he could not be prevailed upon to yield, and recourse being necessarily had to compulsion, batteries were opened against the town and fort, and a vigorous bombardment was kept up upon the latter. A practical breach was effected in the walls of the town by the 23rd, but the garrison avoided a storm, and evacuated the place on the following morning. The bombardment of the fort continued with increased activity, and most of the buildings were in ruins. On the 2nd of March, a shell made its way into the powder magazine, and was followed by a tremendous explosion, which completed the work of desolation within the ramparts. The besieged still maintained a show of resistance, and returned the fire of the batteries; but Dayaram, now convinced of the futility of resistance, and alarmed for his safety, effected his escape at midnight with a small body of retainers. They were encountered by a party of the dragoons, but

[1] It consisted of the 8th and 24th light dragoons, 3rd and 7th N. C., 1st and 2nd Rohilla horse and rocket troop; his Majesty's 14th and 87th regiments, and of Native Infantry, the 2nd battalion of the 1st, 1st battalion of the 11th, 2nd battalion of the 12th, 2nd battalion of the 15th, 2nd battalion of the 25th, 21st battalion of the 29th, and 2nd grenadier battalion. Besides artillery and pioneers, the ordnance comprised seventy-one mortars and howitzers, and thirty-four battering guns (24 and 18-pounders), besides 12-pounders for enfilading; the whole under the direction of Major Anbury as chief engineer.

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made good their retreat, after inflicting more loss than they suffered, being armed with back and breast-plates and gauntlets of steel. The alarm being given, the troops were immediately ordered to the gates, and, after overcoming some resistance from those of the garrison who were endeavouring to escape, they gained possession of the fortress. The capture of Hatras secured the ready submission of the other refractory landholders; and such anomalous structures, as mud forts, and fortified villages, disappeared from among the dwellings of a peaceful population. Dayaram took refuge with Amir Khan, but, in the course of two years, was allowed to return to the Company's territories, upon his promise of submission, and ultimately received a pension in lieu of the emoluments he had formerly derived from his fiscal agency between the village community and the state.

The countries extending along the Western frontier, from the south of Behar to the Northern Circars, partake of the same general character, and consist, for the most part, of low ranges of hills, off-shoots from the Vindhya chain, covered with dense forests, and thinly inhabited by barbarous tribes. The inhabitants, under various designations, may be regarded, perhaps, as fragmentary remnants of the original occupants of India, dispossessed of the level lands by foreign races, and driven to contend with the beasts of the forests for a scanty sustenance, and with the pestilential malaria of the thickets for a brief and precarious existence. Nor had they been suffered to enjoy these haunts in peace; adventurers from the conquering stock had penetrated into the most accessible spots, and established their sway over petty principalities, the lands of which were distributed among their adherents on the tenure of military service. On the habits of the savage and the hunter were thus grafted the turbulence and insolence of military adventure; and the communities were only prevented from degenerating into utter anarchy by the personal consideration enjoyed by those who were descended from the original leaders, and were regarded as their natural chiefs. The Rajas, although often at feud with each other, or with their own dependents, formed the main cement of the ill-combined structure. It was among these people, with very little knowledge of their

character,' or of their wants, that it was attempted to introduce judicial and fiscal arrangements, borrowed from the principles and practice of highly civilized society. The consequences were perpetual breaches of the public peace, insurrections on a petty but mischievous scale, and the employment of troops in districts where the climate was the most formidable enemy to be encountered. At the time at which we are arrived, the attention of the Government of Fort St. George was occupied by three different risings in the Northern Circars, while that of Bengal was called upon to suppress a violent but short-lived outbreak in Ramgerh, and a still more extensive and protracted disturbance in Cuttack.

The Northern Circars were generally in the occupancy of such chiefs as have been above noticed, hereditary Rajas or Zemindars, claiming political as well as territorial rights, and paying a tribute to the Government of the day, but never acknowledging themselves as its functionaries in the collection of revenue. They had been so treated by the British Government, and a permanent settlement was made with them for the amount of their tributes. With the settlement, however, came arrears, the sale of their lands, and the consequent insurrection of the chiefs, powerfully abetted by their adherents and tenants. There came, also, the introduction of the judicial system and the Daroga police, and the infliction of fraud and violence upon a rude and barbarous race. Resistance and disorder were the necessary results, and after fifty years' occupation the authority of the Government could scarcely be considered as established. There was constantly some petty rebellion on the part of the Rajas, or there were disturbances arising out of their mutual quarrels or intrigues among their own people, which it was necessary for the Government to suppress. The task was arduous, for a great part of the country, consisting of hill and thicket, was as fatal as inaccessible, and order was never re-established, without a prodigious sacrifice of life. In the first of the transactions under remark, the hereditary manager of Kimedi had been driven out by an adverse party, and his removal had been confirmed by the Government. In defiance of the sentence he endeavoured to recover his authority, and a civil war distracted the district.

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which led to serious outrages, and was only tranquillized by the seizure of the ringleaders and the confinement of the manager. In the Moheri estate, the Rani, the representative of an ancient family, had been dispossessed by a fraudulent sale of the lands she inherited: although she was personally engaged in no commotion, yet her tenants took up her cause, and not only expelled or murdered the people of the intrusive purchaser, but the officers of the Police, and committed extensive depredations on the neighbouring lands. The Raja of the hill country of Gumsar, in like manner was irritated by the attempts of the Police to bring him before the tribunal of the Company's courts, and, in the frenzy of his resentment, perpetrated acts of violence which led to his forcible imprisonment. The people of Gumsar, a highly barbarous race, continued, nevertheless, in arms, and committed the most atrocious excesses upon the peaceable population of the lowlands, which were retaliated by the despatch of troops into the district. These disturbances were not repressed without the employment of five battalions of infantry and a regiment of cavalry, under the command of General Rumley; and, although the presence of so large a force deterred the insurgents from assembling in any strength, yet they long lurked in the impenetrable thickets on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam, prepared to resume their depredations in the latter, and lending their aid to the troubles which agitated the former province in 1817.[1]

The wish of the Government to be relieved from the irksome task of managing the turbulent Cherus and Kharwars, the military cultivators of Palamu, upon the sale of the Zemindari for arrears of revenue, induced them to transfer it, in 1816, to a neighbouring Zemindar, who consented to be responsible for the revenue at a reduced rate, and to superintend and manage the police. The villages were generally held by tenants who had been accustomed to consider themselves permanent occupants, at a fixed rate of assessment. Their new chief began his reign by raising the rents of some and wholly dispossess-

[1] Reports on the State of the Northern Circars, by Mr. W. Thackeray, in March, 1819. Selections from the Records, i. 974. Visit of Sir Thomas Munro to the Northern Circars, January, 1823. Ibid. iii. 556; also MSS. Records.

ing others: a general rising ensued: the officers of the Zemindar were attacked, some were killed, the police stations were demolished, and the riot was not put down without the employment of a military force. As rights sanctified by long prescription and popular estimation had undoubtedly been invaded, contrary to the intention of the Government, the renter was removed, and the management of the district taken under the immediate superintendance of the Company, by which means order was, for a season at least, restored.

In Cuttack the insurrection was more extensive, and its suppression longer delayed. It arose out of the operation of the revenue enactments of the Government; but its immediate and exciting cause was the manner in which those enactments were executed, the flagrant extortion and cruel oppression practised by the subordinate functionaries of every department of the state. The natives of Orissa had always been proverbial for mental dulness, and their inaptitude for public duties occasioned, even under their own princes, while the country was yet a Hindu kingdom, the employment in all offices of trust of foreigners from the neighbouring countries of Telingana and Bengal. The latter chiefly filled the public stations under the English magistrates and collectors, and, under a succession of superiors, who seem to have exercised little vigilance or activity in controlling their subordinates or in punishing corruption, preyed with impunity upon the helpless and bewildered population of the province, and rendered the Government itself dreaded and detested.

The rigorous exaction of the Government assessment on the land everywhere calculated, in combination with the improvidence of the Zemindars, to lead to their impoverishment and ruin, was peculiarly mischievous in Cuttack. The amount, originally calculated on an erroneous principle, was excessive, and,[1] in order to discharge

[1] The original assessment was computed on an average of that which appeared to have been paid for some years to the Mahrattas, but the Mahratta assessment was liable to many deductions which were not admitted into the British. Even then it exceeded the average amount by 1,65,000 rupees, the Mahratta being Rs. 10,15,000, the British Rs. 11,80,000. Under the periodical and progressive assessments, however, this amount had been raised, in 1816-17, to Rs. 13,82,000. The augmentation had been made at random. In Khurda the highest assessment under the former system never exceeded five annas per biga; under the later arrangement it amounted to seven and a half.

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it, the Zemindars were compelled to raise their demands upon the people, who were generally wholly unable to pay them. The Zemindars, consequently, fell speedily[1] into arrears, and their estates were sold to new men, either to the revenue officers themselves, or their Bengali countrymen, whose means of gratifying the cupidity of the public functionaries rendered many of their sales wholly collusive and fraudulent;[2] and sacrificed the original proprietor not so much at the shrine of public good as of private emolument.[3] The intrusive Zemindars, odious from their very intrusion, and the sinister course well known to the people, by which their end was attained, eager to make the most of their purchases, incurred by their unsparing extortions still more intense hatred. By their exactions the rents of the tenants were raised to the highest possible amount, and those who claimed to hold their lands on easy terms, in lieu of certain services, were either fully assessed, or were turned adrift.[4] These latter were, for the most part, the only persons in the province familiar with the use of arms; the Paiks, or militia and police of the country under the Native Government; and they were little inclined to submit with patience to the loss of their property and annihilation of their privileges.

To these subjects of public distress and discontent was added another pressure upon the people, in the extreme enhancement of the price of an article of first necessity, Salt, in consequence of the precipitate introduction of the Company's monopoly. The price was injudiciously fixed at a rate far beyond the means of the inhabitants of the province, being six or seven times that at which it had been ordinarily sold.[5] The state benefited but compara-

[1] Of 3,000 Zemindars who had contracted for the revenue in 1803, only 1450 were in possession in 1817-18.

[2] The Munshi of one of the Collectors purchased an estate, assessed at an annual Jumma, of 50,000 rupees, for 23,000 rupees,—less than half a year's purchase.

[3] The estate of Hamishpore, although one of those held at a quit-rent, was sold for arrears and bought by an opulent Bengali; the dispossessed Zemindar was, of course, one of the leaders of the insurrection.

[4] Such were the effects of these measures that the people sold everything, even to their wives and children, to obtain sustenance, and when all was insufficient they abandoned their homes and fled into the forests. In the course of 1816 between five and six thousand houses were thus deserted, and the country was becoming depopulated.

[5] On the extension of the monopoly to the southern divisions of Cuttack, the price in Khurda rose from about fourteen anas to six rupees per maund. This was peculiarly oppressive to the people of Orissa, as they were accustomed to eat their boiled rice on the second day, when it was stale and more than originally insipid.

tively little, for smuggling was almost openly practised by the very persons appointed to prevent it. Yet, as the illicit traders kept up the prices, the people suffered severely, and were ripe for a revolt against the Government, by whose measures and whose agents, they were deprived of the means of procuring the necessaries of life. Nor were the judicial arrangements of their new rulers less obnoxious to the simple and ignorant inhabitants, accustomed to summary and informal decision. Unacquainted with the very language of the regulations,[1] and incapable of comprehending the forms of the courts, they found themselves entirely at the mercy of the public officers, and were made to pay heavily for justice, which, in the end, they seldom attained. The police was a still more insufferable grievance; in lieu of the native Paiks, Darogas and their myrmidons were introduced, and were as rapacious as they were inefficient. Property was annihilated, and little security for person survived.[2]

The province of Cuttack was distributed between two classes of occupants; those who cultivated the Mogulbandi, the open and most productive part of the country, and the people of the Rajwara, which, on one side of the Mogulbandi, extended in a narrow slip along the sea coast, and, on the other hand, spread westward over a broad expanse of hill and wilderness. The estates of the Mogulbandi were assessed on the same principles as those in Bengal; the Rajwara estates, consisting of tracts ill adapted to cultivation, were held at a low quit rent, and on the condition of military service.[3] One of the most considerable was the district of Khurda, lying a short distance west of the celebrated shrine of Jagannath. It was the Zemindari of the Raja of Khurda, who was dear to the

[1] They were in Bengali.

[2] The police Daroga of Khurda contrived, in the course of a few years, to extort a lakh of rupees (10,000*l.*) from the villagers. The Serisitadar of the Civil Court of Cuttack was convicted of having taken bribes to the extent of about 60,000 rupees (6,000*l.*) in a few cases, and had realised a very large property by an unchecked course of similar corruption. It is worthy of note that the officers of the courts who were punished for their malpractices were all Mohammedans. Hindu functionaries would not probably have been more honest under such a system, but they would have been less daring, less tyrannical, and might have been less insatiable; at any rate, they would have been less obnoxious to the Uriya population, although a dislike of Bengalis seems to have been a national feeling. One of the grievances urged by the insurgents was, that "a parcel of Bengalis pretended to be their masters."

[3] Account of Orissa, by A. Stirling.—Asiatic Researches, vol. xv.

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people, as the hereditary descendant of the once powerful Gajapati kings of Orissa, the acknowledged head of the several petty chiefs, and who was invested with additional sanctity from his having the hereditary privilege of being the sweeper of the temple of Vishnu. The estate of Khurda had been held under the Mahrattas, at a light quit-rent; under the English authorities, it was assessed at a rate at which the Raja declined to hold it,[1] and he was accordingly allowed to reside at Puri, in discharge of his duties in the temple, upon a yearly malikana, while his lands were taken under the management of the revenue officers. Their management, in the course of a few years, reduced the people to poverty and despair, and this province was consequently the seat of the first and most violent disorders.

The dispossessed Paiks and Ryots of Khurda found a bold and active leader in Jagbandhu, who was the hereditary Bakhshi, or paymaster and commander of the Raja of Khurda, and proprietor of a landed estate in the province. By a course of chicanery and fraud, in which the native officers were chiefly concerned, he was deprived of his patrimony, and told to seek redress in the courts of law. He was too poor and too impatient of wrong to appeal to such tardy and uncertain protection, and rashly, though pardonably, attempted to vindicate his own rights by the instrumentality of popular insurrection. Assisted by a body of the wild tribes of Gumsar, and joined by a number of Paiks and unhoused Ryots, he appeared in the chief village of Khurda, attacked and put the police to flight, and killed some of the people; set the station on fire, and plundered and burnt the office of the government collector. No injury was done to any one unconnected with the Government. The success of this attack was soon spread abroad; the whole province was in a state of insurrection, and Jagbandhu, in a few weeks, was at the head of above three thousand rioters, armed with swords, spears, bows and arrows, and a few matchlocks.

[1] The Raja paid to the Mahrattas, when they could compel him to pay anything, 15,000 rupees a-year, but he often evaded the payment. He was willing to engage for double the amount to the British Government, but a lakh, or 100,000 rupees was demanded. This he declared himself unable to discharge. It was, however, raised, and in 1816 augmented to 1,38,000 rupees, of which 25,000 rupees were paid to the Raja for subsistence.

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As soon as news of the tumult reached Cuttack, a detachment of troops was despatched to Khurda; a party from which, sent out to collect provisions, was surprised at the pass of Ganjpura, and was driven back on the main body, with the loss of an officer, Ensign Faris, commanding it. The rest of the detachment fell back to Pipli losing their baggage and cattle. A second attempt made by the magistrate, with a military guard, to enter Khurda, failed, and the party retreated to Cuttack, harassed by the insurgents. Jagbandhu was, in consequence, emboldened to advance to the town of Jagannath, of which he took possession. The only force at this place consisted of about eighty Sipahis, while the rioters were estimated at four thousand. The town was plundered; the fort, buildings, and bungalows were set on fire, and the troops stationed for the defence of the collector's house and treasury, were attacked; they repulsed the assailants, but the officer commanding judged it expedient to retreat with the public treasure to Cuttack. This affair contributed to extend the insurrection, and every district in which the ancient proprietors had been deprived of their estates, was in arms. The triumph of the rebels at Puri, was short-lived. One of their objects in marching thither had been to place their Raja at their head; but his fears or his prudence deterred him from connecting himself with the disturbance, and one material element of opposition was thus defective. At the same time, Capt. Le Fevre, with the greater part of the 1st battalion of the 18th N. I., marched from Khurda to recover Puri. At Devendra, the battalion was encountered by the Uriyas, and an action ensued, which speedily terminated in their defeat. Puri was re-occupied, and the person of the Raja being secured, he was removed to Cuttack.

Although the affair at Devendra showed that the insurgents were wholly unable to cope with the regular troops, the disturbances were far from being allayed. Khurda was entirely in their possession, and in the beginning of May, a body of above two thousand made an attack upon a detachment at Pipli in the neighbourhood. It was repulsed, and the rebels never afterwards appeared in force; but risings took place in Limbai, Kurdes, and Kujang, which the civil power was unable to restrain, and to

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suppress which it was necessary to station troops in the provinces. Martial law was proclaimed, reinforcements were despatched to Cuttack, and General Sir Gabriel Martindell was ordered to take the command, with additional authority, as joint commissioner with the judge and magistrate. By the military dispositions which were made, and, in a still greater degree, by the assurances held out to the people by the military commissioner, that their grievances, if peaceably represented, would be listened to and redressed, tranquillity, through the greater part of the troubled districts, was restored by the end of the year. Jagbandhu, and some of the leaders, still, however, kept aloof, and lurked for a while in the wild tracts along the upper course of the Mahanadi; but driven from thence by the combined operation of detachments sent from Cuttack to Boad, and others from Sambhalpur, they retreated to Khanpur, in the south-west angle of the province, where the Khunds of Gumsar gave them shelter; and, although large rewards were offered for their apprehension, none of their adherents proved treacherous, none of the people of the country were tempted to betray them.

The tranquillity of Cuttack was confirmed by the appointment of a special commissioner,[1] with extensive powers; and by the measures and enactments of the Government, adopted at his suggestion, large remissions of arrears and reductions in the assessment were made,[2] and the revenue officers were authorized, at discretion, to suspend the sale of the estates of defaulters, and rather subject their persons to imprisonment.[3] A new settlement was made for three years:[4] such of the native officers

[1] Mr. Ker, and afterwards upon his death, Mr. Blunt. Besides the functional benefits derived from this arrangement, through the employment of intelligent and upright Commissioners, we owe to it a descriptive and historical account of Orissa, of great interest and value, drawn up by the Secretary to the Commission, Mr. Andrew Stirling, a member of the civil service of Bengal, and one of its brightest ornaments, although his career was cut short by a too early death. The account is printed in the Asiatic Researches, vol xv.

[2] When the Commissioner reached Cuttack, the balance of arrears exceeded nineteen lakhs of rupees, (£190,000) of which about six were remitted; the consequence was the realization of the revenues of the year 1818-19, with a very trifling balance, and with a very limited recourse to the measure of a public sale. The revenue on the tributary Mehals was reduced from Rs. 333,000 to 206,000. More attention than heretofore was paid to the tenures, and in the estates held under the Government, settlements were made with the Ryots. Revenue Letter from Bengal, 30th March, 1821. Selections from the Records, iii. 68.

[3] Reg. x. of 1818.

[4] Reg. xiii. of 1819.

as had been most notorious for extortion and oppression, were deservedly punished, and such of their European superiors as were considered to be implicated in the causes of the insurrection, were removed. Some of the unhappy people who had been driven into rebellion lost their lives in action, and others, taken with arms in their hands, suffered death under the operation of martial law: when that ceased, the offenders were transferred to the civil power, and many were condemned to a prolonged period of confinement and hard labour. By these several means of severity and conciliation, the province was so entirely tranquillized, that in August, 1819, a general amnesty was proclaimed, with the exception of a few of the leaders. Some years elapsed before they were considered to be objects of clemency; but, in 1825, Jagbandhu was induced to surrender himself, and was allowed to reside in Cuttack upon a pension from the Government. This event extinguished the last spark of rebellion in which the people were much less to blame than the functionaries of the state, whether native or European, the former having remorselessly aggravated, by corruption and tyranny, intolerable burthens; the latter having permitted free scope to their subordinates, neglected to make themselves acquainted with the institutions of the country and the circumstances of the people, and having omitted to bring to the knowledge of the Government the utter inapplicability to Cuttack of arrangements which, whether applicable or not, had been imposed upon the agricultural population of Bengal.[1]

These transactions, however illustrative of the state of Indian society, and instructive to the British Government in regard to their future relations with their native subjects, attracted little notice; and may, perhaps, excite little interest amidst the more momentous political and military transactions which, about the same period, convulsed the whole of Hindustan.

[1] Printed Correspondence relating to Cuttack, Selections from the Records, iii. 66; and M.S Records.

CHAPTER IV.

Relations with Poona. — Designs of the Peshwa. — Influence of Trimbak Rao. — Claims on Baroda. — Mission of Gangadhar Sástri to Poona. — Coldly received. — Other Agents. — Change of Treatment. — Apparent cordiality. — Offence given to the Peshwa. — Journey to Punderpur. — Murder of Gangadhar. — Inquiry demanded. — Trimbak implicated. — Resident demands his Arrest. — Peshwa reluctant. — Compelled to give him up. — Trimbak confined at Thanna. — Discontent of Mahratta Princes. — Objection of the Raja of Nagpur to a Subsidiary Alliance. — His Designs upon Bhopal. — Unites with Sindhia against the Nawab. — Siege of Bhopal. — Gallant Defence. — Besiegers retire. — Preparations of Sindhia. — British Interference. — Sindhia indignant, but suspends Operations. — Alliance not formed. — Death of the Nawab, and of the Raja of Nagpur. — Apa Saheb Regent. — Subsidiary Alliance concluded. — Sindhia. — His Intrigues. — Disorders of his Government. — His Policy. — Son and Successor of Mulhar Rao Holkar adopted. — Tulasi Bai Regent. — Balaram Seth Minister. — Put to Death. — Troops Mutiny. — Flight of the Regent and Young Raja. — Tantia Jóg Minister. — Reconciliation negotiated. — State of Affairs in Rajputana. — Chand Sing defeats the Mohammedans. — Defeated by them. — Jaypur ravaged by Amir Khan. — Rajas of Jaypur and Jodhpur reconciled by his Mediation. — Fresh Quarrels, and both States laid waste. — The Khan marches to Jodhpur. — Domestic Intrigues. — The Minister and Family Priest of the Raja assassinated. — Man Sing feigns Imbecility, and abdicates. — Continuance of Amir Khan's Depredations. — Distracted State of Central India.

BOOK II. CHAP. IV. 1814.

THE political relations established with the court of Poona, had borne, as we have remarked, for some time past, an uneasy complexion. The claims of the Peshwa upon Baroda and Hyderabad, still remained unadjusted, and he ascribed the delay to the purposed procrastination of the British authorities. Their intervention also pro-

tected the estates of his feudatories from his secret or open encroachments, and his title to be regarded as the head of the Mahratta confederacy, which the other leading members were willing to acknowledge, was avowedly withheld from him by the British Government. Notwithstanding the unequivocal tone in which their determination to disallow the resumption of this supremacy was declared, Baji Rao had never desisted from unavowed intrigues for its attainment, and, in violation of the terms of the treaty of Bassein, had constantly maintained agents at the Courts of Gwalior, Indore, and Nagpur, and carried on, with little affectation of concealment, negotiations with the Bhonsla, Sindhia, and Holkar. It may be doubted, however, if he ever entertained a design to engage in any serious collision with the British Government. Although bold in plotting, and tenacious of his purposes, Baji Rao was utterly deficient in personal intrepidity, and trusted rather to persevering and secret intrigue, than to resolute and open defiance. The Peshwa was not without ability, nor incapable of exertion, but his abilities were counteracted by habits of vicious indulgence, and a disposition naturally indolent, rendered his fits of activity unfrequent and of short duration. His ambition might have overcome his love of pleasure and ease, had not his excessive timidity deterred him from enterprises involving a hazard of personal safety, and induced him to have recourse to profound dissimulation for the furtherance of his designs. Suspicious and jealous of his principal officers, the Peshwa gave them but a partial and imperfect confidence, and placed his sole reliance upon individuals of low origin and inferior station, who were entirely dependent upon his favour for distinction, and who repaid his patronage with unhesitating submission to his will. Although arrogant and self-sufficient in general, he allowed himself sometimes to be controuled by the boldness of his advisers, and to be hurried into actions which were contrary to his own plans, and repugnant to his nature. Not unfrequently feeble and capricious, Baji Rao was remarkable for his adherence to any favourite project, and for the perseverance with which he pursued it, although it might be laid aside occasionally for such considerable intervals, that it seemed to have been abandoned or forgotten. Nor was he less

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constant in his malignity — an offence was never forgiven, however remote the suspension of his resentment, and his vengeance was sure, however long its infliction might be delayed. When not under the influence of vindictive feelings, he was mild and rarely cruel: he was scrupulous in his pecuniary dealings, frugal though not parsimonious, cautious in his conduct, and dignified in his deportment, and gifted with singular powers of insinuation and persuasion. As a Brahman he professed a strict observance of the forms of the Hindu faith, and, a slave to the grossest superstition, he devoted a large portion of his revenue to the support of religious individuals and institutions; and a large portion of his time to the practice of religious rites and pilgrimages to various holy places within his dominions, to the great interruption of the public affairs and diminution of the public resources. The latter were also seriously impaired by the vicious system which prevailed of farming the revenues; but, upon the whole, the country was not badly administered, and the people were prosperous and contented under the Peshwa's government. It was only necessary for this ruler to have submitted resignedly to a condition from which he could not hope to extricate himself, to have been one of the most opulent and independent of the princes who had been compelled to submit to British supremacy.

The prospects which clouded the commencement of the administration of Lord Moira, and the possibility that the war with Nepal might lead to hostilities on a wider scale, emboldened some of the confidential advisers of Baji Rao to assume a more lofty style of language, and to talk of their master's rights, not only to the first among the Mahratta chiefs, but even to the tribute which former Peshwas had levied from Bengal. At the head of the party was Trimbakji Danglia, the principal favourite of Baji Rao, and a devoted servant, though a most unfit and mischievous counsellor. He had been originally a courier and spy, in which capacities he attracted the notice of Baji Rao by his intelligence and activity: he rose rapidly to wealth and authority — became the associate of Baji Rao in his private pleasures, and the confidant of all his feelings and designs — and the object — the only one

—of his affection. In requital of the Peshwa's attachment, Trimbak adopted unhesitatingly all his views and sentiments, imbibed all his aversions for his allies, and in the fervour of his devotedness, as well as in the ignorance of his origin, and the presumption generated by his sudden elevation, dropped the veil of Mahratta diplomacy, and gave utterance to his opinions, with a degree of hardihood which, however, gratifying to the Peshwa's pride, was most detrimental to his interests.[1] The licence of expression which was allowed to Trimbak by the Peshwa, was a vicarious expression of the thoughts which were cherished in the bosom of the latter.

The adjustment of the Peshwa's claims upon the Gaekwar, described in a former page, although yet undetermined, was still professedly under investigation, and about this time other claims were advanced. A participation in the tribute payable by the chiefs of Kattiwar, had always been demanded by the court of Poona, and had been, in some cases, realised through the Gaekwar, as the Peshwa's representative. It was now insisted that the collection should be made direct, and in what manner, and to what extent, the government of Poona should think proper; but this was held to be inconsistent with the engagements which had been entered into by the British Government with the chiefs of Kattiwar; and although the right to a defined amount of tribute was recognised, yet a claim of an indefinite extent was denied; and in order to prevent any unauthorised exactions, the Peshwa was told that the collection would be retained in the hands of the British officers. Another subject of dispute was, the farm of a portion of the revenues of Ahmedabad, which had been held by the Gaekwar of the Peshwa for ten years, expiring in 1814. The court of Baroda desired its renewal in perpetuity, in order to obviate the chance of disputes arising from a division and conflict of authority, and the object was too reasonable not to be supported by the British Government. On the other hand, it was the policy of the court of Poona to keep open so fertile a subject of contest, and so plausible a plea for

[1] It is mentioned by Mr. Prinsep, that in a conference at which the rights of the Peshwa were discussed, this man asserted their comprehending the Chouth of Bengal ceded by Aliverdi Khan, and that of Mysore, agreed to by Hyder Ali.—Transactions, 2, p. 320, note.

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negotiation with the Gaekwar, and the Peshwa, therefore, declined to renew the lease. In the hope of adjusting this matter, as well as of accelerating an amicable settlement of the other points in dispute, the despatch of an agent from Baroda to Poona was sanctioned by the government of Bengal, and Gangadhar Sastri, who was familiar with the subjects in dispute, and who possessed the confidence of the British residents at both courts, was selected for the office. The formal guarantee of the British Government was engaged for his personal safety, — a precaution with which he thought it necessary to be armed, before he trusted himself within the treacherous circle of the court of Poona.

The choice of the negotiator was by no means agreeable to the Peshwa and his advisers, as they well knew the acumen and firmness of Gangadhar, and his steady devotion to the British. His reception was accordingly cold and discouraging, and, for some time, no disposition was shown to enter into any communication with him upon the subjects of the mission. Nor had the Sastri to complain alone of the unfriendly spirit manifested by the Peshwa and his ministers, — a powerful party in his own court, with the concurrence of the imbecile sovereign of Guzerat himself, undertook to counteract his negotiations; and Govind Rao Bandoji Gaekwar, an agent of the discarded minister Sitaram, — with Bhagavant Rao Gaekwar, an illegitimate brother of Anand Rao, and representative of the interior of the palace of Baroda, also in the interest of Sitaram, were sent to Poona, almost simultaneously with the Sastri, to assure the Peshwa, that if he would bring about the restoration of Sitaram to the office of Dewan, all his claims should be immediately complied with, and his supremacy be acknowledged. The bait was tempting, and although success was little probable, yet an additional inducement was thus supplied to treat the Sastri with neglect, and the very institution of the intrigue was too congenial to the Peshwa's character, for him to resist the temptation of plunging into its dark and dangerous labyrinth.

Well acquainted with the counteracting forces which were secretly at work, and despairing of obtaining an audience, Gangadhar applied for permission to return to

Baroda, when afraid of exciting the serious displeasure of the British Government by the abrupt close of negotiations, undertaken at their earnest recommendation, and recalled to a sense of the risk, by the earnest remonstrances of the British Resident; projecting too, even at this season, apparently, the catastrophe which finally closed the transaction,[1] the Peshwa's advisers adopted a total change of conduct, and exhibited towards the Sastri a degree of cordiality, which constituted a marked contrast to their previous inattention. Private interviews took place between Trimbak and Gangadhar, in which the former avowed that he had been actively opposed to the latter, and had even listened to devices against his life; but he asserted that the Peshwa had now become convinced, that it was for his advantage to have the Sastri for his friend, and was willing to pay that deference to his opinions to which they were entitled by his acknowledged sagacity and experience. Great pains were taken to act upon the negotiator's vanity — which was as remarkable as his ability — and, for a time, with success. He was made to believe that the Peshwa was most anxious to engage his services, and nominate him as his own minister; and a matrimonial alliance was concerted between his son and the sister of the wife of Baji Rao. On his part, he engaged that the Gaekwar should assign to the Peshwa lands yielding seven lakhs a-year in lieu of his claims, and should conclude a treaty of amity with Poona, without the intervention of the British Resident. The question of territorial cession was, however, referred to the government of Baroda, and pending the reference, Gangadhar accompanied the Peshwa to the sacred shrine of Nasik,[2] where extensive preparations were made for the celebration of the nuptials.

Whether it was the result of his own reflections, or of the suggestions of his friends, Gangadhar Sastri soon became apprehensive that he had been cajoled into communications incompatible with the interests of his court, and

[1] Reports were current at Poona, that designs were on foot against the life of the Sastri. An intercepted letter to Sitaram from one of his correspondents at Poona, dated August 1814, remarks, "Every one here says that the Sastri cannot come back again."—MS. Records.

[2] Nasik is a place of considerable sanctity, as the reputed scene of one of Ráma's adventures, when in exile, and is said to derive its name from his cutting off the nose (Násiká) of a Rakshasi or Ogress. It appears under the same name, Násiká, in Ptolemy, and its importance is therefore of some antiquity, as well as the legend.

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injurious to his reputation, and was not displeased, therefore, when he received the refusal of the Gaekwar to ratify the proposed territorial concession. As the conditions of the treaty could not be fulfilled, he considered it incumbent on him also to decline the honour of the intended alliance. The defeat of his intrigues was even less galling to Baji Rao, than this indignity to his person and connections; and the affront was aggravated by the Sastri preventing his wife from visiting the ladies of the Peshwa's family, in consequence of the licentious orgies which, it was said, were commonly enacted in the interior of his palace. The destruction of the offender was, no doubt, immediately decreed, and impunity and assistance were assured to the instruments of the Sastri's enemies, who had come from Baroda to frustrate his negotiation, to effect his disgrace, and to prevent, by any means, his return to power: an opportunity was soon afforded.

Notwithstanding the acerbity of the resentment with which the Sastri's rejection of the alliance with Baji Rao had inspired the Peshwa and his agents, no feeling of dissatisfaction was manifested. On the contrary, Trimbak was more profuse than ever in his professions of regard, and in the display of unimpaired cordiality and confidence. A visit to the shrine of Wittoba, a form of Vishnu, at Punderpur being undertaken, Gangadhar was invited to accompany the Peshwa, and accepted the invitation; leaving behind him the principal part of his followers, and his colleague, Myral Bapú, a cautious man, who had vainly endeavoured to put the Sastri on his guard against the machinations of Trimbak and the Peshwa. The invitation was not extended as usual to the British Resident. Soon after the arrival of the party at Punderpur, a report was raised that the life of the Peshwa was threatened by assassins from the territory of the Nizam, and on this pretext the guards were increased, and precautions were taken for Baji Rao's safety. On the evening of the 14th of July, Gangadhar, after returning home from an entertainment given by a Mahratta chief to the Peshwa, complained of indisposition, and was about to retire to rest, when a messenger came from Trimbak to invite him to repair to the temple and perform his devotions there; as on the ensuing morning it would be engaged for the Peshwa and his attendants. The excuse of being unwell was

pleaded for declining the invitation, when it was more urgently repeated by a second messenger. The excuse was repeated, but two of the Sastri's friends repaired to the temple and were requested by Trimbak to use their influence and induce Gangadhar to come. Unwilling to give personal offence, the Sastri yielded to their importunity, and with a few attendants walked to the temple. After performing his devotions he proceeded on his return home, escorted by a small party of Trimbak's soldiers, about twelve paces in advance, and preceded and followed at short intervals by his own servants, some of them bearing torches. Suddenly three men came running from behind, and forcing their way past the servants in the rear, struck the Sastri with the swords with which they were armed, and threw him on the ground; two more came to their aid and wounded some of the Sastri's people, when the whole of the latter fled and left their master to the assassins, by whom he was barbarously mangled. Before any effective assistance was procured the murderers had escaped. The body was afterwards removed, and burned by the Sastri's people, and application was made to Trimbak and the Peshwa for the apprehension and punishment of the assassins. Whatever professions and promises were made, no measures, whatever, were taken for the discovery and seizure of the culprits; nor was any sorrow expressed for the unhappy fate of the Sastri.[1]

The connexion which subsisted between the British Government and the Gaekwar, and the special guarantee under which Gangadhar Sastri had consented to trust himself within the reach of individuals so notoriously treacherous and revengeful as the Peshwa and his minister rendered it the imperative duty of the Resident to insist upon a full investigation of the circumstances of the murder, and the detection and punishment of the murderers. An enquiry, conducted with the means at the command of the Peshwa, could not fail to bring the truth to light; and it was called for, no less by the reputation of the British Government, than by the honour of the Peshwa himself. An accredited minister had been murdered in his

[1] Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, 11th August, 1815.—Papers respecting the Pindari and Mahratta war, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, p. 75.

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immediate vicinity, almost in his presence; and such an outrage, under such circumstances, could not be perpetrated with impunity, without involving his Highness in a suspicion of having sanctioned its commission. The remonstrances of the Resident were backed by a letter of admonition to the Peshwa from the Governor-General, but nothing could induce either him or his counsellor to institute a serious enquiry. It was affirmed that no clue to the perpetrators could be obtained, that the Sastri had many enemies, and acted imprudently in moving abroad so scantily attended; in short his death was the work of destiny, and no good could result from further investigation. European notions of public obligations were not so easily satisfied. Although it was probable that the active instruments in the murder were the emissaries from Baroda, one of whom, Bandoji, was known to have been in Punderpur at the time of the assassination; yet it was clear that Trimbak, at least, was deeply implicated in the occurrence. His repeated and earnest invitations to the Sastri to repair to the temple, could be accounted for only by his being a party to a scheme for affording to the murderers an opportunity of executing their design; and the indifference with which he received the intelligence, his private conferences with Bandoji, both before and after the assassination, and the entire absence of any attempt to discover the murderers, were unequivocal proofs of his participation in the crime; of the participation, indeed, of the Peshwa himself;[1] but as the punishment of the latter was embarrassed by obvious political considerations, the agent and accessory was made responsible for the act; and the arrest of Trimbak, and his delivery to the British

[1] Trimbak on one occasion, after his apprehension, accused the Peshwa of having instigated the murder, as part of a plot to secure the restoration of Sitaram to office, on condition of his subservience to the interests of the Peshwa, at Baroda. At another time, he professed not to know who the author was, but he believed Bandoji was chiefly concerned. The truth seems to have been that Bandoji was the principal instrument of the crime, but no one would have dared its commission, unless assured of the concurrence of the Peshwa and the co-operation of Trimbak. The share of Bandoji in the murder was not doubted at Baroda; he was known to have gone secretly to Punderpur with armed followers, about the time, and to have given a very considerable sum of money to his servants, professedly for their expenses on the journey; to have held also several secret interviews with Trimbak, both at Punderpur and Poona. A letter from him to the Rani, Takht Bhai had, shortly before, conveyed the intimation that "the Sastri would never return to Baroda." On his return to the Gaekwar's territory he was confined for life in irons, in the fort of Gundiswari on the Tapti. Bhajavant Rao was also imprisoned.—MS. Records.

Government, were declared to be the indispensable conditions of preserving undisturbed amicable relations with the Peshwa.

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The demand made for the delivery of his favourite was for some time strenuously resisted by the Peshwa, who urged that the imprisonment of an individual against whom no proof could be produced, was an act of manifest injustice, and professed his readiness to place Trimbak in confinement himself, could the charge of his being accessory to the murder of the Sastri be substantiated against him. However plausible the objection, it was not entitled to any consideration, for Baji Rao well knew that none of his people would venture to prefer an accusation against his minister while at large: upon his being removed, the Resident pledged himself to bring forward the evidence which had seemed to the British Government sufficient to involve Trimbak in the transaction. It was with great difficulty that the reluctance of the Peshwa was overcome, and for a moment he seemed to contemplate the alternative of open hostility. His fears of the result, however, prevailed, and he consented to give up the person of Trimbak, on condition that his life should be spared, and that his imprisonment should not be attended with any unnecessary severity. Trimbak was accordingly delivered to a detachment of the Poona brigade, on the 17th of September, and was immediately marched off to Thanna, where he was confined. The emissaries from Baroda were at the same time apprehended, and sent to Guzerat.

The communications which had been carried on by the Peshwa, with the several Mahratta courts, had not been unattended by consequences unpropitious to the continuance of tranquillity, and the maintenance of British influence. The chiefs were generally discontented with their position. Forgetting the peril in which their former enmity had involved them as its effects ceased to be felt, and misunderstanding the motives of the forbearance which the victors had exercised, they were alone sensible of the comparative insignificance to which they had been reduced, and impatient of the restraint which the predominating power of the British imposed upon their career of universal spoliation. The instigations of the Peshwa fomented these feelings, and rendered them more

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than ever anxious to concentrate and combine their strength under the direction of a prince, whom they acknowledged to be the legitimate head of the Mahratta federation. Various subjects occurred about this period to aggravate their dissatisfaction and excite their animosity.

The object of maintaining a military division permanently in the field, for the protection of the frontiers of Berar from the incursions of Amir Khan, and the ravages of the predatory bands, known as Pindaris, in consequence of the inefficiency of the troops of the Bhonsla, imposed an extraordinary burthen upon the government of Bengal, which Lord Minto had conceived it incumbent upon the Raja of Nagpur to defray. The charge was incurred for his benefit, and the defence was an act of voluntary aid, unprovided for by any subsisting engagements. The most ready method of reciprocating the service and the cost would be a subsidiary alliance, and, with the entire concurrence of the home authorities, the British Government had, for some years past, endeavoured to prevail upon the Raja to contract a connexion of this description. Raghuji Bhonsla, however, felt assured that he would not be left to fall a sacrifice to hordes of plunderers, who would then, with additional credit and resources, be brought more immediately into contact with the British possessions. He was possibly of opinion, that even if unassisted, he might by policy or force, provide for his own protection; and he prized too highly the privilege of exemption from foreign control to barter his independence for military succour. The submission of his internal relations with other native princes to the interposition of a British Resident, would also have put a stop to the execution of his designs against the principality of Bhopal, a portion of which he expected to be able, in concert with Doulat Rao Sindhia, to annex to his own dominions.

Shortly after the repulse of Amir Khan, and the withdrawal of the British forces, Raghuji Bhonsla entered into an alliance with Sindhia, for the annihilation of the Nawab of Bhopal, and the partition of his country between the confederates; and at the end of the rainy season of 1813, an army from Nagpur, commanded by Sadik Ali, and a force from Gwalior, led by Jaggú Bapú, entered the Bhopal territories. Unable to face such superior forces, Vizir

Mohammed threw himself, with such troops as he could assemble, into the city of Bhopal, where he determined to defend himself to the last extremity. Bhopal was situated on high and uneven ground, not far from a portion of the Vindhya range of mountains, and was about four miles in circumference. It was surrounded on three sides by a tolerable wall, but was without a ditch, or other defences. The south side was protected by a citadel, placed on the high bank of an artificial lake, formed by embankments, connecting contiguous hills, extending on the west of the town, about five miles in length, and one in breadth. Most of the inhabitants had been sent away. The garrison, including a body of three thousand Pindaris, amounted at first to eleven thousand men, but when the besiegers had occupied most of the approaches to the city, the deficiency of forage compelled the retreat of the Pindaris, and other mounted troops, leaving no more than five or six thousand men to defend Bhopal, against the united armies of Sindhia and Nagpur, exceeding at least ten times that number.[1] The siege commenced at the end of October, 1813. The operations of the besiegers were tardy, and their fire of little effect; but in the course of December they had completed the investment of the town, except on the side of the lake, across which supplies were for some period longer conveyed to the garrison. In the course of December and January, repeated attempts were made to carry the place by escalade, but they were met by Vizir Mohammed, and his son Nazar Mohammed, with undaunted intrepidity, and resolutely repulsed. The most formidable enemy the garrison had to encounter was famine, for the Mahrattas had bribed the boatmen who had been employed to carry provisions across the lake, and this source of supply being cut off, the troops were exposed to the severest suffering. The Mohammedans assuaged their hunger by the flesh of the animals that perished of want, while the Hindus endeavoured to appease the cravings of nature with decayed vegetable matter — bruised tamarind stones, and the leaves of trees; —numbers, unable to endure these privations, deserted;

[1] According to native authority, cited by Sir J. Malcolm, the united armies amounted to seventy thousand, which, however, he thinks may be exaggerated by ten or fifteen thousand men, but "the force," he adds, "is acknowledged by all to have been very great."—Central India, i. 398.

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and the desertions, with the casualties of the siege reduced the garrison from about six thousand to as many hundreds.

In the month of March, 1814, the death of Jaggú Bapú, and the ceremonies which followed, suspended the operations of the besiegers, and afforded the garrison an interval of repose, and an opportunity of repairing the walls of the town. In the following May, one of Vizir Mohammed's officers, a Rajput, was tampered with by Sadik Ali, and introduced a party of five hundred of the Nagpur troops, by night, into the post which he commanded. Conceiving themselves already masters of Bhopal, the Mahrattas awaited day-light for the resumption of their operations, and, halting at the mausoleum of one of the Nawabs of Bhopal, put aside their arms, and laid down to rest. Their entrance was discovered, and reported to Vizir Mohammed, who, perceiving that no time was to be lost, immediately attacked the enemy, although not having more than thirty men about his person. The attack was led by Nazar Mohammed; the Mahrattas were taken by surprise, and many fell under the first fire of the Patans, who, allowing them no time to recover from their confusion, rushed among them with their swords, and put them to flight. They evacuated the post with precipitancy, leaving behind above a hundred killed and wounded. Either the failure of this attempt, or some motives unavowed, induced Sadik Ali to weary of the enterprise; and pretending that he had been prohibited from its prosecution by a dream, he broke up his camp, and deaf to the remonstrances of Sindhia's officers, marched back to Nagpur. The secession of Sadik Ali, and the losses which the Mahrattas had suffered, left them little prospect of continuing the siege with advantage, and a fortnight afterwards they withdrew to Sarangpur, where they were cantoned for the rains.

Although Bhopal, after a siege of nine months, was relieved from present danger, the peril was not passed. Great exertions were made by Sindhia to recruit his forces, and an army, more efficiently equipped, was prepared to resume operations as soon as the weather permitted. They were further delayed by a quarrel between the Mahratta leaders, Jeswant Rao Bhao, and Jean Baptiste Filoze, a

person of mixed European and Indian descent, who had succeeded to the command of one of Sindhia's disciplined brigades, consisting of eight battalions with forty guns. The quarrel came to blows, when the Bhao was defeated, and driven to take shelter under the walls of Bhopal. The forces of Baptiste, however, were of themselves adequate to the reduction of the city, when the interposition of the British Government saved Vizir Mohammed from destruction. The interposition was based upon a double motive, gratitude for past, and expectation of future service. That the march across central India, by General Goddard, in 1778, was successfully accomplished, was in main attributable to the friendly treatment which the detachment experienced from Hyat Mohammed, the Nawab of Bhopal.[1] The position of the principality, its contiguity to Berar on one hand, and to the chief seats of the Pindaris on the other rendered the co-operation of the Nawab of essential importance in the measures which were contemplated by the British Government for the suppression of the predatory system. Vizir Mohammed earnestly entreated to be taken under British protection, and a prudent regard for British interests recommended compliance with his request. A negotiation was accordingly entered into with the Nawab, of which notice was given to the Mahratta princes. The Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur professed their cordial concurrence, but Sindhia received the announcement with a greater manifestation of resentment than he had ever expressed upon any similar occasion. He declared that the Nawab of Bhopal had been tributary to the Peshwa, and that the tribute had been transferred to him; that he would not submit to any interposition in his behalf, and that he would pursue his designs against the Nawab, be the consequence what it might. His opposition was, however, restricted to these menacing declarations. A force was assembled at Bellari, under Sir Thomas Hislop, and a division in Bundelkhand, under General

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[1] In the published Journal of General Goddard's march, it is mentioned that the detachments halted at Bhopal seven days, and found provisions cheap and plentiful. No obstruction to their march occurred after entering the Bhopal territory. See also the notices of this transaction in Malcolm, Grant, and Prinsep, as collected by Major Hough in his Brief History of the Bhopal Principality, p. 13.

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Marshall, while detachments from the subsidiary forces of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Gaekwar, were moved towards the frontiers of their respective territories: and these movements, with the successes which had followed the first reverses of the Nepal war, induced a change of tone, and a silent acquiescence in the arrangements of the British Government. The meditated alliance did not at this season take place. Vizir Mohammed, with genuine Afghan duplicity, adopted the perilous policy of playing one negotiation against another; and when by the interference of the British Government its intentions towards him were notorious, entered into secret negotiations with Baptiste to induce him to retire, recalling at the same time his agents from Delhi and Banda, and showing no disposition to contract an alliance, which involved the appropriation of part of his revenues to the support of a foreign force, and some diminution of his independence and credit. Whether the terms demanded by Baptiste were more unreasonable than the Nawab expected, or whether he began to doubt the sincerity of the Mahrattas, Vizir Mohammed again intimated a desire to resume the negotiation with the British, but the Governor-General, indignant at his want of faith, declined to receive his agents, and announced to the Courts of Gwalior and Nagpur that, although he held himself at liberty to enter into any engagements with Bhopal, which might consult the interests of his Government, as well as those of the Nawab, yet that at present all intercourse with that state was at an end. This determination was in accordance with the policy of the home authorites, from whom a positive prohibition of any alliance with Bhopal was about the same time received, and in conformity to the injunctions of the Secret Committee, the Resident at Gwalior was instructed to throw no obstacle in the way of any projects which Sindhia might set on foot against Bhopal; but before he could avail himself of the license thus granted, events occurred which occupied and perplexed the counsels of the Gwalior cabinet, and ultimately placed the principality of Bhopal beyond the reach of its Mahratta enemies. Vizir Mohammed died in the beginning of 1816, and was succeeded by his second son,

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Nazar Mohammed, the gallant partner of his dangers and his glory.[1]

Whatever might have been the real feelings with which Raghuji Bhonsla received the intimation that he must forego his hostility to Bhopal, and whatever projects he may have concerted with the other Mahratta princes, his death, which occurred immediately after that of Vizir Mohammed, removed him timely from the troubled scene which was about to ensue. He was succeeded by his son, Parswaji: but as this prince was of infirm body and weak intellect, although of years to conduct the Government, it was necessary to entrust the authority to more competent hands. Parties at Nagpur were divided, but after a short struggle, Modaji Bhonsla, commonly called Apa Saheb, the nephew of the late Raja, obtained the ascendancy, and, with the concurrence of the British envoy, assumed the office of Regent. As the opponents of Apa Saheb, who were persons of considerable influence, were opposed also to the British alliance, he considered that he should best secure his newly acquired honours, by adopting a different policy, and by entering into an intimate connexion with the British Government. The subsidiary alliance which it had so long been the object of the latter to effect, was now, therefore, concluded without further difficulty or delay; and in the same month, May, in which Apa Saheb was firmly seated in the Regency, the treaty was signed by him in the name of the Raja. It was stipulated that the subsidiary force should consist of one regiment of native cavalry, six battalions of infantry, one complete company of European artillery, with the usual proportion of ordnance: and that the cost of it should be defrayed by an annual payment of seven lakhs and a half of Nagpur Rupees. That a commutation of territory for the pecuniary payment should be demanded, if the latter fell into arrear, not else, although the expedience of such an exchange might be reserved as the subject of subsequent consideration. That the British Government should protect the Raja against all foreign and domestic enemies, and that, on the other hand, the Raja should never

[1] Malcolm's Central India, i. 412, Prinsep's History of Transactions in India, i. 245. Summary by the Marquis of Hastings, printed by order of the Court of Proprietors, 23rd June, 1824, p. 10.—Hough, 89.

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commit any hostilities against the British allies, nor commence or pursue any negotiations with any other state whatever, without giving previous notice to, and entering into mutual consultation with, the Company's Government. That the Raja should maintain at all times, and in a state of efficiency, a force consisting of not less than three thousand cavalry, and two thousand infantry, with their necessary equipments; and to attend and conform to whatever advice and recommendation might be afforded by the Resident, respecting the Contingent, allowing it to be mustered and inspected, or reviewed by that functionary, or the officer commanding the subsidiary troops, whenever the former should think fit. The Raja was further to maintain such a number of troops as he might think necessary, and the resources of his country might enable him to support, to be at all times ready to assist the British Government. The treaty was ratified by the Governor-General, in the following month, and, to all appearance, Nagpur had become identified in political interests with British India.[1]

Although taking no ostensible or personal share in the distractions which pervaded Malwa and Rajputana, Doulat Rao Sindhia was unworthily busied with intrigues, tending to promote their perpetuation and extend their mischief. The disappointment of his views upon Bhopal rankled deeply in his breast, and confirmed his natural disposition to co-operate in any scheme which proposed the diminution of the British power. Active, though secret negotiations were carried on with the ministers of the Holkar State, with the Bhonsla, and with the Peshwa, for the establishment of the supreme authority of the latter, and the consolidation of the remaining fragments of the Mahratta empire,—vakils were received privately from Nepal, and from Ranjit Sing, and constant communications were maintained with the Pindari leaders, who promised implicit obedience to Sindhia's orders, and declared themselves ready, with his sanction, to carry fire and sword into the Company's possessions. His own circumstances were, however, most unpropitious to any military under-

[1] Treaty of perpetual defensive alliance with the Raja of Nagpore, 27th May, 1816.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818. See also Report, Committee House of Commons, 1832.—Pol. Ap. p. 236.

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taking. His dependants and tributaries were everywhere in a state of contumacy and rebellion, and his own troops ill-paid and ill-governed, were mutinous and disobedient. His chief commanders yielded him little more than nominal allegiance, and receiving their pay in assignments upon impoverished and exhausted districts, they aggravated the discontent of the people, and drained the resources of the state by their oppression and extortion. Converting their commands into a plea for pillage, they moved through the country at their pleasure, and levied contributions at will upon their sovereign's subjects, and dependants; or when these failed, carried their bands into the territory of the princes of Rajputana, and, under pretext of assisting one or other of the contending parties, plundered both friends and foes. To add to these sources of disorder, the mountaineers on the south and west of Malwa, the Bhils and Mhers, and the petty Hindu chiefs on the south and east of the same country, were committing unchecked ravages in retaliation for invaded rights, or disregarded claims. A weary contest was also in progress with the Rajputs of Kychewara, whose prince, Jaysing, the Raja of Raghugerh, had been dispossessed by Sindhia of his patrimony, and at the head of a resolute troop of followers, laid waste the adjacent country, surprised Sindhia's forts, and occasionally worsted his disciplined brigades. All these embarrassments paralysed Sindhia's power.

Although he could not resist the temptation of mixing himself up in the intrigues that were so rife, and no doubt had sufficient nationality to desire their success, Sindhia was evidently aware of the danger of provoking the resentment of the British Government, and, in all probability, never entertained any settled purpose of exposing himself to its irresistible infliction. However incompatible with his secret practices, his professions of unwillingness to incur the displeasure of his allies were probably as sincere as they were earnest, and reiterated. His policy was naturally and excusably unfriendly,—but he saw the consequences of its prosecution too distinctly to defy them.

All intercourse with the court of Holkar had been suspended for several years, during which it had been

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but little in communication with the other native powers of Central India. Its transactions were almost entirely domestic, and exhibited a career of disorder and infamy seldom paralleled even in the annals of the most profligate Indian Durbar. Tulasi Bai, having no child, adopted before the death of Jeswant Rao, and with his presumed sanction, his son by Kesari Bai, a woman of an inferior station in his household. As the boy Mulhar Rao was yet an infant, his adoptive parent continued to hold the reins of government, being assisted in the civil administration by Balaram Seth as minister, and by Ghafur Khan, the brother-in-law and representative of Amir Khan, as the head of the military department. Tulasi Bai was a woman of natural intelligence, and of a resolute spirit, but of profligate inclinations, and remorseless vindictiveness. The former qualities extricated her from repeated dangers, arising out of intrigues against her authority, or the insubordination of the troops. The latter lost her the respect and adherence of the firmest friends of the Holkar family, and ultimately caused her ruin.

A breach soon occurred between the Bai and the minister,—Balaram Seth had provoked her resentment, by his plain spoken expostulations against the licentiousness of her conduct, and had excited her fears by being suspected of secretly instigating the mutinous clamours of the soldiery, the violence of which had endangered the safety of the Bai, and compelled her to fly for refuge, with the young prince, to the fortress of Gangraur. The like suspicion extended to Amir Khan, who had always given Balaram his support: the former was beyond her power: the latter was summoned at midnight to her presence, and in her sight, and by her orders, was cruelly murdered. The crime aroused the indignation of Ghafur Khan, and the Mohammedan leaders in the service of the Holkar State, whose troops were encamped on the outside of Gangraur; and they assembled in arms, and threatened to storm the fort. They were anticipated by Tulasi Bai: she sallied from the town with the Mahratta horse, who were attached to her person, and an action ensued, the result of which was for some time doubtful. The Bai displayed remarkable self-possession, until a cannon ball struck the *houda* of the elephant on which the young

Raja was riding. This shook her courage, and mounting a horse, while she placed the child upon another in charge of Ganpat Rao, her treasurer and paramour, she gallopped from the field to Allote, a town sixteen miles distant, where she and the Raja found shelter. Her troops dispersed, Gangraur was stormed, and plundered by the Mohammedan mercenaries.

The authority of Balaram devolved, after his death, upon a Brahman, named Tantia Jóg, who had been originally employed by Balaram, but had subsequently connected himself with Ganpat Rao. Although personally obnoxious to Tulasi Bai for the reasons which had excited her displeasure against his first patron, and which had, at one time, compelled him to fly to Kota, the abilities and resources of Tantia Jóg, rendered him necessary to her favourite and to herself, and he was therefore suffered to take an active part in the administration. He became the head of the national or Mahratta party, in opposition to that of the Mohammedans, headed by Ghafur Khan, or rather by Amir Khan, of whom the former was the agent. Amir Khan, who was occupied in Rajasthan, was desirous of effecting a reconciliation, and offered, with the Bai's concurrence, to come to her aid, and prevail upon the brigades to be contented with a portion of their arrears. The Bai, however, declined to receive his visit, unless Ghafur Khan were at once recalled, and the mutinous troops reduced to subordination. Both parties at length agreed to refer their differences to the arbitration of Zalim Sinh. Negociations were in progress at Kota for the friendly settlement of the dispute, when the advance of the British armies diverted the attention of all the parties to objects of more vital importance.[1]

The death of the princess of Udaypur, although it had removed the immediate cause of quarrel, had failed to restore to the Rajput principalities the blessings of peace. A state of confusion and discord was indispensable to the maintenance of the "Free Companies," whom Amir Khan, and other soldiers of fortune, both Mohammedan and Hindu, commanded; and the establishment of order and tranquillity was hopeless as long as these predatory bands moved over the face of the country, like flights of

[1] Malcolm's Central India, i. 289.

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locusts, leaving famine and desolation in their track. A plea for their ravages was never wanting. The feebleness of the Rajput princes compelled them to bribe the forbearance of the mercenary chiefs by promises, which they could only imperfectly fulfil; each breach of promise generated fresh exactions; engagements were again made, and again broken, and the failure was followed by repeated retribution. There appeared to be no prospect of shaking off the vampires that had fastened themselves on the princes of Rajputana, as long as a drop of blood continued to circulate in the veins of their victims.

After completing his arrangements at Udaypur, Amir Khan marched towards Jaypur, levying contributions by the way, on the Rajas of Krishnagerh and Bundi, and other petty princes, as well as upon the principal towns and feudatory chiefs of Jaypur. Large sums were thus collected, but either the funds were so wasted by malversation, or the expenses of the battalions so much exceeded the contributions, that the troops were constantly in a state of mutiny for arrears of pay; and, detaining their commanders in the sort of arrest termed dharna, treated them with indignity, and menaced them with violence, until some settlement could be effected. Every such transaction was a signal for the reiteration of pecuniary demands upon the princes and people near at hand, and for fresh exactions from both friend and foe.

In the middle of 1812, the absence of Amir Khan in Jodhpur, whither he had been summoned by the Raja Man Sing, and the reduction by mutiny and desertion of the division in Jaypur under his colleague, Mohammed Shah Khan, encouraged Chand Sing, the commander of the Rajput forces to assume the offensive. Falling unexpectedly upon Mohammed Shah, he defeated that officer, and compelled him to seek refuge in Tonk, a town which belonged to Amir Khan, and where he had constructed a fort, named after him, Amir Gerh, to which Chand Sing laid siege. The siege was soon raised by the approach of another of Amir Khan's leaders, Raja Bahadur, and the troops of the Mohammedan captains having effected a junction, pursued the retreating Rajputs into the Jaypur territories, which they ravaged without mercy. Amir Khan soon after joined and took the command, and the

army of Jaypur retired to the shelter of the capital, leaving the rest of the country undefended. It was everywhere plundered and occupied by the invaders, and the neighbouring principality of Shekhawati was obliged to purchase, by a large sum of money, exemption from the devastating incursions of Amir Khan's brigades.

Having thus brought the Raja of Jaypur to the brink of destruction, Amir Khan, with his usual policy, refrained from completing the work of extirpation. He agreed to accept an annual tribute of twelve lakhs of rupees, on the realisation of which, the forts that had been taken were to be restored. Chand Sing, the only officer by whom the Mohammedans had been encountered with any success, was to be expelled the city, and dismissed from all concern in public affairs. Amir Khan also promoted negotiations for an alliance between the Rajas of Jodhpur and Jaypur, which were in progress, and which ended in Man Sing's agreeing to give his daughter to Jagat Sing, and to espouse that prince's sister. The Rajas met at Mirwa and Rúpnagar, and the double nuptials were solemnized with suitable pomp and festivity. Amir Khan was present at the ceremonial, at the invitation of the Raja of Jodhpur, who received him with every mark of honour. At his instance, also, the Raja of Jaypur, although very reluctantly, consented to meet the Khan as an equal; and the Afghan adventurer, who had commenced his career as a trooper, took his seat on the same throne with the two haughty potentates who derived their titles to sovereignty from a long line of royal ancestors, and from a dynasty claiming a descent from celestial progenitors.[1]

The apparent cordiality which united Amir Khan and the two Rajput princes was of no long duration. The

[1] The insolence of Amir Khan was fully a match for Rajput pride. In his own account of the transaction, it is said, "The Amir sat on the Musnud with both Rajas, and the Jaypur chief deemed it an honour, and a proud day for him and his destinies, so to be placed with the Amir." This may, however, be a rhetorical flourish of his panegyrical amanuensis.—Memoirs, p. 424. This seems to have been the period of Amir Khan's highest prosperity. According to his own account, his reputation had extended so widely, that his assistance was earnestly implored by Shah Shuja of Kabul, by the widow of a dispossessed chief in Baluchistan, and by one of the Talpura princes of Sindh, who was at variance with the rest. He was, however, too cautious, or too well advised, to engage in enterprises which promised more peril than profit, or his accession might have given the ascendancy to whomsoever he befriended. His muster-roll at Merta exhibited a strength of fifty thousand foot and twelve thousand horse, well provided with ordnance.—Ibid. 432.

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ordinary occasion of a rupture, failure in the discharge of pecuniary engagements beyond their means, carried the Mohammedan brigades in less than a twelvemonth from this scene into the territories of both the Rajas. Their first operations were directed against Jaypur. The Amir advanced, plundering the country according to custom, to within ten miles of the capital, when his further progress was arrested by the payment of a portion of his demands. He then marched to Jodhpur, whither Mohammed Shah had preceded him, on a like errand, and had taken possession of Merta. To redeem this place, the ministers of Jodhpur made a present payment of three lakhs of Rupees, but the withdrawal of the troops was suspended by the illness and death of their leader, and by the arrival of Amir Khan, who, assuming the command, applied the contribution to the discharge of the pay of the army. The sum being sufficient but for a short period, the troops were quartered in various places, with instructions to provide for their own subsistence, while Amir Khan proceeded with a strong division to Jodhpur, where he was received by the Raja as a friend.

The march of Amir Khan to Jodhpur was, in fact, connected with a domestic intrigue, which threatened the authority and life of the Raja. The exclusive and infatuated reliance which Man Sing placed on the counsels of his minister, Induraj, and of his spiritual guide, Deonath, and the arrogance and rapaciousness of the latter, had excited against them a powerful party in the court of Jodhpur, at the head of which were the Rani and the Raja's son. The reputation of Amir Khan for dexterity in schemes of assassination, suggested to the discontented nobles the purchase of his services for the removal of the objects of their detestation and fear, and an offer of a considerable sum[1] secured his aid, on condition that the Rani and the prince should join their solicitations to those of the Thakurs; the condition was promptly complied with, and hence the meeting between Amir Khan and the Raja, the latter little suspecting the real object of the visit, which the former professed originated in the hope of

[1] Tod says seven lakhs of rupees, Amir Khan himself thirty-five, he actually received but ten (£100,000), but he made up the balance, at least in part, by contributions from the country.—Mem. 440.

coming to an amicable adjustment of his claims upon Man Sing.

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After some days of seeming friendly discussion, Amir Khan contrived to persuade the minister and the priest, that their personal representations would easily pacify the discontents of his soldiers, and that he should then be able to withdraw his army. They consequently agreed to admit a deputation of the Amir's leaders, and two of his captains, with a dozen resolute followers, waited upon Induraj, at his official residence, where the Guru, Deonath, was also present. After some altercation, the Mohammedans appeared to become indignant, and, pretending ungovernable wrath, drew their swords and put both the Jaypur functionaries to death. They then secured themselves in the building, which the Rajputs attempted in vain to force, and remained on their defence, until Amir Khan came to their rescue, threatening to fire and plunder the city if his men were harmed. The chiefs who had instigated the perpetration of the crime were also earnest with the Raja to sanction the dismissal of the murderers, lest the city should be sacked; and Man Sing, alarmed for his own safety, allowed them to act as they pleased, and they restored the troopers to their chief. The Rajput nobles paid the Amir a portion of the stipulated sum, and prevailed upon him, by entering into engagements for the remainder, to march out of the Jaypur territory. Man Sing, conscious that he was surrounded by domestic enemies, more dangerous than those he had encountered in the field, thenceforth simulated intellectual imbecility, and withdrew from all participation in the government in favour of his son, Chatur Sing; abdicating the sovereignty of Mewar until the death of the prince, and his alliance with the British, restored him to personal security, to his senses, and revenge.[1]

[1] According to the report of the Resident at Delhi, the Vakils of Jodhpur asserted that the murder of Induraj and Deonath was perpetrated with the knowledge and concurrence of the Raja, but they belonged to the usurping party. Tod, in his Personal Narrative, adverting to a surmise that Man Sing was privy to the murder, observes, that there are but two who, in this life, can reveal the mystery—the Raja and the bourreau-en-chef of Rajputana, Amir Khan; the latter has spoken out in his Memoirs, and exonerated the Raja. Man Sing, when he thought it safe to lay aside his assumed idiotcy, inflicted severe punishment upon the members of the faction, as we shall hereafter have occasion to notice.—Memoir of Amir Khan, 433.—Tod's Rajasthan, i. 715, ii. 150.

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From Jodhpur, the Amir led his forces into the Shekawati country, where he levied contributions, and then returned towards Jaypur. The administration of affairs was here, also, the object of dispute between two powerful factions, at the head of one of which was the Purohit, or family priest of the Raja: his competitor for the ministry, and the nobles opposed to him, repaired to Amir Khan and encouraged him to advance to the capital. The minister, Manji Das, with Amir Khan's former opponent, Chand Sing, made a vigorous defence, and resolutely refused to purchase the Amir's retreat, and calling upon the Thakurs for their contingents, they collected a respectable force, and harassed the besiegers with repeated, and often successful, sallies. Irritated by their opposition, Amir Khan ordered a bombardment of the town, by which extensive injury was done to the besieged, and the shot reached even the palace of the Raja. Jagat Sing was now seriously alarmed, and was preparing to evacuate his capital, when his Rani, the daughter of Man Sing, of Jodhpur, availing herself of the connexion which had subsisted between her father and Amir Khan, sent an humble message to him to supplicate his forbearance. Not sorry, in all probability, to have a fair excuse for desisting from a siege in which success was distant, if not doubtful, Amir Khan retired from before Jaypur, and placed his troops in cantonments for the rains. The following season witnessed a repetition of the same course of predatory warfare; but the operations of Amir Khan, with his principal division, were confined to the siege of Madhurajpur, a dependency of Jaypur. After several repulses in his attempts to carry the fort by storm, the siege was converted into a blockade, which had lasted for nine months, when the policy of the British Government interfered to put an end to the sufferings of Rajputana.

The state of affairs had come to a crisis. Central India presented a chaotic mass of social disorganization; order was no where attempted, and the only semblance of substantial power that remained was exercised by roving armies, belonging to no one government, but controlling and distracting all. In Malwa, the troops of Sindhia and Holkar acted independently of their nominal masters; and, provided with assignments on the revenues of the

provinces, in liquidation of their pay, employed them as an excuse for despoiling the agricultural and commercial classes of the products of their industry. Whatever scanty residue was spared by them, was gleaned by the dependents and tributaries of the state, armed to defend themselves from the extortionate demands of the prince, and his unsparing instruments, to lay waste the lands of which they had been despoiled, or to inflict retaliation upon the spoilers. The princes of Rajputana were in a still more helpless condition, and aggravated the evils of political humiliation by personal incompetency. The Raja of Udaypur, indolent and improvident, was bearded in his capital by military adventurers, and robbed of his domains by his own feudatory chiefs and clansmen. The Raja of Jodhpur, affecting idiotcy, abandoned the reins of government to the hands of a dissolute prince, whose career was soon after cut short by the hand of an assassin. The Raja of Jaypur, a slave to an infatuated attachment to a Mohammedan dancing girl, preserved only a portion of his hereditary possessions, by the sufferance of Amir Khan. All three princes were objects of contempt to their nobles, who were split into factions, and struggled with their sovereign, or each other, for the miserable relics which the rapacity of the Mohammedans had left to be scrambled for. The country was everywhere a prey to numerous bands of merciless marauders, who, moving about in all directions, demanded the revenues which were due to the crown, and appropriated or wasted the resources from which the revenues were payable. Every vestige of regular and orderly government had disappeared, and a complete dissolution of the bonds of society must have ensued, had not the Government of British India obtained, by persevering representation and remonstrance, from the authorities in England, a reluctant and qualified permission to effect the extirpation of that part of the predatory system which consisted in the peculiar organization of the plunderers, termed Pindaris, as preliminary to the overthrow of the whole scheme of military depredation.

CHAPTER V.

Organized Plunderers termed Pindaris. — Their Origin. — Settlements on the Nerbudda. — Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi. — Their Leaders. — Cheetoo. — Karim. — Dost Mohammed. — Plan of their Incursions. — Cruelty and Brutality. — Annually plunder the Territories of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar. — Invade the British Territory. — Threaten Mirzapur. — Plunder the Masulipatam District. — Gantur. — The Northern Circars. — Their Parties surprised or overtaken. — Many killed. — Defects of a defensive System. — Offensive Operations contemplated by the former Government. — Policy of Lord Moira. — Total Suppression of the Predatory System. — Expected Conduct of the Mahratta Princes. — Proposal to annul the 8th Article of the Treaty with Sindhia, and renew an Alliance with Jaypur. — Prohibition of the Board of Control. — Modified. — Opposition in the Council. — Perseverance of the Governor-General. — Raja of Jaypur seeks the renewed Alliance. — Hesitates. — Conclusion of Treaty deferred. — Alliance with the Rajput Princes, with Amir Khan, with the Nawab of Bhopal. — Sindhia's Concurrence. — Co-operation of Nagpur. — Death of the Raja. — Succession of Apa Saheb. — Disposition of the Peshwa. — Regrets abandonment of Trimbak. — Requires the Charge of him. — Many Grievances. — Escape of Trimbak. — Insurrection raised by him. — Its Existence denied. — Secretly encouraged by the Peshwa. — Subsidiary Troops of Poona and Hyderabad in movement. — Insurgents dispersed at Maswar. — Lieutenant Warre murdered. — Insurgents routed in Kandesh. — Proceedings of the Resident. — Poona surrounded. — Peshwa promises to give up Trimbak and disband his Levies. — Proclamation of Rewards for Trimbak's apprehension. — Orders of the Government. — New Treaty. — Conditions. — Additional Subsidiary Force. — Territorial Cessions. — Arrangements with the Gaekwar.

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THE freebooters, known as Pindaris, although frequently acting in detached bodies, along with the predatory cohorts of the Mahratta and Patan leaders, had a loosely independent activity of their own, and were little impli-

cated in the outrages committed upon the Rajput princes. Their field of action lay more commonly on the south of the Nerbudda, where they perpetrated frequent and destructive ravages on the territories of the Nizam, the Raja of Berar, and the Peshwa. They were bold enough at last to trespass upon the boundaries of the British frontier, and passing to the east and south-east, spread terror and desolation over the villages and towns, that had till then reposed securely under the protection of a civilized and powerful government. These daring incursions proved the signal of their destruction.

The Pindaris, as a body of irregular horse, serving without pay, and receiving in lieu of it, license to plunder, appear to have originated in the south of India, constituting an element in the composition of the armies of the last Mohammedan dynasties of the Dekhin. After their downfall, the services of the Pindaris were transferred to the Mahrattas, with whom they served against Aurangzeb, and at a still later date, they shared in the disastrous defeat at Panipat. After that event, their leaders settled chiefly in Malwa, and, attaching themselves respectively to Sindhia and Holkar, became distinguished as Sindhia Shahi, and Holkar Shahi Pindaris, receiving grants of land chiefly in the vicinity of the Nerbudda, for the maintenance of themselves and their followers in time of peace, on the condition of gratuitous co-operation in time of war.

As the power of the Mahratta princes declined, the distinctions drawn from either became little more than nominal, and the Pindaris were not unfrequently engaged in hostilities against the chief of whom they were professedly retainers. When first known to the British authorities, the Sindhia Shahi Pindaris, who were by far the more numerous of the two,[1] were under the leading of a number of Sirdars, of whom Cheetoo, Karim Khan, and Dost Mohammed were the principal. None of the Holkar Shahi

[1] In 1812 the Sindhia Shahis were estimated at four times the number of the Holkar Shahis. The whole number of the Pindaris was at different times differently reckoned, but the most probable computation made them about twenty or twenty-five thousand horse, of whom six or seven thousand were effective cavalry, about three or four thousand middling, and the rest bad. Memorandum by Captain Sydenham, 1809, and 1814. Papers Pindari war, p. 24. Also Memoir of the Pindaris and account of their leaders and settlements, by Mr. Jenkins, resident at Nagpur, 1812. Ibid. 25.

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chiefs were leaders of much note. Cheetoo was by birth a Jat, and, when a child, was purchased during a famine, by a Pindari horseman, by whom he was brought up to a similar line of life. His patron rose to the command of the troop to which he belonged, and Cheetoo shared with his two sons, the elder and younger Rajan, the succession to his command. His superior abilities gave him the ascendancy, and brought him to the notice of Doulat Rao Sindhia, who, in 1804, conferred upon him a Jagir, and the title of Nawab. This did not prevent his being thrown into confinement by Sindhia, two years afterwards, and detained a prisoner for four years, until he paid a heavy ransom,[1] on which he was restored to favour, and to his Jagir. Sindhia also, subsequently enlarged the latter, conferring upon Cheetoo five districts lying east of Bhopal, commanding several of the fords of Nerbudda. Satwas, near Hindia, was Cheetoo's usual place of residence.

Karim Khan was by descent a Rohilla, the son of a Pindari leader; he early entered the service of Doulat Rao Sindhia, and was present at the battle of Kardla, where he collected much valuable booty. He, equally with Cheetoo, obtained the title of Nawab from Sindhia, with some territorial assignments on the Nerbudda, in which situation he had previously received grants of land from the Nawab of Bhopal. These possessions he extended by successful encroachments on the districts of both Sindhia and Holkar; and in 1805 had attained a degree of power, which only required consolidation to have become the foundation of a substantive state. It was not, however, Sindhia's policy to permit such a result; and having, by professions of friendship and esteem, induced Karim Khan to visit him, he caused the Pindari to be apprehended, and confined him in the fortress of Gwalior. The camp of Karim was attacked and plundered, but his principal treasures were carried off by his aged mother, who found an asylum with Zalim Sing, of Kota. His districts were all sequestrated, but his followers were kept together by Namdar Khan, his nephew, with others of his leaders; and they maintained themselves by the indiscriminate

[1] He is said to have paid conjointly with Karim, who had been also in durance, and was liberated at the same period, ten lakhs of rupees.—Papers Pindari war, p. 1.

plunder of Sindhia's territories. Karim Khan, after four years' detention, was liberated upon payment of a considerable sum of money; and an effort was made to efface the memory of his degradation by additional honours. The resentment of the Pindari was not to be thus appeased, and settling himself at Shujawalpur, he was soon in possession of lands more extensive than those which he had occupied before his captivity. In his measures of retaliation he was at first joined by Cheetoo, who had similar injuries to avenge, and their united force presented an array sufficiently formidable to awaken the serious apprehensions of the Mahratta chiefs.[1] Jaggu Bapu was sent against the Pindaris by Sindhia, and he and the Raja of Nagpur prevailed upon Cheetoo to separate himself from his colleague and rival. Karim thus deserted, was entirely defeated at Manohar Thana, and obliged to fly with a few followers to the camp of Amir Khan. He accompanied Amir Khan to Barapura, and was there placed, with his own consent, under seeming restraint with Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained three years longer, when he was allowed to depart.[2] During his absence, his Pindaris, under the same leaders as before, assisted Vizir Mohammed, of Bhopal, and Durjan Sal, of Kichi, in their hostilities against Sindhia, and committed unsparing havock upon his estates. Their head quarters still continued in the neighbourhood of Bhopal, and Karim joined his adherents at Barsia, not long before the might of British India was arrayed for the destruction of his race.

[1] The Dasahara of 1811, was celebrated by an assemblage of not fewer than twenty-five thousand cavalry, besides several battalions of infantry. Prinsep, i. 45. Malcolm makes the number still more considerable, not less than sixty thousand horse. Cen. India, vol. i, p. 456.

[2] Prinsep says the strong representations of Sindhia and Holkar, obliged the Patan to place Karim in a kind of restraint, in which he remained till 1816. According to Malcolm, i. 457, Amir Khan, pretending to recommend him to Tulasi Bai, made him over to Ghafur Khan, with whom he remained under confinement. Amir Khan's own story is, that Karim was placed with Ghafur Khan under nominal restraint with his own consent,—as being in safety, whilst his nephew and chief Sirdars continued their depredations at the Amir's recommendation as the allies of Bhopal and Raghugerh, Mem. 409. That he was actually detained by Tulasi Bai, was, however, the notion entertained by the Government of Bengal, and the Residents with Sindhia and the Peshwa were instructed to prevail upon them to exert their influence with Holkar's court, to prevent Karim's release. The Resident at Delhi, also, was directed to communicate with the Bai's vakiels at that city, and urge the detention of the Pindari. Letter from Bengal, 15th Aug. 1811. Papers Pindari war, p. 14.

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Dost Mohammed and Wasil Mohammed were the sons of Hiru, at one time a leader of distinction in the service of the Raja of Berar. They succeeded to their father's command, and added considerably to their followers by the misfortunes of Karim. They commanded about 7,000 horse of all descriptions, and occupied districts in the neighbourhood of Bhilsa. The several chiefs of the Holkar Shahi Pindaris were cantoned chiefly in the neighbourhood of Cheetoo's possessions, and looked up to him, notwithstanding his nominal connection with Sindhia, as their friend and ally.

The resources of a Pindari chief were not to be estimated by the lands which he occupied, nor were the numbers of his Durra, or company, restricted to any particular limit. The principal means of maintaining both himself and his followers, consisted of plunder levied in periodical incursions into those territories which were considered likely to yield the most abundant booty; and the numbers of his retainers depended especially upon the frequency and success of the predatory excursions which he instigated or conducted. The Chief himself rarely headed a merely plundering foray, but when not engaged with his main body in the service of a regular state, delegated to his Sirdars the plan and conduct of the excursion, expecting a portion of the prey as the price of permitting what he had neither the will nor the power to prevent. The direction of an inroad was generally concerted at the Hindu military festival of the Dasahara, when the leaders met and consulted upon the course to be pursued during the ensuing cold season. As soon after the cessation of the rains, as the roads became practicable, and the rivers fordable, the leader who had been chosen for the expedition, moved out with his immediate adherents generally well armed and mounted. In proportion to his reputation he was joined as he proceeded by plunderers from every quarter and of every caste, by disbanded soldiers and fugitives from justice, by the idle and profligate and unprincipled of every country and creed: some of them were respectably mounted and equipped, and formed an efficient body of cavalry, but the greater part rode ponies or horses of inferior quality, and were indifferently armed with pikes, swords, or even with clubs and sticks pointed

with iron: a few had matchlocks. When four or five thousand horse were thus assembled, the party marched to the destined scene of spoliation. The men carried no baggage of any description, and supported themselves and their horses on the grain and provision which they plundered, both horses and men being trained to endure great privation and fatigue. Correct information of the state of the country, and its means of defence having been previously obtained, the Pindaris moved with great secrecy and celerity to a centrical spot in the proposed sphere of action, where those best armed and mounted remained round the person of the leader, to constitute a rallying point, while the mass, in parties of a few hundred each, were despatched to sweep the country through a circle of many miles, and to bring in with the least delay, whatever valuables they could collect. The object of the incursion being pillage, not fighting, an encounter with regular troops was carefully shunned, and attempts to overcome prolonged resistance were seldom persisted in. Great loss of life therefore seldom attended the movements of the Pindaris, but their haste and rapacity tolerated no hesitation, and whoever was supposed to possess property, and was either unable or unwilling to satisfy the demands of the robbers, was put to the most cruel torture, and not unfrequently died under its infliction.[1] Their brutality was equal to their cruelty, and the women escaped violation and murder only by a voluntary death. What the Pindaris could not carry away they destroyed, and their movements were to be tracked by the flames of the villages which they had set on fire after they had rifled them. As soon as the plunder was brought in, and the party reassembled, it moved off with the same secrecy and rapidity with which it had advanced, and all were safe within their

[1] One mode of torture, was to enclose a person's head in a bag of ashes or dust, and beat them on his face till he was suffocated; sometimes hot ashes were applied, and occasionally pounded chillies were mixed with them. A couple of heavy pestles or yokes were taken, and one being placed under the back of the prostrate victim, the other was crossed upon his breast, and a Pindari seated himself at either end, whilst a severe beating was inflicted. Boiling oil was sprinkled over the naked body, or straw was tied round the limbs and set on fire. Infants were torn from their mothers' arms, and thrown into wells, or dashed on the ground, and an instance is mentioned of a child having been tossed up into the air, and sabred as it was falling. Report of Commission. Papers 55.

BOOK II. CHAP. V. accustomed haunts, before an adequate force could be collected for pursuit.

1817. The depredations of the Pindaris were, during many years, confined to the neighbouring frontiers of the Nizam, the Peshwa, and the Raja of Berar, and in these they were in general annually repeated. The presence of the subsidiary force, although it could not prevent their ravages, yet limited the range of them in the dominions of the two former, but the territories of Nagpur, defended alone by the inactive and inefficient troops of the Raja, lay entirely at their mercy. Their depredations were carried with fearless audacity to the immediate precincts of Nagpur, and the Raja was repeatedly alarmed for his own safety, and that of his capital.[1] For a long time they refrained from trespassing upon the British boundary, but the desolation which they had spread in the adjacent countries, obliged them to seek for harvests more remote, and a confident belief that they would not be unsupported by the native potentates, and a persuasion that the British Government was unable or disinclined to oppose an energetic resistance to their inroads, induced them to make an experiment, how far they might venture to plunder its villages, and murder its subjects with impunity. In January, 1812, a body of Pindaris[2] belonging to the party of Dost Mohammed, penetrated through Bundelkhand and Rewa, plundered and destroyed a number of villages under British authority, and excited great alarm for the safety of Mirzapur, a town of great commercial wealth. They desisted from the attempt upon learning the advance of troops from Benares and Allahabad, and turning to the south, passed through South Behar, into the province of Sirguja, a dependency of Nagpur, whence they safely reached their homes, with such an amount of booty, as to hold out an irresistible temptation to repeat the foray. Extensive mischief was inflicted, many lives were lost, and a general feeling of terror pervaded the population of the province of Bahar.

[1] In November, 1811, the main body of the Pindaris estimated at five thousand horse, and drawn up in regular order, was visible from the British Residency. Papers, 26. On that occasion they set fire to one quarter of Nagpur. Papers 2.

[2] The number was variously computed from one thousand two hundred to twelve thousand. Letter from Bengal, 25th March, 1812. Papers 9.

The complete success of their incursion encouraged the Pindaris to project its early repetition. Reports of their design were received by the Government of Bengal, divisions of troops were arrayed in such positions as were thought likely to cover the frontier, but it was impossible to station detachments along the whole line from the limits of Bundelkhand to the Gulph of Cambay, and the constitution of regular troops unfitted them for competing with the unincumbered, rapid, and desultory movements of the Pindari horse. The Government of Bengal, however, had not yet fully learned the futility of the precautionary measures which had been adopted, and, in their communications to the Court of Directors, expressed themselves relieved from the apprehension of a second Pindari inroad, on any part of the frontier, from Bundelkhand to Cuttack.[1] The arrangements were not wholly nugatory, as the attempt to ravage the Bengal frontier was not renewed in the following season; although this was partly attributable to the diversion of the operations of the plunderers in other directions. A party under Cheetoo, between four and five thousand in number, proceeded westward, and laid waste the dependencies of Surat, while other bodies burst into the dominions of the Nizam and the Peshwa, and menaced the districts subject to the Presidencies of Bombay and Madras. Their depredations were, however, arrested by their own dissensions, ending in actual hostilities between Cheetoo and the Sirdars of Karim Khan, in which the former was defeated and obliged to take shelter in Ujayin.

The domestic quarrels of the Pindaris having been composed, and the vigilance of the British Government somewhat intermitted, they again made their appearance within the British frontier. At the end of 1815, they advanced southwards to the banks of the Krishna, and entered the confines of the district of Masulipatam, whence they carried off a valuable booty. Early in March of the following year, a still more formidable body, estimated to be five thousand strong,[2] penetrated to Gantur, Cuddapa,

[1] Letter from Bengal, 18th November, 1812. Papers Pindari war, p. 15.

[2] These seem to have belonged to one of three divisions which had at this time invaded the territories of the Nizam; one body was reported to be ten thousand strong, the two others five thousand each. Papers Pindari war, p. 40.

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and Masulipatam, and for a series of ten days committed fearful destruction, aggravated by the worst features of Pindari ferocity. They spread themselves in different directions, but moved rapidly at the rate of thirty or forty miles a day, never halting long enough in one spot to allow the regular troops to come up with them, and finally quitted the scene of their devastations without suffering any material loss; although they were occasionally repulsed by the firmness of the provincial guard, and by the resolution of the villagers, or their cruelties were disappointed by the despair of the inhabitants.[1]

During their short stay the Pindaris plundered above three hundred villages, and wounded, tortured and murdered above four thousand individuals of both sexes and of all ages. The barbarous atrocities which they perpetrated filled the whole country with terror, and distrusting the ability of the Government to provide for their security, the people in many places unvisited by the plunderers, abandoned their villages and repaired to the principal stations for protection.[2]

The impunity with which this inroad was attended, stimulated the marauders to venture upon a second attempt, and in December of the same year, a considerable body suddenly appeared in the northern Circars, and sacked and burned the town of Kimedi and the adjacent villages. They were checked in the midst of their operations by the approach of a detachment of the 6th Madras N. Infantry, under Major Oliver, and hastily retreating from his pursuit, moved towards the north, where they succeeded in laying waste nearly the whole of the district, and in partially plundering the town Ganjam. The alarm was universal and the population generally fled to the neighbouring hills and thickets, and hid themselves until

[1] At Aimavote, in Gantur, where the people after a desperate defence were overpowered by their assailants, they set fire to their own dwellings, and perished with their families in the flames. Papers, p. 37

[2] A commission was appointed to ascertain and report upon the extent of the mischief committed. They reported the number killed to be one hundred and eighty-two; wounded, some severely, five hundred and five; and tortured, three thousand, six hundred, and thirty-three. It is scarcely possible that these numbers should be as accurate as their minuteness of detail would represent them, but they may be taken as a probable approximation. The report specified various cases of atrocity: in many places the women, either to avoid pollution, or unable to survive the disgrace, threw themselves into wells and perished.—Papers Pindari war, p. 37.

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the danger had passed. Apprehensions spread even to the town of Puri and temple of Jagannath, the sanctity of which would have been no defence against Pindari rapacity. The plunderers, however, having intelligence that troops were advancing against them, suddenly quitted the province, and disappeared for awhile amid the rugged country north west of Kuttack, until they emerged in the vicinity of their haunts along the upper course of the Nerbudda. Their retreat was not unmolested. In Kuttack, Lieut. Borthwick, with a detachment of the 2nd Bengal N. infantry, followed close upon their rear, cut off their stragglers, and repeatedly put the main body to a precipitate flight; and when they had arrived between Sohagpur and Mandalar, they were surprised by a detachment from the division commanded by Colonel Adams, consisting of a squadron of the 5th N. C., under Captain Caulfield. He came upon their bivouac on the night of the 24th of January, 1817, killed above four hundred, and dispersed the rest. The fugitives fell upon the main body of the cavalry under Major Clarke, and again suffered just retribution. Similar disasters befel other parties of these plunderers.

The invasion of Kuttack was simultaneous with other movements of the Pindaris which had been directed against the territories of the British allies. Notwithstanding that the chief strength of the Nagpur subsidiary force, consisting of five battalions of foot and a regiment of cavalry, had been moved into the valley of the Nerbudda, and occupied positions considered most favourable for protecting the frontier, a numerous party of Pindaris turned the right of the line, and, about the middle of November, made their way into Berar. They then separated into two bodies: the one marching eastward behind the subsidiary force was that which ravaged Ganjam; the other, said to be six thousand strong, proceeded to the south, and passing within twenty miles of Nagpur crossed the Warda into the territories of the Nizam, and pursued a westerly direction with the purpose of laying waste the British districts south of the Tumhadhra. The march was, however, retarded by the indecision of the leaders, and opportunity was afforded to a detachment of the Hyderabad subsidiary force, commanded by Major Macdowall, to come

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unexpectedly upon the freebooters, in the vicinity of Beder. The division reached the Pindari camp before daylight, on the 15th of January, and a volley was the first intimation which the plunderers had of their approach: — an immediate and total rout ensued: many were killed, and a thousand of their best horses were captured.

A division from the Durra of Cheetoo had about the same time passed to the westward of the British posts, and, following the road by Burhanpur, had penetrated through the passes into Berar, proceeding thence between Jalna and Aurangabad towards Ahmedabad. Unluckily for the invaders, it happened that Major Lushington, with the 4th Madras Cavalry, was on his return from the Peshwa's country to the cantonments at Jalna, and on the 25th of December, heard on his arrival at Pipalwar, of their presence at Logam. He moved in pursuit of them at one in the morning of the 26th. The Pindaris had been repulsed from Logam, and had retreated towards the east, whither they were followed by the cavalry. After a rapid march of above fifty miles, Major Lushington came upon them at one P.M., when they were engaged in preparing their noon-day meal. They were about three thousand strong, but attempted little opposition. They fled in all directions, and were pursued for ten miles, when the fatigue which the troops had undergone compelled their recall. About two hundred of the best mounted of the Pindaris escaped, but the main body was completely broken up with the loss of between seven and eight hundred killed, and of a still greater number of their horses captured. The only casualty on the side of the British was that of an officer, Captain Drake, who was run through by a spear.[1] The transactions that now took place put an end for ever to Pindari incursions.

The impossibility of permanently guarding against the predatory inroads of the Pindaris, by a system purely defensive, had not escaped the observation of the late Governor-General, and in his address to the Secret Committee of the 2nd of October, 1812, the Government of Bengal distinctly declared their conviction that "the arrangements and measures of defence which they had adopted were merely palliatives," and that "they antici-

[1] See official despatches, Asiatic Journal, December, 1816, pp. 186, 120.

pated the necessity, at some future time, of undertaking a system of military and political operations calculated to strike at the root of this great and increasing evil."[1] As, however, they considered that any system of measures adapted to the effectual attainment of the object must be of a complicated and extensive nature, they could not be undertaken without much previous preparation, and the subject was therefore left for further inquiry and deliberation. The evil could not be denied, but the Board of Control clung to the notion that it might be checked by defensive arrangements, and, in a letter from the Secret Committee, the Government of Bengal was prohibited "from engaging in plans of general confederacy and offensive operations against the Pindaris, either with a view to their utter extirpation, or in participation of an apprehended danger."[2]

The sagacity of the Governor-General, the unusual knowledge of the condition of India which he had brought with him, the minuteness of the information with which he was furnished by the Residents at the native courts, comprehending some of the ablest men who have done credit to the Company's service, and the soundness of the advice which he received from competent authorities, early enabled him to take a just and comprehensive view of the policy which the circumstances of the time imperiously demanded.[3] The tranquillisation of Central India, the restoration of order and good government in Malwa and Rajputana were considered by the Earl of Moira to be as indispensable for the happiness and prosperity of the native states as for the safety and advantage of the British possessions. Neither were attainable as long as the predatory system subsisted, as long as Patan and Pindari were suffered to create an unnatural state of anarchy and disorder, in which the peaceable and industrious members of society were the prey of lawless hordes of plunderers, who grew up and gathered vigour amidst the chaos which they caused and perpetuated. As affecting British interests alone the evil

[1] Papers Pindari war, p. 14.
[2] Secret letter to Bengal, 29th September, 1815. Papers Pindari war, p. 41.
[3] See the opinions of Mr. (now Lord) Metcalfe, the resident at Delhi, and of Mr. (now Sir Richard) Jenkins, resident at Nagpur. Commons Report, 1832. Political Appendix, 229.

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called for a decisive remedy, which the native princes were indisposed or unable to apply, and which therefore the British Government had a right to seek for in its own resources: nor was it only a right: it was a duty imposed upon us by the supremacy of our power, no longer to permit the predatory system to devastate the various states who supplicated for British protection, and were entitled to receive it. The settlement most conducive to the happiness of India, as well as the security of our interests. was THE ESTABLISHMENT OF UNIVERSAL TRANQUILLITY UNDER THE GUARANTEE AND SUPREMACY OF THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT.

That the extension of British influence based upon the destruction of the predatory system, would be attended with no additional risk and would be practicable without difficulty, were also maintained by the Governor-General. Undoubtedly the individuals interested in the continuance of disorder and violence, would strenuously resist all interference intended for their suppression, and such was the short-sightedness and self destructive policy of some of the native courts, that it was probable they would contemplate in the overthrow of the system, only the loss of a share of the spoil and of the contingent employment of the predatory bands, in their own service, in case of war with the British. To take the princes of Rajputana and the petty chiefs of Malwa, under the shield of British protection, would deprive Sindhia, Holkar, and Amir Khan of victims on whom they had long preyed, and from whom they would be loth to withdraw their grasp; and the annihilation of the Pindaris would deprive the Mahratta leaders of auxiliaries whose services might be of use in time of peril. But would they risk hostilities in defence of their participation in precarious plunder, or for the protection of such uncertain and unsafe dependents as the Pindaris, — and if they did, was their hostility to be dreaded?

Although the Governor-General admitted that the measure of establishing peace in India by British influence, would be exceedingly unpalatable to the Mahratta princes, he maintained that it would not alter the real character of our relations with the native states who were interested in the continuance of the system. Whether professed friends

or allies, they were already hostile to the British government, and if they were desirous of preserving in their entireness bodies of armed men, it was only that they might expect their co-operation in an extensive combination, which had for some time been agitated against the British ascendency, originating in the intrigues of the Peshwa. If such a collision were inevitable, it had better be at once encountered, while the finances of British India were in a prosperous state, its armies effective, and its force unbroken by harassing and unavowed aggressions upon the frontier, wasteful and exhausting in their consequences, and impossible to be avoided by any defensive arrangement. From these considerations, therefore, the Governor-General urged immediate interposition, by announcing to Sindhia that the British government could no longer continue its observance of the article[1] in the treaty which precluded it from forming alliances with other native states: that it should consequently accede to the application made to it so urgently by the Raja of Jaypur, and require the recall of Sindhia's troops from the Raja's territory, as well as prohibit Amir Khan from meddling with his affairs. At the same time Sindhia was to be informed of the determination to exterminate the Pindaris as an organised body, and was to be invited to co-operate in an object equally interesting to all the friends of peace and good government.[2]

The alliance with Jaypur, so unjustifiedly broken off in 1805, had ever since been a subject of consideration with the Home authorities, who had hitherto approved of its renewal, should its revival be sought for. Now, however, that it formed part of a plan which it was thought might lead to a war with Sindhia, a different view was adopted, and considered as an article in a comprehensive scheme for the pacification of India, it was strongly discouraged, if not positively interdicted.[3] Imperfectly informed of the

[1] The 8th Article of the Treaty of 1805.

[2] Minutes of the Governor-General, 3rd March, 1814; 1st December, 1815; 20th April, 1816; 8th March, and 26th December, 1817; and letter to the council, from Cawnpore, 10th Oct 1817.—MS. Records. These documents present extraordinary proofs of the extent of the Governor-General's information, the comprehensiveness of his policy, and the justness and nobleness of his sentiments.

[3] A letter from the Secret Committee of the 29th September, 1815, enjoined the Government of Bengal not to undertake anything which might embroil us with Sindhia; prohibited any material change in the existing system of political relations, and ended with directing that "the system which was con-

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state of India, measuring the present by the past, and greatly overrating the opposition to be overcome, apprehensive of financial embarrassments, and reluctant to encounter the vulgar clamour raised in Parliament against the extension of the British empire in India, the President of the Board of Control, Mr. Canning, however eminent as a statesman in the political world of the West, exhibited a singular want of knowledge and foresight in prescribing the line of conduct to be followed for the regulation of the interests of the East, and sought to enforce upon the Governor-General a feeble and temporising policy wholly unworthy of the British character, incompatible with the prosperity of the British Indian Empire, and fatal to the existence of the native powers.[1] It was asserted that no danger was to be apprehended from the actual condition of Central India, but much from any attempt to effect its amelioration. That such interference would provoke a combination which had yet no existence except in the

solidated at the close of the last Mahratta war, should be maintained with as little change as could be avoided." Exhibiting strange ignorance of the alterations which ten years had wrought in the relative situations of the existing states, to which the system of 1805, always objectionable, was now wholly inapplicable.

[1] Mr. Canning had, in consequence of the death of the Earl of Buckinghamshire, in the year 1816, been placed at the head of the India Board, and it became the duty of this distinguished statesman to prescribe the course which should be pursued in this important and perplexing crisis of affairs. Letter from B. S. Jones Esq., Commons Report, 1832. Appendix Polit. 232. It was fortunate that the course so prescribed was not followed: some of the instructions are the following: "We are unwilling to incur *the risk* of a general war, for the *uncertain purpose of extirpating the Pindaris.* Extended political and military combinations we cannot at the present moment sanction or approve." There was not the least risk of a general war, nor was there any uncertainty as to the extirpation of the Pindaris. "We do not think it improbable that even from Sindhia you may derive assistance in enterprises against separate bodies of the Pindaris, who may have committed depredations on our territories." A most improbable supposition,—and a most unworthy policy to require Sindhia's aid for the protection of the British territories. The suggestion was also thrown out in the face of "information recently received as to the suspicious behaviour of certain of the Mahratta chieftains, and the daring movements of the Pindaris." The result is the announcement of expectations signally falsified by events. "We entertain a strong hope that the dangers which arise from both these causes, and which *must perhaps always exist*, in a greater or less degree, may, by a judicious management of our existing relations, be prevented from coming upon us in any very formidable force, while, on the other hand, any attempt at this moment, to establish a new system of policy, tending to a wider diffusion of our power, must necessarily interfere with those economical regulations, which it is more than ever incumbent upon us to recommend, as indispensable to the maintenance of our present ascendancy, and by exciting the jealousy and suspicion of other states, may too probably produce or mature those very projects of hostile confederacy which constitute the chief object of your apprehension."—Commons Report, App. Vol. p. 232.

fears of the Governor-General, and that although the individual members of the combination might be little formidable, yet united they must prove dangerous enemies, and a war with them collectively be attended with imminent hazard and ruinous expense. Even the extirpation of the Pindaris, if found likely to produce such a combination would be inexpedient, and it might be the more prudent course to adopt some other project for the diminution of their power and the suppression of their ravages. It might be possible to expel them from their seats, and induce Sindhia to prevent their settling again in the same locality, or it might be practicable to take advantage of the dissensions among them and neutralise their mischievous activity by setting one leader against another.[1] This latter suggestion aroused the indignation of the Governor-General, who justly repudiated all friendly intercourse with any of the members of an association, the principles of whose constitution were rapine and murder. At length the audacity of the Pindaris — their violation of the British territories convinced the English minister that offensive measures could no longer be delayed with a due regard to the character or interests of the Indian empire, and his previous instructions were qualified by the admission, that "they were not intended to restrain the Governor-General in the exercise of his judgment and discretion upon any occasion when actual war upon the British territories might be commenced by any body of marauders, and where the lives and property of British subjects, might call for efficient protection." He admitted also, that any connection between Sindhia and Holkar, with the Pindaris, open or secret, acknowledged or unavowed, would place the Government in a state of direct hostility with the offending chiefs:[2] and anticipatory ap-

[1] This proposition was also Mr. Canning's.—Commons Report. App. Pol. 232. Lord Moira replied, "When the Honourable Committee suggest the expedient of engaging one portion of the Pindaris to destroy some other branch of the association, I am roused to the fear that we have been culpably deficient in pointing out to the authorities at home, the brutal and atrocious qualities of those wretches. Had we not failed to describe sufficiently the horror and execration in which the Pindaris are justly held, I am satisfied that nothing could have been more repugnant to the feelings of the Honourable Committee, than the notion that this Government should be soiled by a procedure which was to bear the colour of confidential intercourse, of a common cause, with any of those gangs."—Letter from Bengal, 8th March, 1817.

[2] Even here, however, a timid and dishonest course of dissimulation was enjoined. "In acting or forbearing to act on this ground, (the open or secret

probation was expressed of any measures which the Governor-General might have adopted, not only for repelling invasion, but for pursuing and chastising the invaders.

Nor was the irresolution of the Board of Control the only difficulty by which the decided policy of the Governor-General was embarrassed. In his own council there prevailed an exaggerated dread of the power of Sindhia, founded on the recollection of the last Mahratta war, and a fear that the multiplication of political connections might be regarded as an infringement of the instructions from home, so often repeated, against the extension of the authority and influence of the British Government over the native states. These sentiments were, however, confined to the minority, and when news was received of the outrages committed by the Pindaris in the Northern Circars, the Council were unanimous in agreeing that no terms should be kept with the invaders, whatever consequences their extirpation might entail. Supported by this concurrence, and fortified by the spirit of the orders from home, however cautious and qualified their terms, Lord Moira, taking upon himself the responsibility of carrying out his own views to the extent he had originally contemplated, determined to let loose the powerful machinery he had never ceased to accumulate for the destruction of the robber bands and the eventual annihilation of the predatory system. Various circumstances occurred propitious to his designs before they could be carried into execution.

As soon as it became generally known that the British Government was disposed to abandon the system of non-interference which it had hitherto followed, applications came from all quarters for its alliance and protection. The Raja of Jaypur was the first to depute agents to Delhi, to solicit the renewal of his former engagements; and, in the month of April, 1816, the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter upon negotiations, for, although

connexion of a Mahratta prince with the Pindaris) you will be guided by considerations of prudence. It might be politic to attempt to divide such confederacy by dissembling your knowledge of its existence."—Secret letter to Bengal, 20th September, 1816. Papers Pindari war, p. 41, also Commons Report, Pol. App. p. 233.

the orders from home implied a virtual prohibition of the alliance, yet, as in a previous despatch it had been remarked, that "while the justice of dissolving the alliance with Jaypur was questionable, its impolicy had been clearly demonstrated by the injury done to the country by Amir Khan and the Pindaris; and the Government," it was added, "would have seen the necessity of providing against the depredations of both;" it was argued by the Governor-General that it had not been the intention of the Secret Committee, in their late injunctions, to have positively interdicted an arrangement, the policy and justice of which were still undeniable.[1] The negotiation, however, although the first commenced, was one of the last concluded, the Raja being deterred from an earlier termination by the alternate tone of menace and conciliation adopted by Sindhia and Amir Khan, who led him to fear, that if he persisted in the negotiation, they would attack him immediately with all their forces, and to hope that they would cease to harass his country, if he abstained from an English connexion. There was, also, a strong party in his court opposed to the alliance, as they apprehended it would give the Raja the means of resisting their encroachments upon his authority and resources, and recovering from them the lands they had taken advantage of his distress to usurp. There were, also, difficulties as the amount of the subsidy to be paid, and the degree of interference to be exercised; and after repeated interruption, the negotiation was not brought to a close until active hostilities had ceased, and the supremacy of the British was placed beyond dispute.

The example set by Jaypur was followed by the Rajas of Udaypur and Jodhpur; envoys were sent by them to Delhi, and negotiations set on foot towards the end of 1817, which, with little delay, terminated in treaties of alliance. The Raj Rana of Kota also pledged his unreserved assent to whatever terms the British Government should impose, and the Raja of Bundi pleaded his former services as giving him a claim to British protection. A

[1] The injunction against making any new treaty without previous sanction, "was not issued by the Court of Directors, but by the Board of Controul through the Secret Committee."—Mr. Jones. Commons Report, Pol. App. 234, note.

variety of petty chiefs also on the borders of Bundelkhand, or the further limits of Malwa — the Rajas of Krishnagar, Kerauli, Banswara, Pertab-gerh, and Dungarpur, applied earnestly for the protection of the British Government. Even Amir Khan offered his services against the Pindaris, and promised to disband his troops, and abstain from predatory practices, if guaranteed, in his actual possessions. The particular engagements entered into with these several chiefs we shall have subsequent occasion to notice, but the universality of the application, and the earnestness with which it was made, unequivocally evinced the feeling which pervaded the native states, their anxiety to be rescued by the British Government from the miserable slavery to which they had been reduced, and their readiness to contribute to the measures about to be adopted for their liberation.

An ally whose services were of immediate value, was also secured in Nazar Mohammed, the young Nawab of Bhopal, who had scarcely succeeded to his father's throne when he applied to the Political Agent in Bundelkhand to be admitted to the British alliance. Obvious as was the utility of his concurrence in the movements contemplated, and strong as were his claims upon the friendship of the British Government, the positive prohibition of the Home authorities, precluded the Governor-General from acceding at once to his solicitations. They were not, however, absolutely rejected or discountenanced; and when in the beginning of the following year, his application was renewed through the Resident at Nagpur, that officer was directed, when military operations were on the eve of taking place, to enter into a preliminary engagement with the Nawab, which should stipulate at present for nothing more than military service. A more formal treaty was to be concluded after the war.

Notwithstanding the dread entertained by the opponents of the Governor-General's policy that Sindhia would take up arms in defence of the Pindaris, nothing occured to justify the apprehension. It was known that their chiefs had agents in his camp, and friends among his ministers, who endeavoured to persuade him that his resources would be impaired, and his security imperilled, if he suffered the Pindaris to be extirpated. "What," wrote Namdar Khan

to Sindhia, "what, if we are destroyed, will become of you?"—and it was with much uneasiness that the Maharajah looked forward to the approaching storm, and with extreme mortification and annoyance that he found himself compelled to abandon adherents who, notwithstanding their occasional disobedience, were looked upon by him as an essential part of his military strength. Many of his most distinguished officers were avowed friends of the Pindari leaders, and were impressed with a belief that, if supported with vigour, they might defy the English. There were some weak enough to put faith in the vaunts of the Pindaris themselves, that they would easily baffle and exhaust the English troops,—that they would far outdo what Jeswant Rao Holkar had been able to achieve; and that at the head of fifty thousand horse, they would carry fire and sword to the environs of Calcutta. Sindhia was not misled by such rhodomontade; he knew his own weakness and the strength of the British too well to hazard a rupture; and when called upon to explain the countenance that he had shown in his camp to the Pindaris, he denied all connexion with them, and declared it to be his intention to inflict upon them condign punishment.—When apprised that this would be undertaken by the British Government, he professed himself entirely satisfied with the determination, and willing to co-operate in any manner which should be required. The sincerity of Sindhia's professions might be questionable, but his public disavowal of all connexion with the Pindaris was calculated to diminish their confidence and weaken their power, and to remove one of the obstacles which had been supposed to impede the execution of the Governor-General's projects. It was equally improbable, whatever might be their real sentiments, that the Raja of Nagpur, or the Peshwa, would take part with the Pindaris.

For some time after his elevation to the Regency of Nagpur, Apa Saheb, apprehensive of the intrigues of the party opposed to his nomination, found it necessary to throw himself unreservedly upon the support of his new allies. The troops stipulated for by the subsidiary treaty were cantoned in the vicinity of the capital, in July, and Apa Saheb immediately removed his residence close to their lines, leaving the palace and the person of the Raja

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in the keeping of his opponents. As the latter was the chief source of their ability to thwart Apa Saheb's administration, the titular authority of the Raja being employed to contravene the acts of the Regent, Apa Saheb was instigated to rid himself the impediment, and agents were speedily found to effect its removal. On the morning of the 1st of February, 1817, the Raja Parswaja Bhonsla was found dead in his bed. No marks of violence were perceptible; and as his health was always precarious and constitution infirm, it was not impossible that his sudden demise was to be attributed to natural causes. Some vague reports of foul practice reached the ears of the Resident, but they were not traceable to any authentic source, and resting apparently on no solid foundation, were to be classed with the popular calumnies which are the ordinary concomitants in India of the decease of a person of rank. Apa Saheb was at the time absent from Nagpur, and as nothing transpired to implicate him in the transaction, he was acknowledged, in virtue of his hereditary rights, Raja of Nagpur. The interests of the Raja were somewhat different from those of the Regent, but the ascendency which had been established at Nagpur, the professions, and, for a season, the conduct of Apa Saheb afforded no grounds for apprehending that he would fall off from the alliance to which he probably was indebted for his life, and certainly for his succession to the throne.

Less confidence was to be placed in the disposition of the Peshwa, but the occurrences which had embittered his animosity had also diminished his power to do mischief. A course of restless and unavailing dissension had led to the commission of acts which were regarded as those of an enemy, and had ended in the still further reduction of his political consequence. Scarcely had he relinquished Trimbak to the British officers, when he repented of his acquiescence, and earnestly solicited that the culprit should be restored to him. He declared that he had given him up only in the belief that he was to undergo a public trial, and that if convicted of the murder of the Sastri, he was to be replaced in the Peshwa's hands for punishment. As it was, great injustice was done to Trimbak, who was cast into confinement, without any proof of

his criminality, and great disgrace was inflicted upon the Peshwa in the privation of that right which he possessed in virtue of his sovereign authority of awarding the punishment due to the offences of his own subjects. His representations to this effect were unceasing; the incarceration of Trimbak in a foreign prison was, he urged, a perpetual indignity, and his sense of the dishonour was the more keen, as it was inflicted by his friends. He was also subjected to serious pecuniary injury, for his principal treasures were entrusted to Trimbak's care, and no other person knew where they were concealed. He professed himself willing to adopt any arrangements for Trimbak's security, that the Resident should dictate, but declared that unless he was confided to his charge, his life would be passed in misery and mortification. For a time, his suit was preferred in friendly and conciliatory language; but he at length changed his tone and accompanied his application with the representation of various grievances, some of which he ascribed to the injustice of the Government, some to the personal unfriendliness of the Resident. His claims on the Gaekwar and Nizam were unadjusted. He had been obliged to subsidise a larger force than was originally proposed; and he had ceded territory even beyond what was demanded, yet Kattiwar, which, according to treaty, was to have been restored, was still retained, and its restoration was saddled with unwarrantable conditions. The subsidiary force stationed near Poona, was about to be removed to a post where it would block up the only bridge by which he could cross the river, and would do mischief to his Mango groves. Vexatious propositions were continually submitted to him affecting the customs forming part of his revenues. The Resident was also constantly annoying him about the Southern Jagirdars, and had prevented him on one occasion from going to Poona from Pundrapur. These complaints were partly frivolous, partly unfounded, but they expressed the feelings which had grown up in Baji Rao's heart against his allies. More important intimations of the same purport were afforded by the activity of the secret communications carried on with Nagpur and Gwalior, and by the orders issued to Bapu Gokla, and others of his Sirdars, to levy additional troops.

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While these discussions were pending, they received augmented interest from the escape of Trimbak from his imprisonment on the evening of the 2nd of September, 1816. He had been detained in the Fort of Thanna, near Bombay, which was garrisoned by Europeans. He had been allowed to take exercise on the ramparts for an hour or two in the afternoon, and it was remembered, after his flight, that latterly a groom in the service of one of the officers was accustomed to bring his master's horse near the same place, and as he walked the animal backwards and forwards, to sing Mahratta songs, the language of which was unintelligible to the sentries. By this channel Trimbak was apprised of the device he was to adopt, and the facilities provided for his escape. The privy of his residence adjoined a stable, and a hole had been cut through the wall of the latter. On a dark and rainy night, which concealed his person from the view of the sentinel who attended him, Trimbak contrived to pass unobserved into the stable, and having thrown off his dress, and placed a basket on his head, as if he were a common labourer, he walked unquestioned through the gateway out of the fort. When the alarm was given, he was nowhere to be found. To mislead his pursuers a rope was fastened to a gun as if he had thus lowered himself from the rampart. The tide was low, and the narrow channel which separates Salsette from the main land being fordable, Trimbak waded through the water, and found upon the bank a party of horsemen waiting to receive him. He fled up the Pipri Ghat to the south of Nasik.

As soon as the Resident was informed of the flight of Trimbak, he communicated the circumstance to the Peshwa, and called upon him to evince his fidelity to the British alliance, and his immunity from all suspicion of connivance by promulgating the most positive and stringent orders for the apprehension of the fugitive. Baji Rao protested his ignorance of any project for Trimbak's liberation, or any concern whatever in its accomplishment, and professed his readiness to take the requisite steps for his arrest, expressing his hope, that in the event of his being recovered, he would not be treated with severity, and would be eventually placed in his charge. No hopes were held out that the latter expectation would be

fulfilled, but the Peshwa was assured that, as Trimbak's flight was no aggravation of his crime, it would of itself subject him to no new punishment. Baji Rao's promise to assist in his discovery was accepted as a mark of his desire to maintain the subsisting good understanding uninterrupted.

Notwithstanding Baji Rao's professions, the Resident soon had reason to suspect the sincerity of his intentions. Any information that was supplied of Trimbak's concealment turned out to be illusory; and no exertions were made by the Peshwa's officers for his apprehension, although he was known to be collecting armed followers at no great distance from Poona, with little attempt at concealment. In consequence of the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, a party of horse was sent against Trimbak, then in the Mahaleo hills, but the officer commanding the party halted on the road, and reported that neither leader nor followers could be found. The same evasive course was now deliberately pursued, and, although it was notorious throughout the country, that Trimbak was at the head of considerable bodies of both horse and foot, the Peshwa affirmed that he could hear of no such insurgents, and that he must depend upon the Resident for their discovery. He pretended, indeed, to doubt if Trimbak were alive, and his ministers were instructed to repeat their belief of his death in their communications with the Resident. It was obviously the purpose of Baji Rao to allow Trimbak to assume so imposing an attitude as should compel the British Government to assent to the conditions on which he had already insisted, and in the case of their non-compliance, to excite a spirit of resistance, not only in his own dominions, but in those of the other Mahratta princes, whom he had been long engaged in urging to a confederacy against the British ascendency.[1]

Baji Rao's encouragement of the extensive risings throughout the country, instigated by Trimbak and his partisans, was not restricted to silent connivance and pretended disbelief of their occurrence; more active par-

[1] Despatches from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, to Lord Moira, 11th March, 1817.—Secret Letter from Bengal, 9th June, 1817. Papers Mahratta war, pp. 79, 91.

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ticipation was detected. It was ascertained, that several secret interviews had taken place between the Peshwa and his favorite, that considerable supplies of money had been clandestinely conveyed to him, and that the military and fiscal authorities in general identified the partisans of Trimbak with the troops of the Peshwa. Thus fostered, the insurrection was rapidly gaining head, and from fifteen to twenty thousand men were assembled under Trimbak and his associates, in different parts of the country, and on the borders of the territory of the Nizam. The levy of forces on behalf of the Peshwa also continued with augmented activity; his strongest fortresses were placed in a condition to resist an attack, and his principal treasure was moved from Poona to places of greater security. It had become a question of peace or war, but Baji Rao still protested his fidelity and attachment to the British alliance, offered to acquit himself by oath of any intercourse with Trimbak, and declared his readiness, if any insurrection did exist, to act vigorously in concert with the Resident for its suppression. Referring to Calcutta for the course of proceeding to be adopted towards the Peshwa, Mr. Elphinstone set seriously to work to put down the rising before it had attained a more menacing aspect, and before the mischief had spread to the adjacent countries. The principal part of the Poona troops which had marched to the frontier to defend it against the inroads of the Pindaris was recalled, and the subsidiary force of Hyderabad was instructed to move to the confines of the Peshwa's territories, and advance into Kandesh. The insurgents were collected chiefly in two large masses—one at Maswar, a few miles west of Pundrapur, commanded by Trimbak's brother-in-law, Jado Rao,—the latter by Godaji Danglia, a nephew of Trimbak,—in Kandesh. Each was estimated at from four to five thousand strong: there were also a number of smaller parties preparing to join one or other of these divisions; and the party in the south were endeavouring to march northwards to effect a junction with the insurgents in Kandesh, as soon as they should have concentrated their force. In this latter project the insurgents were frustrated by the movements of Colonel Smith, who advanced to Maswar early in February, and dislodged them. They fled to the eastward, were

pursued for a considerable distance, and partly dispersed. Colonel Smith then marched to Poona, leaving Colonel Wilson with six companies of his Majesty's 65th regiment and three battalions of Native Infantry, at Ranjangaon, near Seroor, while a division under Colonel Milnes was stationed at Pipalgaon, on the Godaveri. On the Hyderabad side, Major Macdowall advanced to Tuljapur, while a detachment from Jalna moved to the west into Kandesh. The remainder of the southern party, having rallied to the number of three thousand five hundred, of whom above two thousand were well mounted, resumed their northern route in the beginning of April. On their march, a troop of Pindaris attached to the body fell in with Lieutenant Dacre, of the Madras Artillery, with a small escort, and robbed and murdered him and his attendants. The barbarity was not unrequited. Information of their movements being received by Colonel Wilson, he detached Major Smith, with six hundred infantry, to intercept their flight. Although too late to accomplish this object, Major Smith came upon the tract of the party moving from the Bhima, by Toka, towards the Godaveri, and pursued them with unremitting activity. After a march of one hundred and fifty miles in five days, he came upon the insurgents at Patri, above the ghats of Kandesh, at daybreak of the 17th April, just as they were mounting to resume their route. After firing a volley, the troops charged and put the enemy to the rout, leaving seventy dead on the field, with a quantity of arms and a number of their horses. After several attempts to rally, which were defeated, the insurgents fled, and such of their horse as kept together, crossed the Godaveri towards Nasik, where they joined Godaji Danglia. Another division going northwards, more to the west, fell in with Colonel Milnes, and although they also escaped into Kandesh, it was not without a material diminution of their numbers. In the mean time, however, the force to which they were conveying an accession of strength, was so completely disabled, that the junction of their friends was insufficient to retrieve the disaster. Captain Davies, with eight hundred of the Nizam's reformed horse, and a party of foot, had been despatched to Kammin, twenty miles west of Aurangabad, on the evening of the 19th April. Having ascertained on the 22nd, that Godaji

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Danglia, with his main body, was marching towards the Godaveri, at no very great distance, he moved early in the morning of the 23rd, and, avoiding the main road, came, after a march of about thirty miles, upon the insurgents, drawn up with their left upon a strong mud fort, and their front protected by a water-course with steep banks. Captain Davies having ordered his men to charge across the water-course, the enemy, although above two thousand strong, wavered and broke: they were pursued for six miles, and entirely dispersed, with the loss of four hundred killed and some prisoners taken. Captain Davies and Captain Pedlar were wounded, but not dangerously; twenty-five men were killed and forty wounded. The affair was the more remarkable as a proof of the efficiency of the Nizam's horse, as now organized and led by British officers. This first success was followed up by the advance of the main body of the Hyderabad force, under Colonels Walker and Doveton, and by them the province of Kandesh was cleared of the insurgents before the setting in of the Monsoon. Trimbak took refuge at Chuli Maheswar, on the Nerbudda.

The troubled state of Cuttack, and the neighbouring districts having cut off all communication with Calcutta, the instructions of the Government of Bengal failed to reach the Resident within the customary interval. He was, therefore, under the necessity of acting upon his own responsibility, and as the Peshwa's menacing preparations still continued, and no steps had been taken to comply with his requisitions, he determined to bring the discussion to a close. Having assembled the subsidiary force in the vicinity of Poona, Mr. Elphinstone demanded of the Peshwa a written engagement that he would deliver up Trimbak without delay, and that as a security for the fulfilment of his promise, he would surrender to the British troops his forts of Sing-gerh, Purandar and Raigerh: the engagement to be signed and delivered within twenty-four hours or war would be declared. At first, the Peshwa seemed resolved to withhold his assent, and endeavoured to prevail upon the Resident to grant a longer interval; but when this was refused, and the troops were stationed so as to command all the outlets of the city, Baji Rao became alarmed and accepted the ultimatum.

He pledged himself to apprehend and deliver Trimbak within a month, and in the meantime gave orders that the forts demanded should be opened to British garrisons. The troops were then withdrawn from the environs of the city, and actual hostilities were avoided, but the Peshwa was apprised that so serious an interruption of the amicable relations established by the treaty of Bassein, must be considered as an infraction of that treaty, and involved the necessity of a revised engagement, the conditions of which he could not expect, after the proofs he had given of his unfriendly disposition, to be equally favourable to his interests. The proceedings of the Resident were entirely in unison with the sentiments of the Governor-General, the communication of which arrived at Poona on the 10th of May.

Even after the engagement entered into upon the 7th of May, the Peshwa had exhibited his usual vacillating conduct, and had forborne from prosecuting any active measures for the seizure of Trimbak. The arrival of the instructions from Bengal roused him to decision, and on the 21st, he issued a proclamation, promising a reward of two lakhs of rupees and a village yielding one thousand rupees a year,[1] to any person who should effect the delinquent's apprehension. Minor rewards were offered for information of the place of his concealment, and the members of his family and adherents who were in Poona were placed under restraint. This display of sincerity came too late to save him from the consequences of his former duplicity; and a new treaty was offered for his acceptance, of which the following were the principal conditions. Baji Rao engaged to recognize for himself and his successors the dissolution, in form and substance, of the Mahratta confederacy, and to renounce all pretensions arising from his former situation of executive head of the Mahratta empire; to advance no claims to the lands of Sindhia, Holkar, the Raja of Berar, and the Gaekwar, and to relinquish those upon the Raja of Kolapur and the Government of Sawantwari; and with a view to the fulfilment of the article of the treaty of Bassein, which precluded the Peshwa from carrying on negotiations with

[1] Despatches from the Resident, 9th May, 1817.—Papers Mahratta war p. 96.

foreign powers, he was now required to promise that he would neither maintain any agents at other courts nor admit their agents at Poona; and that he would hold no communication whatever with foreign princes, except through the British Resident. With respect to the Gaekwar, the Peshwa was required to renounce all future claims, and accept as a commutation for the past, an annual payment of four lakhs of rupees. For a further annual sum of four lakhs and a half he was to grant to the Gaekwar, the perpetual lease of Ahmedabad.

The treaty of Bassein had stipulated that the Peshwa should maintain at all times a contingent force of five thousand horse and three thousand foot, to act with the subsidiary force. This article was annulled, and in lieu of it, it was required that the Peshwa should place at the disposal of the British Government sufficient funds for the payment of a body of troops of the like amount, viz., five thousand cavalry and three thousand infantry; the funds to be provided by the cession of territories in the Dekhin, and of the tribute of Kattiwar, to the extent of a net revenue of thirty-four lakhs of rupees a year. He was further expected to cede in perpetual sovereignty the fort of Ahmednagar, all his rights, interests, or pretensions, feudal, territorial or pecuniary in Bundelkhand, including Sagar, Jhans, and the possessions of Rana Govind Rao; all the rights and territories in Malwa, secured to him by the treaty of Sirji Anjengaum, and generally all rights and pretensions of every denomination which he might possess in the country to the north of the river Nerbudda; and he was to pledge himself never more to interfere in the affairs of Hindustan.[1]

These were undoubtedly hard terms, but the Peshwa, by his inveterate enmity to the British name and power, and the treachery with which, while professing a faithful adherence to the terms of the treaty of Bassein, he had violated its most essential conditions, labouring in secret to re-unite the separated members of the Mahratta confederacy and direct their combination against his allies; and by the gross manner in which he had disregarded the

[1] Treaty with the Peshwa, 13th June, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, 27th May, 1818, p. 60; and the observations of the Governor General on the several articles.—Papers, Mahratta war, p. 100.

law of nations and the guarantee of the British Government, in sanctioning, if not perpetrating, the murder of the Gaekwar's ambassador; subjected him justly to heavy penalties. In some respects, also, their severity was less than it appeared to be, and they were levelled against the Peshwa's political pretensions rather than against his real power or authority. His lands in Malwa, and his claims on the chiefs of Bundelkhand, for instance, had long ceased to be of any pecuniary value, or to bring him any accession of political importance, and the acknowledgment of his supremacy, occasionally professed by the individual occupants, was unaccompanied by any substantial tokens of obedience. The limitation of his claims on the Gaekwar, involving a guarantee of his realisation of as large a sum as he was likely ever to receive regularly without British intermediation, was likely to prove a beneficial arrangement to him, and if any loss attended it, he had little right to complain of being thus permitted to compound for his infraction of both moral and national law, by his participation in the guilt of Gangadhar's assassination. As far as these stipulations were concerned, therefore, he suffered little diminution of revenue or loss of real power The additional amount of the subsidiary force, and the sequestration of lands for its payment, were more serious deductions from his revenue and from his authority, but they were regarded by him as less intolerable than those stipulations which annihilated his hopes of regaining his place as head of the Mahratta confederacy, and prohibited him from plunging into the dark and dangerous intercourse in which his genius delighted; and such was the tenacity with which he adhered to his design, such the inveteracy of his animosity against the British, that rigorous as were the conditions of the new treaty, and essentially as they impaired both the Peshwa's credit and power, it would hardly have been compatible with the safety of the British interests in India, to have imposed milder terms. It would have been an encouragement to Baji Rao to persevere in his hostile projects, to have left him the undiminished capability, as well as the unretracted purpose of undermining and subverting British ascendency.

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The terms to which the Peshwa's assent was demanded

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excited the indignant feelings of many of his advisers, and his most distinguished military adherent, Gokla, urged him strenuously to the only course by which his reputation might have been preserved — an appeal to arms; but Baji Rao was unequal to such a resolution: he ratified the treaty, protesting that he submitted to the conditions through consciousness of his inability to resist, and that they had not his acquiescence. The dispute was, however, brought for the present to a termination. Trimbak continued at large, but there was no reason to suspect that the Peshwa had not done all his power to effect his seizure, and no demerit was imputed to him on this account. Baji Rao, soon after the signature of the treaty, quitted Poona for Mahauli, whither he invited Colonel Malcolm to an interview, as one of his early friends, and endeavoured to obtain his aid in procuring a mitigation of the terms of the engagement. He appeared, however, for a time, to have suspended his complaints on this head, and to have diverted his thoughts to the reduction of the district of Sundur, for which object he had been formerly promised the co-operation of the British troops. The Government of Fort St. George was instructed to comply with his request, and Colonel Munro, who had been nominated to the charge of the newly-ceded districts of Darwar and Kusigal, was ordered to establish the Peshwa's authority over the Jagir of Sundur.

The great advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona, and the additional military obligations which it imposed upon his allies, were considered to require a revision of the engagements subsisting with that prince, so as to secure the whole of the Kattiwar collections to the British Government, in order to provide for an augmentation of the subsidiary force. Although, not questioning the general expediency of the arrangements, the government of Baroda objected to the proposed conditions, and the conclusion of the treaty did not take place till after the war.

CHAPTER VI.

Plan and Purposes of the Campaign of 1817-18.— *Disposition of British Forces—in Hindustan.—Grand Army.— Centre.— Right Division.— Left Division. — Subordinate Detachments.— Reserve.— Army of the Dekhin. — First Division. — Second, or Hyderabad. — Third. — Fourth, or Poona. — Fifth. — Reserve. — Events at Poona. — The Peshwa's Discontent.— Poona Division takes the Field. — Force left in Cantonments withdrawn to Kirki. — Menacing Appearances. — Explanation demanded. — Peshwa's Ultimatum. — The Residency destroyed. — Battle of Kirki. — Peshwa defeated. — British Officers seized by Marauding Parties.—The Vaughans murdered.— Return of General Smith to Poona. — Flight of the Peshwa. — Poona occupied. — Advance of the Third and Fifth Divisions across the Nerbudda.— Pindaris driven from their haunts. — Union of the First and Third Divisions under Sir T. Hislop, near Ujayin.— Conduct of Sindhia.— Advance of the Centre and Right Divisions of the Army of Hindustan towards Gwalior. — Treaty with Sindhia. — Ravages of Cholera in the Centre Division. — Change of Position. — Disappearance of the Disease. — Pindaris cut off from Gwalior. — Fly towards Kotah. — Overtaken by General Marshall. — Amir Khan intimidated. — Disbands his Troops. — Pindaris intercepted by General Donkin. — Return to the South. — Encountered by Colonel Adams. — Join Holkar's Army. — Cheetoo flies to Jawad. — Diminished Strength of the Pindaris.*

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THE determination of the Governor-General to form effective military arrangements for the eradication of the Pindaris, and for the suppression of the predatory system, was formed in the close of 1816, but it was impracticable to carry his designs into operation until after the rainy season of the following year. The interval was busily occupied in assembling and organising the troops, and establishing controlling military and political authority in those quarters in which Lord Hastings was not personally present. The preparations were conducted as unostentatiously as possible, in order that the armies

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might be able to take the field at the appointed period, before those against whom they were directed, or any other power disposed to obstruct the policy of the British Government, should be prepared to offer serious opposition.

The plan of the campaign was dictated by the geographical position of the chief objects of hostility, the Pindaris, and by the disposition of the British resources. The territories of the chiefs of the freebooters, Karim and Cheetoo, were centrically situated in the south of Malwa, being bounded on the east by the principality of Bhopal, on the south by the Nerbudda, on the west and north by the possessions of Sindhia and Holkar which intervened between Guzerat and the Peshwa's province of Kandesh. They were thus exposed on every side except the north, to an attack from the contiguous frontiers of states through which a ready access was open to the British forces, and although the privilege of marching an army through the dominions of Sindhia, had not been conceded by existing treaties, yet his promise of co-operation had been plighted, and it was part of the purposes of the campaign to enforce the fulfilment of this promise, and compel him to throw open his country to the movements of the British divisions. Further to the north, the pending arrangements with Jaypur and Amir Khan, admitted of the advance of troops in that quarter, with the intention of overawing both Sindhia and the Patan, protecting the Rajputs against their enmity, and preventing the escape of the Pindaris in a northerly direction, when they should have been expelled by the operations in the south from their haunts on the Nerbudda.

On the side of Hindustan, the Bengal forces were arrayed in four principal divisions. The centre division consisting of three regiments of cavalry, one of His Majesty's foot, and eight battalions of Native infantry, with detachments of artillery,[1] commanded by Major-General Brown, was assembled at Cawnpur. It was there joined on the 14th of September by the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-chief. The right division, under

[1] The troops forming the centre were His Majesty's 24th Light Dragoons, 3rd and 7th regiments N. C. and the Governor General's Body Guard. His Majesty's 87th regt., and of Native Infantry the 2nd batt. 13th, 1st batt. 24th, 2nd batt. 11th, 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 1st, 2nd batt. 25th, 1st batt. 29th, and a Flank battalion. Detachment of horse and foot artillery, and 54 guns.

Major-General Donkin, was formed at Agra, and comprised two regiments of cavalry, one regiment of European, and three battalions of native infantry, with artillery.[1] The left division, commanded by Major-General Marshall, was in advance at Kalinjar, in Bundelkhand, and consisted of one regiment of native cavalry, two corps of irregular horse, and five battalions of infantry, with guns.[2] On the left of this division, and constituting subordinate portions of it, were two small bodies, one at Mirzapur, under Brigadier-General Hardyman, and another, under Brigadier-General Toone on the frontiers of South Behar;[3] the duty of these two corps being the defence of the British confines in the south-west, the prevention of any sudden inroad through Rewa or Chota Nagpur, — and the line of frontier further south, through Sambhalpur and Cuttack, was considered to be sufficiently protected by the troops already stationed in those provinces. The fourth, or reserve division, commanded by Sir D. Ochterlony, was formed of one regiment Native cavalry, and two corps of irregular horse, one regiment of European, and five battalions of Native infantry.[4] To each of the divisions were attached bodies of irregular horse and foot, the troops of several petty chiefs, who, by their tenure, or by treaty, were bound to furnish military contingents in time of war. In general they added little to the real strength of the army, but their presence was an indication of the extent of the British sway. The whole number of troops in this quarter amounted to above twenty-nine thousand foot, and fourteen thousand horse, with one hundred and forty guns, both horse and foot artillery. The centre division crossed the Jumna on the 26th of October, and took up a position on the Sindh river on the 6th of November, where it was equally ready

[1] His Majesty's 8th Dragoons, 1st N. C., Gardiner's horse, and contingents of the Raja of Bhurtpur and Dholpur, His Majesty's 14th regt., N. I. 1st batt. 25th, 1st batt. 27th, 2nd batt. 12th, 18 guns.

[2] 4th N. C. 2nd and 3rd Rohilla horse, N. I. 2nd batt. 28th, 1st batt. 14th, 1st batt. 1st, 1st batt. 26th, 1st batt. 7th, guns 24.

[3] The 1st consisted of 8th N. C., His Majesty's 17th regiment 2nd battalion, 8th N. I., 6 guns; Raja of Rewa's contingent horse. The second of His Majesty's 24th regiment, 2nd battalion of 4th N. I., 4 guns; Raja of Gumsham's horse.

[4] 2nd N. C. two corps of Skinner's horse; His Majesty's 67th regiment. N. I. 2nd battalion of the 19th, 1st of 28th, 2nd of 7th, 1st of 6th, 2nd of 5th, 22 guns; contingent horse and foot of Begum Sumroo, Faiz Mohammed Khan, Ahmed Bakhsh Khan, the Raja of Macheri, and the Raja of Patiala.

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to act against the Pindaris and the Mahratta states. On the right, General Donkin, by the 9th of November, advanced to Dholpur, on the Chambal, where he threatened equally Sindhia and Amir Khan; and, shut in between this division and the centre, the former chief had no alternative left but to disarm the British Government by submission to its will. The left division was intended, in communication with the Nagpur subsidiary force, to act upon the western extremity of the Pindari line, and advanced, by the 12th of November, to Sagar, on the south-west angle of Bundelkhand. The reserve division, which was intended to cover Delhi, and support the negotiations with the Rajput states, was posted on the 27th of November at Rewari. The two smaller detachments, under Brigadier-Generals Hardyman and Toone, assumed their respective stations in the course of October and November.

The army of the Dekhin was under the command of Sir Thomas Hislop, the Commander-in-Chief at the Madras Presidency, who was also invested with full political powers within the sphere of his military operations. The force was distributed into five divisions: the first, with the head-quarters, was formed of a detachment of European, and two regiments of Native cavalry; of a detachment of European infantry, the Madras European regiment, and six battalions of Native infantry, besides artillery.[1] The second, or Hyderabad division, was commanded by Brigadier-General Doveton, and was composed of one regiment of Native cavalry, one of European infantry, and six battalions of Native infantry, with horse and foot artillery, together with the Berar and Hyderabad brigades.[2] The third division, consisting of one regiment of Native cavalry, and a detachment of Native infantry, with the Russell brigade, Elichpur brigade, and Mysore auxiliary horse, was commanded by Brigadier-General

[1] Detachment of His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 4th and 8th regiments N.C., Flank companies of H. M.'s Royal Scots, Madras European regiment N. I., 1st batt. 3rd, 1st battalion 16th, 2nd battalion 17th, 1st battalion 14th, 2nd battalion 6th, and 1st batt. of 7th: horse artillery, and rocket troop.

[2] 6th regiment N. C., His Majesty's Royal Scots, 2nd battalion 13th, 2nd battalion 13th, 2nd batt. 24th, 1st batt. 11th, 2nd batt. 14th, 1st batt. 12th, 1st batt. 2nd, Berar brigade, four battalions N.I. reformed horse, Hyderabad brigade, five companies Madras European regiment, N. I., 1st batt. 21st, 1st batt. 22nd, 1st batt. 8th.

Sir John Malcolm.[1] The fourth or Poona division, was commanded by Brigadier-General Lionel Smith, and comprised one regiment of Native cavalry, a European regiment, six battalions of Native infantry, artillery, and a body of reformed Poona horse, under European officers.[2] The fifth division consisting of the Nagpur subsidiary force, under Lieutenant-Colonel Adams, was composed of three corps of horse, besides the contingent of the Nawab of Bhopal, and six battalions of Native infantry.[3] Brigades were left at Poona, Hyderabad, and Nagpur, and a reserve division was formed from the force which had been employed under Colonel Munro, at the desire of the Peshwa, to reduce to his subjection the Zemindar of Sundur.[4] The task was performed in the course of November, and the troops, having returned to the north of the Tumbhadra, were assembled at Chinur by the middle of the following month, under Brigadier-General Pritzler. The line of operations had been completed by the formation of a respectable force in Guzerat, commanded by Major-General Sir W. G. Keir, which was to advance from the west, and communicate with the army of the Dekhin.[5] The aggregate of these forces amounted to 52,000 foot, and 18,000 horse, with 62 guns; forming with the Bengal army a body of 113,000 troops, with 300 pieces of ordnance.

It had been intended that the first and third divisions should cross the Nerbudda at Hindia early in the campaign, but the movements of the troops were delayed by the unusual duration of the monsoon, the impracticability of the roads, and the swollen state of the rivers. Sir Thomas Hislop, also, was detained at Hyderabad by illness, from the 12th of August to the 1st of October. He proceeded to assume the command by the 10th of November,

[1] 3rd regiment N. C., five companies 1st batt. 2nd N. I., Russell brigade, 1st and 2nd regiment, Elichpur contingent, 1,200 horse, and five batt. foot, 4,000 Mysore horse.

[2] 2nd N. C. His Majesty's 65th regiment, Madras N. I. 2nd batt. 15th, Bombay N. I. 2nd batt. 1st, 1st batt. 2nd, 1st batt. 3rd, 2nd batt. 9th.

[3] 5th and 6th regiment N. C. 1st Rohilla horse, Bengal N. I., 1st and 2nd batt. 10th, 1st batt. 19th, 1st and 2nd batt. 23rd, L. I. battalion.

[4] His Majesty's 22nd Light Dragoons, 7th regt. Madras N. C., European flank batt. M. N. I., 2nd batt. 4th, 2nd batt. 12th. These details are taken from Colonel Blacker. Some modifications took place in the field, but none of material importance.

[5] His Majesty's 17th Dragoons, His Majesty's 47th regt., Bombay N. I., Flank and Grenadier batt., 1st batt. 8th, 2nd batt. 7th.

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when the first and third divisions were in position at Harda, not far from the southern bank of the Nerbudda. The fifth division had advanced to Hoseinabad, on the same river, not far from their right, by the 6th of the month. The second division had a position assigned to it in the neighbourhood of Akola, in order to protect the Berar frontier, and to support the troops in advance, as well as to observe Nagpur, where the disposition of the Raja had become an object of suspicion.[1] The fourth division, under General Smith, was directed to move towards Kandesh to defend the Peshwa's territory, or be at hand to act against him should his latent hostility break out into open violence. Its manifestation took place sooner than was anticipated.

The treaty of Poona had scarcely been signed by Baji Rao when he repented of the deed, and resumed with redoubled eagerness the intrigues in which he had previously been engaged, and his earnest endeavours to excite the Mahratta chiefs to give support to the Pindaris. At the same time, under pretence of acting in concert with the British in their movements against those marauders, he commenced an extraordinary levy of troops and large bodies of horse and foot were assembled in the vicinity of Poona by the end of October, the insolence of whose conduct was sufficiently expressive of their master's intentions. Active intrigues were also set on foot for the seduction of the subsidiary force, and bribes and menaces were employed to tempt the men from their allegiance.[2] Although these proceedings were well known

[1] Lord Hastings' Narrative, Papers, Mahratta War, 385.—Colonel Blacker says Doveton was directed to move his head-quarters to a position immediately in the rear of Mulkapore, either above or below the Berar Ghats, with the view and possible necessity of besieging Asirgerh.—p. 49.

[2] The Peshwa's emissaries began to tamper with the troops early in August; their practices were immediately reported by the men to their officers, and they were suffered to carry on the negotiations, which they did with such success, that the Peshwa fell into the snare. Large sums of money were distributed among them; a Jemadar of the 6th, who was admitted to an interview with Baji Rao and Gokla, a few days before the action at Kirki, was promised land and titles if he could bring over his men, and received five thousand Rupees, which he transferred to his commanding officer. Very few were tempted to desert their colours by offers of this nature; some desertions took place, but they were of natives of the Konkan, whose homes were situated in places subject to the Peshwa or to Gokla, and who were intimidated by violence threatened, or, in some cases, offered to their families. There is no doubt that the Peshwa was fully persuaded that the desertion would be very general as soon as the action commenced, and that this impression powerfully contributed to lead him into so desperate and fatal a proceduro.

to the Resident, yet, in order to avoid embarrassing the meditated operations against the Pindaris, and feeling confident reliance on the fidelity of the Sipahis, Mr. Elphinstone refrained from any exposure of the Peshwa's treacherous conduct, or from taking any steps, except those of general remonstrance, to counteract his projects. He allowed the main body of the subsidiary force, forming the fourth division, to march from its cantonments, and retained in the vicinity of Poona, no more than the portion usually stationed in the environs of the city. General Smith, however, upon his arrival on the confines of Kandesh, received advices of the threatening aspect of affairs at Poona, and the probable necessity of his return. He accordingly halted at Phultamba, on the Godaveri, with an understanding that should his communications with the Residency be interrupted, he should march immediately on Poona.

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The force which had been left at Poona consisted of three battalions of Bombay infantry, under Colonel Burr, a battalion of the Poona brigade of the Peshwa's own troops officered by Europeans, under Major Ford, and two companies of Bengal Sipahis, forming the Resident's guard. The Poona brigade was quartered at Dapuri, a village a short distance on the west of Poona. The regular troops had formerly been cantoned on the east of the city, and were separated by it and by the Muta-Mula river from the Residency, which lay on the north-west of Poona, near the confluence of the Muta and the Mula rivers, the former coming from the north, the latter from the west, and both uniting off the north-west angle of the city. The position of the cantonments had long been regarded as objectionable, both in a military and political view. Situated on the opposite side of Poona, and inconveniently contiguous to the town, their communication with the Residency might easily be cut off; and they were exposed to any sudden hostile attack, as well as to the insidious influence of the population of the capital. It had been, therefore, for some time past, resolved to move the troops to Kirki, a village about two miles north of Poona, on the same side as the Residency; and although detached from the latter by the course of the Mula river, which ran between them, capable of ready communication with it by a

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bridge over the stream. Dapuri, the station of the Poona brigade, being situated also on the same side of the city, and not far in the rear of Kirki, communication with it was easy. Baji Rao, who was too sagacious not to understand the real motives of the change, had strenuously objected to it; but this was an additional argument in its favour, and due preparations having been made, the battalions under Colonel Burr marched from the old station, and encamped at Kirki on the 1st of November. The force had been joined on the preceding evening by the Bombay European regiment, and by detachments of the 65th regiment, and of Bombay artillery, on their march to join the 4th division. On the 5th of November, a light battalion, which had been ordered back to Seroor by General Smith, marched upon Poona with a thousand of the auxiliary horse. Before their arrival the affair had been decided.

The intentions of the Peshwa to fall upon the Residency were very currently reported during the month of October, and an extensive feeling of alarm pervaded the Capital: many persons quitted Poona, and many more sent away their families and property: private intimations to the same effect, from individuals whose authority was unquestionable, were received both by Mr. Elphinstone and some of his staff; but unwilling to precipitate a crisis, and doubting whether Baji Rao would have the courage to hazard so desperate an enterprise, the Resident deemed it advisable to take no public notice of the Peshwa's proceedings until they were too notorious, and too menacing to be longer disregarded. A large army had been drawn up on the south of the City, and parties were thrown out towards the new cantonments, as if to cut off the communication between them and the Residency. Upon requiring to know the object of these movements, and insisting that the advanced parties should be withdrawn, a confidential servant of the Peshwa, Witoji Naik, was deputed to the Residency with his master's ultimatum. The Peshwa, he said, having heard of the arrival of the reinforcements from Seroor, was determined to bring things to an early settlement; he desired, therefore, that the European regiment should resume its march, the native brigade be reduced to its usual strength, and the

cantonments removed to a place which he should point out. If these terms were not complied with, the Peshwa would leave Poona, and not return until they were assented to. The Resident replied that the march of the troops had been necessitated by the Peshwa's own preparations, but that there was no wish to act hostilely against him; and that if he would adhere to his engagements, and send off his forces to the frontier, to serve with the British troops, agreeably to the conditions of the alliance, he would still be regarded as a friend. If, on the contrary, his troops persisted in pressing upon the British position, they would be attacked. Within an hour after Witoji's return, large bodies of troops began to move towards the camp, and a battalion of Gokla's contingent had previously taken up ground within half a mile of the Residency, between it and the cantonments. The Resident, therefore, deemed it advisable to quit the former with his suite and escort, and fording the Mula, proceeded along its left bank to the bridge at Kirki, which he crossed, and joined the troops. Immediately upon his departure, the Mahrattas entered the Residency grounds, and plundered and set fire to the dwellings.

The Peshwa's army, computed to amount to ten thousand horse and as many foot, had been drawn up at the foot of the Ganes-khand hills, immediately on the north-west of the town, their left resting on the hills, their right on the Residency; an immense train of ordnance protected the centre. The Peshwa moved out to an elevation, the Parbati hill south of Poona, at some distance, but commanding a view of the field. The British force, consisting of infantry only, was less than three thousand strong: the ground in front of them, although broken by ravines, was not wholly unfavourable to the evolutions of cavalry; and a forward movement was calculated to lead them into the midst of large bodies of horse, against which they would act at a disadvantage. On the other hand, to await an attack was likely to produce a sense of discouragement among the troops, which, combined with the feelings that had possibly been engendered by the temptations to which their fidelity had been recently exposed, might be followed by dangerous desertion. To endeavour to avoid an engagement, and defend the

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position, would have the same, or worse effect, and would add to the confidence and numbers of the enemy. Some days must elapse before effective succour could be received, and the interval was pregnant with disaster. In India, in particular, the boldest counsels are usually the wisest: hesitation has been frequently followed by defeat, and audacity, almost equivalent to temerity, has, as frequently, achieved triumph: it did so in the present instance, and, notwithstanding the immense disparity of numbers, Mr. Elphinstone and Colonel Burr concurred in ordering a prompt advance against the Mahratta host.

Having left a detachment with a few guns at the village of Kirki, to protect the baggage and the followers, the line moved onwards about a mile, and then halted until the Poona brigade from Dapuri should come up. The centre was occupied by the European regiment, the Resident's escort, and a detachment of the 2nd battalion of the 6th Bombay infantry. The 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment formed the right wing, and the 1st of the 7th the left: each of the exterior flanks was strengthened by two guns. On the approach of Major Ford with his brigade, the line again advanced, when a heavy cannonade opened upon them from the enemy's artillery, and masses of horse crowded on the flanks and passed round to the rear. A strong division, headed by Moro Dikshit, one of the Peshwa's most distinguished officers, who, although always averse to the war, was faithful to his duty, resolutely charged the battalion from Dapuri, as it advanced on the right of the line: throwing back its right wing, the battalion received the charge with a steady fire; and the Mahratta horse, foiled in their attempt to break the line, passed round the brigade towards Kirki. There they were received with equal firmness by the detachment posted for the defence of the village; and Moro Dikshit being killed by a cannon-ball, his followers, disheartened, retired from the field.

On the left flank, a select body of about three thousand infantry, Arabs and Gosains, advanced in solid column against the 7th native regiment: they were met with a destructive fire, and fell back in confusion. The Sipahis, in their turn, pressed upon the fugitives, and falling into some disorder, were charged and broken by the Mahratta

horse: two companies of Europeans were presently brought up to their support, the cavalry was driven back, and the line was reformed. The troops from Dapuri having now completely come up, the united force moved forward. As they advanced the Mahrattas retreated, and finally abandoned the victory to the British. Darkness coming on, put a stop to pursuit, and the troops retired to their posts at Kirki and Dapuri. Their loss was inconsiderable, not more than nineteen killed and sixty-seven wounded; that of the enemy was more severe, besides Moro Dikshit, a Patan officer of rank was killed, and several chiefs were wounded. On the morning after the action the troops from Seroor arrived; and as no danger could now accrue from delay, it was determined to wait for the arrival of General Smith before undertaking any further movements.[1]

The main body of the Mahrattas, after the action, withdrew to a spot about four miles to the east of Poona, the Peshwa having been with difficulty dissuaded by Gokla from flying to Purandhar. Parties spread through the country, and sullied their cause by deeds of useless and barbarous ferocity. On the day after the engagement, two officers coming from Bombay, Cornets Hunter and Morrison, were attacked and plundered by some Mahratta horsemen, and were taken prisoners and sent into the Konkan. A few days afterwards, Captain Vaughan and his brother, who had recently entered the Company's service, having been similarly robbed and seized at Wargam, were taken to Fattehgaon, about twenty-four miles from Poona, and there hanged, by order of the principal fiscal officer. About the same time, Lieutenant Ennis, of the Bombay Engineers, who was out on survey with a small escort, was attacked and killed by a party of Bhils in Trimbak's service; his men fought their way to a neighbouring village, of which the Headman gave them protection and saved their lives.

[1] Papers Mahratta War.—Letters from Mr. Elphinstone. Report of Colonel Burr, pp. 119, 123.—The battle of Kirki was fought through the persuasion and precipitancy of Gokla. The Peshwa, after giving the order, wished to recal it, but Gokla anticipating his irresolution had begun the action. Gokla avowed that his confidence and impatience to engage, were founded on the certainty that the Sipahis would come over by companies or battalions, on the field.—Papers 128.

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The customary communications from Poona not having arrived, General Smith inferred that hostilities had broken out, and immediately prepared to retrace his steps. He marched from Phulthamba on the 6th of November, and arrived at Ahmednagar on the 8th. From thence his march was harassed by the Peshwa's horse, but no serious delay was occasioned, and he arrived at Poona on the 12th. On the 14th, the force was concentrated on a spot between the bridge of Kirki and the left bank of the united stream of the Muta-Mula, opposite to the Peshwa's army, which had taken up its position on the ground of the old cantonments. On the evening of the 16th, the army crossed the river in two principal divisions: the one on the right, under General Smith, at the confluence of the streams; the other on the left, commanded by Colonel Milnes, at the Yellura ford. The passage of the first was effected without opposition, the whole attention of the Mahrattas being directed against the second; but their resistance was fruitless, and both divisions were in readiness for a combined attack at daylight on the following morning. Their junction was effected; but on advancing towards the Peshwa's camp, it was found deserted. He had ridden off at two in the morning, and his troops had followed, carrying off their guns, but leaving their tents standing, and the greater part of their stores and ammunition on the field. A few Arabs only had been left to guard the capital; and as their expulsion would only have caused a needless waste of life, they were prevailed upon to retire. It was with some difficulty that the troops, incensed by the burning of the Residency, by which much of their property had been destroyed, and by the ignominious murder of the Vaughans, could be restrained from the plunder of Poona; but the arrangements adopted for the purpose proved successful, and the capital of the Mahrattas was quietly taken possession of in the course of the day. Hostilities were, however, far from their termination.[1] Baji Rao fled to Purandhar, and stimulated and supported by the courage and conduct of Gokla, still cherished hopes of baffling and tiring out his enemies and recovering his power.

At the time at which these transactions at Poona took

[1] Report from Brigadier-General Lionel Smith.—Mahratta Papers, 125.

place, the several divisions were rapidly concentrating on the points to which they were directed.

The third and fifth divisions of the Madras army crossed the Nerbudda early in November. The former was to have been followed by the first division, but advices of the transactions at Poonah having reached Sir Thomas Hislop, on the 15th of November, he thought it advisable to return to the southward; desiring, however, the third division to advance, and taking possession of the fort of Hindia, which had been temporarily ceded by Sindhia. Before he had proceeded many days on his route, Sir T. Hislop was overtaken by despatches from the Marquis of Hastings, urgently enforcing his adherence to the original plan of the campaign, and enjoining his immediate march in a northerly direction. Accordingly, after making such arrangements as he thought to be required by the state of affairs at Poona and Nagpur, the Commander-in-chief of the army of the Dekhin, with the first division, retraced his steps to the Nerbudda, and again crossed the river on the 30th of November. In the mean time, Sir John Malcolm had traversed the districts chiefly dependent upon Cheetoo, and recovered possession of the places which the Pindaris had wrested from Sindhia and the Nawab of Bhopal. Crossing the Kirveni Ghat into Malwa, he arrived at Ashta on the 21st of November, and was in communication with the fifth division under Colonel Adams, who, after crossing the Nerbudda, on the 14th of November, had advanced on the road to Seronj, in which direction the Durra of Wasil Mohammed had retreated. At Raisen, a communication was opened with the left division of the grand army, which was at Reili on the 28th of November. These three corps were now, therefore, on the proposed line of co-operation, and, by their concurrent movements, had driven the Pindaris from their haunts, and compelled them to fly to the north and west. The country, by these means, was freed from those marauders, and the position of the British detachments served as a new base, upon which future operations were to rest. Accordingly, General Marshall, with the left division of the grand army, marched to Seronj, where he halted till the 7th of December. By the same date, Colonel Adams had reached Manohar Thana, in the principality of Kota. The third division of the

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Dekhin army moved westerly, in the track of Cheetoo's Durra, of which it never lost sight, although unable to come up with him. Upon arriving at Burgerh, on the 3rd of December, Sir John Malcolm learned that the Pindaris had doubled to the south, and, having arrived at Mahidpur, were there encamped in the vicinity of Holkar's army, and under its protection. The combined forces of Holkar and Cheetoo being too formidable to be attacked by Sir John Malcom, with the detachment under his command, he drew off towards the south, and halted on the 11th of December, near Tajpur, to be at hand for the instructions of Sir Thomas Hislop, who was again marching rapidly towards him. The first division entered Malwa, on the road to Ujayin, on the 4th of December; Sir Thomas Hislop was at Sonkeir, and on the 7th at Unchode, whither he had previously detached a light division. On the 11th he was at Dattana-mattana, within eight miles of Sir J. Malcolm's camp, and not far from Ujayin. On the following day, the head-quarters of the army of the Dekhin and the first and third divisions marched past Ujayin, and crossing the Sipra at a ford opposite the north-west angle of the city, encamped on the left bank of the river. Directions had been despatched to Sir William G. Keir, commanding the force from Guzerat, to march in the same direction. The army was posted so as to command the approach of Ujayin from the north, and the road to Mahidpur, where lay Holkar's army, and the Cheetoo's Pindaris. It is necessary, however, now to advert to the movements of the army of Hindustan.

Notwithstanding the declarations of Sindhia, that he was as much the enemy of the Pindaris as the British Government, and was resolved to effect their extirpation himself, or unite with the British in so desirable an object, proofs of his insincerity were daily forthcoming, and evidences were multiplied of his being in friendly communication with all who were inimical to the British power. A compact had been entered into with Holkar's Government, having in view the acknowledgment of the Peshwa's supremacy, and a considerable sum of money, twenty-five lakhs of rupees, had been received from Baji Rao to enable Sindhia to move to his assistance. Several envoys from Nepal, with letters, and two of Sindhia's seals, were ar-

rested on their return at Bithur, in the course of September;[1] and letters and messengers from the Pindari chiefs were constantly arriving at Gwalior, and men were enlisted with little attempt at secrecy for their service. It became necessary, therefore, to call upon Sindhia for unequivocal confirmation of his professed friendship, or an avowal of his enmity. It had been the purpose of Lord Hastings to have delayed requiring a categorical answer to his demands, until it should have been so obviously unsafe for Sindhia to decline a compliance, that his assent must be given or his destruction were certain; and this intention was not altogether disappointed, although the announcement of the requisitions of the Governor-General was made rather earlier than had been projected. This had been rendered necessary by the first movements of the army of the Dekhin, and the arrangements made in the end of September, for crossing the Tapti into Sindhia's territories. As the object and intent of the proposed operations could no longer be concealed, it was determined to come to a final understanding with Sindhia, and apprise him fully of what he was required to comply with. At the same time, the organization of the Grand army, and the advance of the centre division to a position suited both to menace Gwalior and to intercept all communication between it and the south, left the Mahratta prince little option between an implicit acquiescence in the demands of the British Government, and the certainty of its prompt infliction of the penalty incurred by his refusal.

The ultimatum of the British Government and the draft of a treaty to be signed by him, were communicated to Sindhia, towards the end of October. At this period, the Marquis of Hastings, with the centre division, crossed the Jumna, and advanced towards the Sindh, established his

[1] The letters were concealed between the leaves of a Sanskrit MS. pasted together at the edges. Some were open, some closed; the former referred obscurely to the intended combinations between Sindhia and the other Mahratta princes. The closed letters were restored to Sindhia in open Durbar, without comment, in the course of October, while the treaty was under discussion. The detection evidently confounded the Court, although Atma Ram, the minister through whom communication with the Resident was usually carried on, affected to treat the letters as a weak invention of the enemy, declaring that they were fabricated by some one who was inimical to his master: Sindhia was silent. It was reported to the Resident at Khatmandu, that the government of Nepal was at this time busily augmenting the military force.—MS. Rec.

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head-quarters on that river, at the Seonda Ghat, on the 7th of November. On the 8th of the same month, the right division, commanded by General Donkin, took up the position designed for it on the Chambal. Each of these divisions was within two marches of Gwalior, when Sindhia, isolated from all his best troops, which, under their refractory leaders were at a distance from their disregarded sovereign, and cut off from all communication with the Pindaris and the Peshwa, was wholly unable to oppose any resistance to so overwhelming a force. Conscious of his helplessness, he laid aside all attempts at subterfuge, and signed the treaty which had been presented for his acceptance.

By the engagement now entered into, Doulat Rao Sindhia bound himself to employ his forces conjointly with those of the British Government in prosecuting operations against, not only the Pindaris, but all other bodies of associated freebooters, with the view of destroying and preventing the renewal of the predatory system in every part of India: to give no shelter or support to the Pindaris, but to seize the persons of their leaders and deliver them up to the British Government, and never to re-admit the Pindaris, or any predatory bands, into his dominions, nor allow any of his officers to countenance or support them. In order to define the precise extent of his co-operation, in addition to the general aid to be given by all his civil and military functionaries, Sindhia agreed to maintain a contingent of five thousand horse, to serve with the British troops, and under British command, and to have an English officer attached to each division of such troops as the channel of communication with the British commanding officer. The same officer was also to be the medium of issuing the pay of the contingent, in order to secure its being punctually discharged: the funds to be derived from the application to this purpose of the amount of the pensions paid to Sindhia and the members of his family or administration, by the British Government, and by the assignment to the latter of the tributes of Jodhpur Bundi and Kota for a term of two years. In furtherance of the military operations of the British against the Pindaris, Sindhia consented to yield to them the temporary occupation of his forts of Hindia and Asirgerh, to be restored

after the war. It was also declared that the eighth article of the treaty of 1805, was annulled, and that the British Government was at liberty to form engagements with the states of Udàypur, Jodhpur, Kota, and other substantive states on the left bank of the Chambal. All claims and rights of Sindhia over states and chiefs, clearly and indisputably dependent on or tributary to him, were not to be interfered with, and his established tributes from other states were to be guaranteed to him, but made payable through the British Government. In consideration of the Maharaja's being bound to treat as enemies, also, any states against which it might become necessary to wage war, either on account of its attacking one of the contracting parties, or aiding or protecting the Pindaris, the British Government promised him a liberal share of the spoil that should be reaped by success. This treaty was concluded on the 6th of November. The fulfilment of the stipulation respecting the contingent was delayed as long as it could be with decency, but rather from the difficulties thrown in the way by subordinate agents, than by Sindhia himself. The Maharaja, although deeply humiliated by his compulsory abandonment of those whom he had long regarded as his servants and dependants, and sincerely distressed by his complete isolation from the Peshwa, to whom he looked up with hereditary regard as the head of the Mahratta association, was too indolent, too good-natured, and too intelligent, not to recognise the immunities which the treaty conferred upon him, the preservation of his tributes, the assistance of the British in reducing his disobedient feudatories and officers to subjection, and his exemption from the turbulence, danger, and ruin in which his connexions with his countrymen might else have involved him.

The engagement with Sindhia had scarcely been concluded when the news of the Peshwa's treachery arrived. The ratification of the treaty was a fortunate occurrence for Sindhia, as it precluded him from listening to the advice of those counsellors who would have urged him to take up arms in the Peshwa's cause, and to which his natural prepossessions inclined him, although he was withheld by his prudence and apprehension. It was fortunate, also, for the British Government; for although the

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result was not doubtful, yet it might have been inconveniently retarded, as the powerful force, which threatened Gwalior, was scarcely in a condition to have accomplished the objects for which it had approached that city: it was decimated by disease.

The malady known by the name of spasmodic cholera, evacuations of acrid biliary matter, accompanied by spasmodic contractions of the abdominal muscles, and a prostration of strength, terminating frequently in the total exhaustion of the vital functions, had been known in India from the remotest periods, and had, at times, committed fearful ravages. Its effects, however, were in general, restricted to particular seasons and localities and were not so extensively diffused as to attract notice or excite alarm. In the middle of 1817, however, the disease assumed a new form, and became a widely spread and fatal epidemic. It made its first appearance in the eastern districts of Bengal, in May and June of that year, and after extending itself gradually along the north bank of the Ganges, through Tirhut to Ghazipur, it crossed the river, and passing through Rewa, fell with peculiar virulence upon the centre division of the grand army, in the first week of November. After creeping about insidiously for several days among the lower classes of the camp followers, and engaging little observation, it at once burst forth with irresistible violence, and by the 14th of the month had overspread every part of the camp. Although the casualties were most numerous amongst the followers of the camp and the native soldiery, the ravages of the disease were not confined to the natives, but extended to Europeans of every rank.[1] The appalling features of the malady were the suddenness of its accession, and the rapidity with which death ensued. No one felt himself safe for an hour, and yet, as there was no appearance of infection, the officers generally were active in assisting the medical establishment in administering medicines and

[1] Five officers and 143 men of the European force died in November.—Official return. According to Mr. Surgeon Corbyn, who was serving with the centre division, and whose plan of treatment was circulated to the army by the Marquis of Hastings, his Lordship was himself apprehensive of dying of the disease, and had given secret instructions to be buried in his tent, that his death might not add to the discouragement of the troops, or tempt the enemy to attack the division in its crippled state.—The Treaties on Epidemic Cholera, by F. Corbyn, surgeon on the Bengal establishment, Calcutta, 1832.

relief to the sick. The whole camp put on the character of an hospital;—a mournful silence succeeded to the animating notes of preparation which had hitherto resounded among the tents: in place of the brisk march of soldiers in the confidence of vigour, and in the pride of discipline, were to be seen continuous and slowly moving trains of downcast mourners, carrying their comrades to the funeral pyre, and expecting that their own turn would not be long delayed. Even this spectacle ceased;—the mortality became so great, that hands were insufficient to carry away the bodies, and they were tossed into the neighbouring ravines, or hastily committed to a superficial grave on the spots where the sick had expired. The survivors then took alarm and deserted the encampment in crowds: many bore with them the seeds of the malady, and the fields and roads for many miles round were strewed with the dead. Death and desertion were rapidly depopulating the camp, when, after a few days of unavailing struggle against the epidemic, it was determined to try the effects of a change of situation. The army accordingly retrograded in a south easterly direction, and after several intermediate halts, crossed the Betwa, and encamping upon its lofty and dry banks at Erich, was relieved from the pestilence. The disease disappeared.[1] During the week of its greatest malignity it was ascertained that seven hundred and sixty-four fighting men and eight thousand followers perished.

Whether it was in consequence of any secret intrigue at Sindhia's court, or their reluctance to believe that he was in earnest in abandoning their cause, the Pindari leaders Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, flying from the combined advance of the divisions under Colonel Adams and General Marshall, marched in the direction of Gwalior, trusting to find there a shelter and an ally. As soon as their project was known, measures were taken to defeat it,

[1] The disorder ceased to be Epidemic about the 23rd of November. A few cases of a similar nature occurred daily till the end of the month. There were no instances of it after the 8th of December. Mr. Jamieson is inclined to ascribe its disappearance not so much to the change of locality, as to the inaptitude of the disease to remain long in one place, a peculiarity which invariably characterized its future progress. In none of the camps which it afterwards visited, did it continue virulent for more than 13 or 15 days.—Report on the Epidemic Cholera-morbus in the Bengal Provinces, in the years 1817, 1818, and 1819, by Assistant-Surgeon J. Jamieson, Secretary to the Medical Board. Published by authority of the Board, Calcutta, 1820.

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without giving umbrage to Sindhia by appearing to doubt his sincerity. A cavalry brigade, and a battalion of Native infantry were detached from the centre division towards the Sindh, and they were followed, as soon as the restored health of the troops permitted, by the main body to the same river, but lower down on the Sonari ford, within twenty-eight miles of Gwalior. The advanced guard was thrown across the river, and by an inclination to the left, intercepted all communication on that line between Sindhia and the Pindaris. This movement, and the position of the second division on the Chambal in his rear, with the tidings which came from the south, compelled Doulat Rao to submit to his fate, and to exert himself for the formation of the contingent which he had engaged to furnish, and which was very tardily organized.

The forward movement of the advance of the centre division, under Colonel Philpot, had the effect of compelling Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed to abandon the direct road to Gwalior, and turn off to the north west in the direction of Kota. They were in expectation of finding in the ruler of that country, or in Amir Khan, whose forces lay beyond it, protection if not aid. Zalim Sing, the ruler of Kota, had entered into a close alliance with the British Government, and he was little disposed to incur any risk in favour of a power which he had no longer cause to dread. He, therefore, posted troops so as to shut the passes into his country against the Pindaris, and they were thus obliged to gain admission by force. In their first attempt they were foiled, but they were successful in the second, and carried the Nim-Ghat near Ladana after a respectable resistance, which with their former discomfiture retarded their progress and enabled their pursuers to close upon them from various quarters. The Pindari chiefs had been followed closely by General Marshall with the left division of the grand army. Upon receiving information of the route which they had taken, General Marshall quitted Seronj on the 8th of December, and with a light portion of his force reached Bijrawan on the 13th, where he learned that the main body of the Pindaris was but twenty-two miles distant at Bichi-tál in Kota, on the other side of the Nim-Ghat. He again moved in pursuit

on the night of the 13th, but owing to the badness of the roads, did not reach the foot of the Ghat until two p.m., on the 14th. As soon as the Pindaris heard of the approach of the force, they moved off with their families and baggage, leaving one thousand horse to cover their retreat. The British detachment crossed the Ghat and came in sight of this body, which was charged by the cavalry under Colonel Newberry, and dispersed with some loss. The pursuit was resumed on the two following days to the Parbati river.

In the meantime, General Donkin, with the right division, had quitted the Chambal, after leaving a guard at the fort of Dholpur, and, after a circuitous march, placed himself between the Pindaris and Amir Khan. At the same time, the reserve of the grand army advanced to the south of Jaypur; and General Ochterlony encamped in such a position as to separate the two principal divisions of the Khan's troops, who were thus intimidated into acquiescence in their being disbanded. A loan of money was made to Amir Khan to enable him to discharge their arrears, and an arrangement was authorised for reorganising a considerable portion of the force by taking it into British pay. By these means, Amir Khan and his chiefs were deprived of all excuse for longer delaying his ratification of the alliance with the British, and the annihilation of his battalions extinguished the hopes which the Pindaris had continued to cherish of the assistance of the Pathan.

The final settlement with Amir Khan being thus effected, General Donkin returned to the left bank of the Chambal, and crossed it at Gamak-Ghat, eight miles north of Kota, on the 13th of December. The route followed by the Pindaris in their flight from Bichi-tál, lay across the direction of General Donkin's march, not many miles to the north east; and information of their proximity reached him on his arrival at the river. Taking with him a light division, General Donkin advanced by forced marches to Kalana on the western Sindh, where accounts of the affair at Bichi-tál were received, and it was ascertained that the Durra of Karim Khan was still in the neighbourhood, unconscious, apparently, of the approach of the detachment. Early on the 17th, the brigade came

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up with the Pindaris, but the main body had fled, abandoning their baggage and their families under a small party which immediately dispersed, leaving a quantity of property and Lal ki Begum, the wife of Kharim Khan, in the hands of the victors. A large party was also attacked and put to flight by Gardner's horse, but Karim, with his main force, finding his advance to the north-west frustrated, and hope of succour from Zalim Sing disappointed, turned back, and, passing between the divisions of Generals Donkin and Marshall, through the tract lying between the Sindh and Parbati rivers, trusted to make good his retreat to the south by Shirgerh and Gogal Chapra. He was again out-manœuvred, for although he avoided the division of General Marshall, which had advanced towards the direction of his retreat, he fell upon the line of Col. Adams's route, which had led by Gogal Chapra to Jhilwara on the Parbati, where he had arrived on the 16th of December. This compelled the Pindaris to change their course, and crossing the head of the column, they moved off to the south-west. They had purposely left behind every thing that could retard their flight: all those of the party, who were badly mounted and equipped, dispersed, and none but the most efficient cavalry remained with the leaders. The number of the Durra was reduced to little more than two thousand. As soon as Colonel Adams heard of their course, he despatched his cavalry under Major Clarke, who overtook and routed a party at Pipli. The main body, however, kept in advance, and reached Rajgerh Patan greatly dispirited and disunited, on the 21st. On the same day, Major Clarke rejoined Colonel Adams on his march to Ekkair, where he arrived on the 22nd, and was obliged by heavy rains to halt during the following day. A party of Pindaris, four hundred strong, was here heard of, descending the Tara Ghat, and was pursued and cut up by Captain Roberts with the 1st Rohilla horse. The fugitive Durras continuing their flight, returned after various divergent movements, to the upper course of the Chambal, which they crossed to join the remains of Holkar's army. Colonel Adams following hard upon their track, although greatly delayed by bad weather and insufficient supplies, reached Gangraur on the 6th of January, and halted there for some days to allow his troops to rest

after the fatigue which they had undergone; the objects of his movements having been completely effected by the retreat of the remains of Karim and Wasil Mohammed's Durras to the south.

The Pindari Cheetoo, although he had fallen in with Holkar's arm, and reinforced it with part of his followers, did not long remain in its vicinity. Interposing that force between him and his pursuers, he kept his principal party together in the country on the west bank of the Chambal in the upper part of its course, but the British detachments closing round him compelled him to shift his quarters. He returned towards the north, and during the latter days of December was encamped at Singoli, in a rugged country between Bundi and Kota, not more than twenty-five miles south-west from the town of Kota, the people of the country, whose sympathies were in general enlisted in favour of the Pindaris, providing him with supplies and information. He was not long unmolested. General Donkin, who still continued in the neighbourhood, secured the passes into Bundi, and advanced to the Gynta Ghat. Cheetoo was no longer within his reach. Jeswant Rao Bhao of Jawad, one of Sindhia's officers, but, as usual, exercising independent authority within his own districts, invited the Pindari to take shelter in his own country, having given him and his followers an asylum for their property and families in the thickets adjacent to the fort of Kamalmer, in Mewar. Although, however, the final extirpation of the freebooters was not yet accomplished, important advantages had been secured by the judiciousness and activity of the combined operations against them. By the advance of the first and third divisions of the army of the Dekhin, and the flank movement of the fifth, the Pindaris had been driven from their haunts on the Nerbudda. By a seasonable forward movement of a detachment of a centre of the grand army, they had been prevented from making their way to Gwalior, and had been compelled to turn off towards the north-west, in the hope of finding shelter in Kota, or with Amir Khan. Closely followed by the fifth division of the Dekhin army, and the left wing of the grand army from the west and south; they were cut off from the northern course by the right division of the army of Hindustan, and obliged to confine them-

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selves to a narrow region on the western boundaries of Malwa. They had been perpetually harassed, repeatedly surprised, and had suffered severe loss. Their numbers had been greatly diminished, and they were now reduced to a few scattered, feeble, and dispirited bands, hopeless of escape from utter destruction, except through the intervention of more powerful protectors than any who were likely to come forward in their defence.

CHAPTER VII.

Transactions at Nagpur. — Discontent of Apa Saheb. — Accepts publicly Honorary Distinctions from the Peshwa. — Hostile Indications. — Preparations for Defence. — British Force. — Situation of the Residency. — Sitabaldi Hills. — Residency attacked. — Action of Sitabaldi. — Mahrattas defeated. — Negotiations. — Arrival of General Doveton with the Second Division of the Dekhin Army at Nagpur. — Advance of General Hardyman's Division. — Action of Jabalpur. — Town occupied. — Affairs at Nagpur. — Terms offered to the Raja. — Apa Saheb comes into the British lines. — Action of Nagpur. — Mahratta army dispersed. — Contumacy of the Arab garrison. — City stormed. — Failure of the attack. — Terms granted, and Nagpur evacuated. — Provisional Engagement with the Raja. — Policy of the Court of Holkar. — Intrigues with the Peshwa. — Professions of Amity. — Violence of the Military Leaders. — Murder of Tulasi Bai. — Hostilities with the British. — Battle of Mahidpur. — Advance of Sir Thomas Hislop. — Joined by the Guzerat Division. — Sir John Malcolm detached in pursuit of Holkar. — Negotiations for Peace. — Treaty executed. — Prosecution of Operations against the Pindaris. — Karim protected at Jawad. — Concentration of British Divisions on Jawad. — Movements of General Keir. — Cheetoo returns to the Nerbudda Valley. — Surprised by Major Heath. — Takes refuge in Bhopal. — Proposes to submit. — Refuses the Terms. — Again flies. — Karim's Durra surprised by Major Clarke. — Dispersed. — Many of the Leaders surrender. — Lands

granted them in Bhopal and Gorakhpur. — General Brown marches against Jawad. — Jeswant Rao Bhao surrenders. — Forts in Mewar recovered. — Troops under military Chiefs in Malwa dispersed. — Order restored in the Territories of Holkar. — Operations against the Peshwa. — General Smith marches to Purandhar. — Peshwa retreats towards the Sources of the Godaveri. — Joined by Trimbak.—General Smith cuts off his Flight to Malwa. — He falls back towards Poona. — Captain Staunton detached to reinforce the Troops at the Capital. —Falls in with the Peshwa's Army.—Brilliant Action at Koragam. — General Smith returns to Seroor. — Peshwa turns off to the East. — Pursued by the Reserve. — Joined by the Fourth Division. — Possession taken of Satara. — The Raja proclaimed.—Peshwa formally deposed.—Mahratta Forts reduced. — Smith resumes his Pursuit.—Overtakes the Peshwa at Ashti.— Cavalry Action at Ashti. — Mahratta Horse defeated. — Gokla killed. — The Raja of Satara rescued. — Baji Rao's Followers leave him.— The Southern Chiefs submit. — He flies to the North. — Hemmed in between the British Divisions.— Passes to the East to join the Raja of Nagpur at Chanda. — Chanda covered. — Baji Rao pressed by General Doveton. — Falls upon Colonel Adams. — His whole Force broken up.— He escapes. — Flies towards Burhanpur. — State of the Mahratta Territories. — Ceded Districts in charge of Colonel Munro. — His Operations. — Organizes a Local Militia. —Reduces the neighbouring districts. — Reinforced. — Captures Badami and Belgam. — Assumes command of the Reserve. — Wasota taken. — Raja of Satara formally installed. — General Munro marches against Sholapur. — The Peshwa's Infantry defeated and dispersed. — The Fort surrendered. — Operations in the Konkan. — Reduction of Raigerh. — Country between the Bhima and Krishna Rivers occupied.

WHILE the right and left wing of the Grand army, and the fifth division of the army of the Dekhin were employed in chasing the Pindaris from the line of the Chambal, and from western Malwa; the other divisions of the Dekhin army had engaged in hostilities with enemies of a different description. The return of the fourth divi-

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sion to Poona, has been described. The second was shortly afterwards recalled to Nagpur. The first and third divisions which we left at Ujayin, were speedily involved in a conflict with the army of the Holkar state, which was encamped in their vicinity. It will, therefore, be necessary to offer an account of the transactions at those two places.

For some time after the accession of Apa Saheb to the throne of Nagpur, he was profuse in his expressions of gratitude to the allies, through whose support, chiefly, he had succeeded to an authority which, although undoubtedly his by right of affinity, would have been disputed by an adverse and powerful faction, if he had been left to his unassisted resources. Well aware that this was the case, he expressed, and probably felt, for a time, sincere devotion to the British alliance. He soon changed his tone. The conditions of the treaty were somewhat severe, and the amount of the subsidy exceeded a due proportion of the revenues of the country. The charge of the contingent was an addition to a burthen already too weighty for the state, and the Raja had some grounds for complaining of the costliness of his new friends.[1] There was no disinclination to disregard his representations on this head; and it was in contemplation to dispense with part of the contingent, and reduce the amount of the subsidy, or provide for it by territorial cessions. The impatience and folly of Apa Saheb precluded an amicable adjustment.

The propensity to intrigue, so strikingly characteristic of the Mahrattas, existed in all its national activity in the Raja of Nagpur; and, although the stipulations of the treaty which he had so recently signed, restricted him from holding communications with other princes, except with the privity and sanction of the Resident, he was speedily involved in a web of secret negotiation with Sindhia, the Peshwa, and even with the Pindaris. The first rupture with Baji Rao, and the treaty of Poona which followed, struck him with alarm, and he endeavoured to retrieve the error he had committed by the most solemn

[1] The whole charge of the subsidy and contingent, amounted to between twenty and thirty lakhs a year, and were more than one-third of the whole revenue.

assurances, the truth of which he invoked the manes of his father and his household gods to attest, of his unshaken fidelity to his engagements, his affection for the person of the Resident, and his fervent attachment to the British Government. Some steps were taken to prove his veracity by the formation of the contingent; but they were transient and delusive, and Apa Saheb soon reverted to a course of treachery which could not fail to terminate in his own destruction.

In proportion as the state of affairs at Poona hastened towards a crisis, the connexion with the Raja of Nagpur assumed a more uneasy character. The Ministers who had negotiated the subsidiary treaty were disgraced: others known to be unfriendly to the British interests were appointed: troops were levied upon the pretext of completing the stipulated contingent, but in violation of the conditions of the treaty, no information respecting their numbers and composition was imparted to the Resident. The communications with Poona were more frequent than ever, and, as the hostile purposes of the Peshwa were now thoroughly ascertained, any intercourse with him was necessarily to be considered as evidence of equally inimical designs. At last, as if to proclaim his allegiance to the reputed head of the Mahratta confederacy, in defiance of his relations with the British, the Raja accepted from the Peshwa the title of Senapati, or commander-in-chief, and a dress of honour with which he was publicly invested on the 24th of November, after the attack upon the British Residency at Poona, on the 5th, was known to have taken place. The ceremony was performed with due honour, in the presence of the Raja's army, which was encamped on the west side of the city. On this occasion, the Raja hoisted the Zeri Patka, the golden banner of the Mahratta empire. As if intending to add mockery to defiance, the Raja invited the Resident to be present, or to depute some officer of his staff, and requested that a salute might be fired by the troops of the subsidiary force, declaring that he saw no reason why the ceremony should disturb the good understanding that subsisted between him and his allies, and affirming that he had no thought of giving them offence. To the last moment he protested that he was most anxious to pre-

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serve the friendship of the Resident, and was fully prepared to conform to the pleasure of the British Government in all things, hoping that some relaxation of the conditions of the treaty might be admitted in his favour. These proceedings had not passed without meeting with the earnest remonstrances of the Resident, and his announcement of their inevitable consequences. All personal intercourse ceased between him and the court: on the other hand, the communication between the Residency and the city was interdicted, and finally, on the morning of the 26th of November, armed men were stationed opposite to the British lines, and guns pointed against them. Still, however, messages were sent to the Resident proposing terms on which a reconciliation might yet take place, but they were justly regarded as delusive, and the Raja was told that unless he returned into the city immediately, and discontinued his military operations without delay, no negotiations could be entertained. These preliminary conditions being disregarded, the Resident, Mr. Jenkins, prepared to encounter an attack, which he had some days past been induced to believe was contemplated, and which was now evidently on the eve of perpetration.

The greater part of the Berar subsidiary force had already taken the field, and there remained within reach a detachment which had been posted at Ramtek, about three miles distant, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of two battalions of Madras Sipahis, the first of the 20th, and first of the 24th regiments of Native infantry; a detachment of European foot and of Native horse artillery, and three troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry. These, upon the Resident's requisition, marched on the 25th, to the Residency grounds, and were there joined by the escort, consisting of about four hundred men, with two guns, two companies of Bengal infantry, and a few troopers of the Madras horse. On the morning of the 26th, they were placed in position on the Sitabaldi hills.

The houses and grounds occupied by the Resident and his suite were situated beyond the city of Nagpur, on the west. They were separated from the suburbs of Nagpur by the Sitabaldi hills, a low range of limited extent, running north and south, and consisting of two elevations at

either extremity, about four hundred yards apart, connected by a lower ridge, across which lay the public road. The two highest points had an elevation of not more than a hundred feet, and were of different form and extent. The southernmost, which was the larger of the two, was level; its widest extent on the summit was about two hundred and eighty yards from east to west. It was covered with tombs. The smaller hill, at the northern extremity, was conical and narrow at the summit, being about one hundred feet long, by not more than seventeen broad. The slope of both hills was easy of ascent, except in a few places where they had been scarped for quarries. Close along the western base of the whole range extended the Residency; the huts of the escort being situated at the foot of the northern elevation. The several houses and offices occupied the remainder, looking west over a spacious plain. On the other three sides, along the base of the hills, were native huts and houses irregularly disposed. East of them extended the city, and beyond the city, spread the Mahratta camp, stretching round from the east to the south, about three miles from Sitabaldi.

In the disposition made by Lieutenant-Colonel Scott of his small force, the lesser hill was occupied by the 1st battalion of the 24th, with two six-pounders drawn up on its northern declivity. The 1st of the 20th, with one company of the 24th, were posted on the larger eminence, facing east and south. One hundred men of the escort defended its western side, and the rest were stationed to guard the Residency dwellings, which had been fitted for defence as well as time and means allowed. The three troops of cavalry, with the small party of the Madras body guard, were formed on the plain in front of the Residency. The whole force was about one thousand three hundred strong. The numbers of the Mahrattas were computed at twelve thousand horse, and eight thousand foot, the latter including three thousand Arabs.[1]

During the forenoon of the 26th, notwithstanding the receipt of pacific messages from the Raja, large masses of cavalry were seen spreading themselves along the plain to the west of the Residency, while on the side of the city, infantry and guns were taking up positions menacing the

[1] Papers, Mahratta war, 135.

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hills. Towards sunset, Mr. Jenkins was visited by two of the Raja's ministers, Narayan Pundit, and Narayanji Nagria; the latter was one of the principal of the war faction; the former was friendly to the British. To them the Resident repeated his demands that all hostile preparations should be countermanded as a preliminary to any negotiations; but, before he could ascertain the object of their coming, or the extent of their powers, the firing had commenced, and he repaired to the scene of action. Narayanji returned to the Raja: his colleague preferred sharing the fortunes of the Resident.

The abrupt termination of this unproductive mission originated with the Arab mercenaries in the service of Nagpur, who opened a smart fire of musketry upon the eastern face of the southern hill; it was presently followed by a similar attack upon the northern extremity of the ridge, the enemy firing under cover of the huts and the quarries along the skirts of the hill. Their fire was replied to with spirit, and a conflict commenced which continued throughout the night. The principal efforts of the enemy were directed against the smaller hill on the right, and they made repeated attempts to carry the post. These were as resolutely repulsed, but not without loss. The officer commanding, Captain Sadler, was killed, and the 24th had suffered so severely, that about one o'clock it was considered advisable to withdraw the battalion to the right of the position, replacing it by part of the 20th, and the escort under Captain Lloyd, who endeavoured to strengthen his post by a slight breast-work of grain bags on the summit of the hill to which it became necessary to limit the defence: the Arabs increasing in number and in confidence along the acclivity, although repeatedly driven down by the charges of the detachment. The firing was maintained thoughout the night upon both extremities of the line, but with less effect upon the right, as the men were there sheltered by the greater extent of the summit, and by the tomb-stones on its surface.

During the night, the whole of the Mahratta army which had hitherto taken no part in the engagement, moved out into the plain, and as they extended in a semi-circle round the south and west, were distinctly discernible by the light of the moon, the illumination afforded by the

firing on either side, and the conflagration of the Arab huts: at dawn of the 27th they occupied the plain in dark, dense masses of horse, interspersed with considerable bodies of infantry, and a numerous artillery. They abstained, however, from any serious demonstration against the Residency, and were contented to remain spectators of the action, which still continued along the hills, where appearances began to assume an aspect most unfavourable to the British. By seven in the morning, nine pieces of artillery were brought to bear upon the northern eminence, to which the detachment could make no effective return from the two guns in their possession. Between nine and ten, one of them was disabled and withdrawn to the rear, which the Arabs observing, they rushed impetuously up the hill, and in spite of their resistance, drove the defenders from the summit. Guns were immediately brought up and directed against the right of the British line, which thus laid bare to a flank cannonade from a rather superior elevation, suffered severely, and officers and men fell fast before the enemy's fire. Some of the Arabs crossed the hill and set the huts of the escort at its western base on fire, while others, boldly advancing along the ridge, planted their standards within seventy or eighty yards of the southern elevation. The enemy in the plain were, also, in movement; the masses were closing round the rear of the position, and their guns had begun to take effect upon the cavalry stationed in the Residency grounds. The prospect was gloomy, when the day was redeemed by a well-timed and gallant exploit. Being galled by the enemy's fire, Captain Fitzgerald, in disregard of the orders which had commanded him to stand firm,[1] resolved to make a dash against the horse and guns most in advance, and with his three troops of Bengal cavalry, and twenty-five men of the Madras body-guard, he rushed upon the foremost mass of the enemy's horse. The charge was irresistible, the unwieldy column was repeatedly penetrated and broken, and entirely dispersed. Their guns were seized and directed against the fugitives, and before the enemy had recovered from their surprise, Captain Fitzgerald with his trophies

[1] This circumstance is not noticed by Mr. Prinsep; nor in the account ascribed to Colonel Lloyd. It is particularly specified by Colonel Fitzclarence, 121, and by Colonel Blacker, 113.

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was again at his post.[1] This sally turned the tide of affairs. It had been witnessed from the hill, and gave fresh courage to the Sipahis. Charging the Arabs, they compelled them to fall back to the left. At this instant, a tumbril on the northern hill exploded, and taking advantage of the confusion which it occasioned, the Sipahis pressed forward and recovered the position, dislodging the Arabs from the summit, and driving them not only down the slope, but from the suburbs at its foot. They attempted to rally, but were taken in flank by a troop of cavalry which had charged round the northern extremity of the line, and completed the expulsion of the assailants from its eastern front. By noon they were, likewise, driven from their advance upon the southern hill, with the loss of two guns; and no longer venturing to approach the British line, confined their efforts to a distant, and comparatively harmless cannonade. Even this ceased by three o'clock, and the struggle ended in the unexpected triumph of the British detachment.[2] They had not purchased it without loss. One-fourth of their number was killed or wounded, including seventeen officers.[3] Nor were the casualties confined to the military. The imminence of the peril had enlisted the Resident and his civil staff in the ranks, and while they had shewn themselves by their firm bearing, and steady courage, worthy companions of their military

[1] The movement is somewhat differently described by different writers. Mr. Prinsep says, "Captain Fitzgerald led his troops across a dry nulla bounding the Residency grounds, and as some thirty or forty troopers had passed it, led them against the enemy, who retired as he pushed forward, until having passed to some distance beyond the guns, and seeing that the Mahrattas were making a demonstration of surrounding his small party, he commanded a halt. In the mean time, the rest of the cavalry had crossed the nulla and followed the advance, but had judiciously stopped short on reaching the abandoned guns, which were immediately turned upon the Mahrattas, who were kept back by their fire. These guns the cavalry took with them, firing as they retreated." Sir William Lloyd's account is that "Captain Fitzgerald charged with the cavalry under his command, while Lieutenant Henrsay with half a troop, made a dash at two of the guns. Both attacks succeeded." The account given in the text, is derived from Colonels Blacker and Fitzclarence, and Colonel Scott's official report to the Commander-in-Chief. The critical opportuneness of the charge is acknowledged by Colonel Scott in the orders of the day, and in a letter from the Resident, it is stated that "the charge at the critical moment at which it happened, may be said to have decided the fate of the battle."

[2] The above particulars are derived from the official report, Mahratta Papers, 133. Prinsep's narrative, 2, 66. Colonel Blacker's Mahratta war, 109. Colonel Fitzclarence's Journey Overland, 115; and a description from the notes of Sir Wm. Lloyd, published in the Oriental Herald, September and November, 1838.

[3] One hundred and seventeen were killed, and two hundred add forty-three wounded. The officers killed, were Lieutenant Clarke, 1st battalion 20th; Captain Sadler and Lieutenant Grant, 1st battalion 24th.

brethren in the hour of danger, they had been exposed to similar casualties. A medical officer was among the killed, and the civil service had to regret the death of Mr. George Sotheby, the first assistant to the Resident, a gentleman of eminent ability, and lofty promise, who had taken part in the action with distinguished gallantry, and was killed by a cannon shot from the smaller hill, after it had fallen into the hands of the Arabs. Nothing less than the inflexible resolution, and calm valour displayed in this brilliant affair by all present, could have saved them from the sword of an infuriated and barbarous foe, and their families, who tremblingly awaited the event in the adjacent dwellings, from death or dishonour. The victory achieved against such desperate odds, held out to the princes of India an additional lesson on the futility of opposing numbers and physical daring, to disciplined valour, and moral intrepidity.[1]

As soon as the action was decided, Apa Saheb despatched a messenger to Mr. Jenkins to express his concern for the occurrence, declaring that his troops had acted without his sanction or knowledge, and that he was desirous of renewing his amicable intercourse with his old friends. As little credit could be attached to these assertions, the Raja was told that the final decision now rested with the Governor-General, and that no communication could be permitted as long as the troops of Nagpur were in the field. The condition was acceded to, and on the evening of the 27th the army of the Raja retired to the position beyond the city, which it had formerly occupied. The Resident consented, in consequence, to the Raja's request for a suspension of hostilities, an arrangement equally required by the exhausted state of the British detachment, and recommended by the opportunity which it afforded

[1] The highest commendations were deservedly bestowed upon the troops, by the authorities in India and in England, but it was not until her present Majesty's accession, that any national honours were bestowed upon the survivors. The order of the Bath was then conferred upon Sir Richard Jenkins and Sir William Lloyd. An appropriate and interesting requital of their valour, was granted to the 24th Madras infantry. This regiment had formerly held the place in the Madras army of the 1st regiment, of which the first battalion was concerned in the Vellore mutiny, and the corps was consequently erased from the muster-roll. On this occasion a petition was presented by the native Adjutant, on behalf of the native officers and privates, praying that in lieu of any other recompense for their conduct, the regiment might be restored to its former number, and might resume its former regimental facings. It is scarcely necessary to say that the request was complied with.

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for the arrival of the reinforcements for which the Resident had applied as soon as it appeared likely that a conflict was inevitable. Accordingly, Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, who had reached Baitul, on his way to Nagpur, on the 26th, accelerated his advance, and arrived on the afternoon of the 29th, with three more troops of the 6th Bengal cavalry, and six companies of the 1st battalion of the 22nd Bengal infantry; being followed by the rest of the battalion. On the 5th of December Major Pitman joined with a detachment of the Nizam's infantry and reformed horse, and on the 12th and 13th, the whole of the second division of the Dekhin army, commanded by Brigadier-General Doveton, encamped at Sitabaldi. The strength of the force now enabled the Resident to dictate to the Raja the only terms by which the past might be atoned for.

The example or the orders of the Raja of Nagpur, had extended the spirit of hostility into other parts of his dominions, and his officers were everywhere assembling troops and menacing warlike operations. In the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, and in Gondwana, their proceedings assumed so formidable a character, that the British officers in command of small detachments thought it prudent to concentrate their force. Major Richards, commanding at Jabalpur, accordingly fell back to Gerhwara, where Major Macmorine was posted, and both retired to Hosainabad, where on the 20th of December, they united with Major Macpherson, resigning the valley to the east to the occupation of the enemy. As soon, however, as the state of affairs at Nagpur was known to the Governor-General, he directed Brigadier General Hardyman, who had hitherto held a defensive position in Rewa to march to the Nerbudda at once, and there regulate his movements by the advices which he should receive from the Resident. General Hardyman marched immediately, and leaving a battalion of the 2nd Native infantry at Belhari, pushed forward with the 8th regiment of Native cavalry, and the 17th regiment of Europeans, with four guns. He arrived at Jabalpur on the 19th of December, and found the Mahratta Subahdar prepared to receive him near that town, at the head of one thousand horse and two thousand foot. The force was strongly

posted, having a rocky eminence on the right, and a large tank with the town of Jabalpur on the left. The horse formed the right, the foot with four guns, the left of the line; General Hardyman placed his guns in the centre of his infantry, and formed a reserve of his cavalry, with the exception of two squadrons which were detached into the enemy's rear to intercept his retreat. After a short cannonade, a squadron of the 8th Native cavalry charged the Mahratta left, broke it, and captured the guns. The horse fled, but the foot retired in good order up the hill. They were charged by another squadron of the 8th, but stood their ground until the left wing of the 17th ascended the acclivity. They then dispersed and suffered severely in their flight. A threat of bombarding the town and fort, led to their surrender; and General Hardyman, pursuing his route, crossed the Nerbudda on the 21st. Proceeding towards the south, he was met on the 25th by a message from Mr. Jenkins, dispensing with his further advance, and recommending to his care the upper part of the Nerbudda valley. He, therefore, returned to Jabalpur, and there established his head-quarters.

As soon as the troops of General Doveton's division had recovered from the fatigue of their long and expeditious march, preparations were made for an attack upon the Nagpur army, which continued encamped on the opposite side of the city. Apa Saheb had been previously apprised of the conditions, on his assent to which the permanence of his authority depended. He had been required to acknowledge that by his treacherous conduct he had forfeited his crown, and that the preservation of his sovereignty depended upon the forbearance of his allies; to disband his army, and deliver up his ordnance and military stores; to cede Nagpur to the temporary occupation of the British, as a pledge of his sincerity; and to repair in person to the Residency, and there take up his abode until matters should be finally arranged. Upon his compliance with these requisitions, he was told that he would be restored to the exercise of his authority, with no further diminution of his territory than such as might be necessary for the maintenance of the contingent force which he was bound by treaty to furnish. His assent to these propositions was to be sent in by four o'clock on

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the morning of the 16th of December, and by seven of the same day his troops were to be withdrawn, and the city given up to a British garrison. The Raja was to come in during the day, either before or after the execution of the terms. His refusal, or his neglect to fulfil these stipulations, would expose him to be treated as an enemy. To enforce these demands, the troops were drawn up in order of battle on the evening of the 15th, and slept all night on their arms. Late on that day Apa Saheb announced his acquiescence, but solicited a longer delay; and, on the following morning, it was affirmed, that the Arabs in his army would not suffer him to quit the camp. These excuses were held to be equivalent to a determination to hazard an engagement, and arrangements were made accordingly.

The army was arrayed in the plain to the south of Nagpur. The cavalry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Gahan, formed on the right. The rest of the line consisted of three brigades of infantry, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonels Macleod, M'Kellar, and Scott. A reserve brigade of infantry, under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, was stationed in the rear, as was the principal battery, under Lieutenant-Colonel Crosdill, ready to be brought forward if needed. The 20th and 24th Madras native infantry, and the Berar auxiliaries, under Major Pitman, remained in charge of the baggage. Before the troops advanced, the Resident sent word to the Raja, that he was still willing to receive him, and granted him the interval until nine o'clock to come over. Accordingly, Apa Saheb, attended by three of his ministers, Ramchandra Wagh, Nagu Punt, and Jeswant Rao Bhao, rode into the lines. Protesting his readiness to accede to whatever conditions the Resident should impose, he endeavoured to protract the period for the surrender of his ordnance and the withdrawal of his troops. Finding that no relaxation could be permitted, he sent back Ramchandra Wagh to carry the terms into effect by noon. At the appointed hour the British force moved forward: an advanced battery of fourteen guns was taken possession of without resistance; but when the line approached the Raja's main body, it was saluted with a heavy fire of musketry and cannon. The infantry immediately pushed on, while the

cavalry and horse artillery, passing along the rear to the right, came in front of the enemy's left battery, supported by a strong body of both horse and foot. The battery was promptly carried. The troops were charged and dispersed. Continuing the pursuit, the cavalry came upon a second battery and carried it, but were threatened by a superior number of the enemy's horse. These were broken by the fire of the horse artillery, and the pursuit was continued for three miles, when the cavalry halted for the infantry to join, who had, in the meantime, charged and routed the right and centre of the Mahrattas, and captured their artillery. By half-past one the enemy had disappeared, leaving the camp standing, and forty-one pieces of ordnance on the field, and twenty more in a neighbouring depôt. The British encamped in the bed of the Naga rivulet fronting the city.

The disregard apparently shown to the orders of the the Raja might have been preconcerted; but it not improbably arose from the headstrong wilfulness of individual leaders, and was characteristic of the relaxation of authority which prevailed generally in the Mahratta armies. The incidents that followed exhibited the same feature in a still more prominent light. The Arab mercenaries, heedless of all considerations of public welfare, and determined to secure advantageous stipulations for themselves, exposed the capital of their retainer to almost certain destruction. Being joined by a body of Hindustanis, so as to form a force of about five thousand men, they threw themselves into the palace which formed a kind of citadel within the walls of the town, and occupied the approaches to it that lay through narrow streets, between well-built houses, from the flat tops and loopholes of which a murderous fire could be maintained, with little risk of loss to the defenders. It was found necessary, therefore, to proceed deliberately against the refractory soldiery, and clear away the obstacles which barred access to their principal defence. To do this promptly was impracticable, as the battering train attached to the second division had been left behind at Akola, on the advance to Nagpur. It was now ordered forward; but, in the meantime, batteries were formed with the guns in camp, and between the 19th and 22nd of

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December, regular approaches were carried along the lateral embankments of a large piece of water, the Jama Talao, which was situated between Nagpur and the Sitabaldi hills, until they reached the transverse bank, parallel with the city wall. Trenches were then dug, and the opposite gateway, with a part of the wall on either side, was soon laid in ruins. The walls of the palace were about two hundred and fifty yards distant, and it was considered practicable to form a lodgment at this point from whence they might be breached, with which view, a party, consisting of one company of the Royal Scots, and four of the 22nd Bombay native infantry, with sappers and miners, was ordered against the gateway, while two different assaults were made in other quarters, to distract the attention of the garrison. The subordinate attacks succeeded, but that on the principal gateway failed, the column encountering a raking fire from the Arabs under cover of the houses on either hand, which inflicted heavy loss, and could not be effectively met. The troops, therefore, hesitated to follow their officers, one of whom, Lieut. Bell[1] of the Royals, was killed in the breach. The assailants were recalled, and it was resolved to await the arrival of the heavy artillery. The necessity of this delay was obviated, however, by the repetition of proposals from the Arabs to capitulate; and as much loss had been already suffered, and little progress could be made until the arrival of the battering train, it was deemed prudent to get rid of them by granting the conditions which they had originally demanded: security for their persons, property, and families, a gratuity of fifty thousand rupees in addition to their arrears of pay, and a safe conduct to Malkapur, where they were to be disbanded, and allowed to go whither they pleased, upon an engagement not to enter the fort of Asirgerh.[2] After plundering the palace, and committing various excesses, the Arabs marched out of Nagpur, which was occupied by a detachment under Colonel Scott; some of them went off to Hyderabad, but

[1] The total loss was ninety killed and one hundred and seventy-four wounded.

[2] Colonel Blacker considers the engineer blamable for the failure of the storm. He is the authority also for the Arabs having their own terms. Lord Hastings and Mr. Prinsep do not specify the fact, nor is it mentioned in the Resident's or General Doveton's despatches.—Papers, Mahratta war, 133, 176.

the larger number found their way to Kandesh, where they enlisted with the enemies of the British in that quarter. During the operations against the city, the principal body of the Nagpur horse, which had fled to Warigam, was surprised by a detachment under Major Munt, and put to the rout.

As soon as information of the attack upon the Residency reached the Governor-General, he had resolved not to leave Apa Saheb even nominally at the head of the government of Nagpur, nor did he change his decision upon learning that the Raja had given himself up, but reiterated his orders for Apa Saheb's deposal, unless the Resident should have entered into engagements with him implying the non-enforcement of that condition. His Lordship's instructions having been delayed by the difficulty of communication, Mr. Jenkins had, in the meantime, guaranteed to the Raja the continuance of his rank, influenced by the hope that the danger he had incurred, and the lenity he had experienced, might deter him from future practices adverse to the interests of his allies, and hazardous to himself; and by the conviction that the stipulations to which he had assented were sufficient to deprive him of the power of doing mischief, and to place upon a sound and durable basis the objects of the alliance. When made aware of the Governor-General's reluctance to the restoration of the Raja, it was too late to follow his policy, and it was not the purpose of the Marquis of Hastings to annul any part of the arrangements to which the faith of the Resident had been plighted; but as the treaty with the Raja had not been definitively agreed upon, Mr. Jenkins offered to him, as the condition of his preserving his power, a provisional engagement, subject to the approbation of the Governor-General, to the following effect:—The Raja was required to cede his territories to the northward of the Nerbudda, as well as certain districts on the southern bank, and all his rights in Berar, Sirguja, Gawil-gerh, and Jaspur, in lieu of the former subsidy and contingent; to consent that the affairs of his government should be conducted by Ministers in the confidence of the British Government, and conformably to the advice of the Resident; to reside in Nagpur under the protection of British troops; to pay up the arrears of subsidy; to give up any

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forts which the Resident might require to be occupied by British troops; to dismiss from his service, and to apprehend, if possible, the persons whom he represented as resisting his orders, and deliver them to British officers; and to transfer to the British authorities the Sitabaldi hills, with ground adjacent, sufficient for a Bazar, to be fortified at the pleasure of the British Government.[1] The Raja gave his consent to these demands, and resumed his throne on the 9th of January. Such, however, was his infatuation, that his conduct very soon justified the extreme measures which the Governor-General had originally enjoined, and he ceased to hold a place among the princes of India. Before, however, pursuing his fortunes, it will be advisable to revert to those of his confederates, Holkar and the Peshwa.

The conduct of the persons by whom the affairs of Holkar were administered, had long been characterised by a vacillating and insincere policy, arising from conflicting interests and feelings. In the first instance, the leading individuals had readily entered into the projects of the Peshwa; and the Government, in a fresh engagement concerted with Sindhia, had, as we have noticed, recognised in the first article the obligation to serve and obey that prince, as the bond of the mutual faith of the contracting parties. Envoys from the Peshwa were received with honour in the course of 1815 and 1816, and a persuasion was entertained that it would be practicable to form a general confederacy against the English, which should curb their ambition and curtail their power. Yet, although the national prepossessions of the Bai and her confidential ministers, Tantia Jog, and Ganpat Rao, inclined them to make common cause with the Peshwa, they were far from confident of the result, and a Vakil was sent to the British Resident at Delhi, to assure him of the friendly dispositions of the court. Up to the latest moment these assurances were repeated to Captain Tod, the political agent at Kota, and to Sir J. Malcolm, and even after the arrival of Sir T. Hislop, at Ujayin, accredited agents were sent into his camp, vested, as they affirmed, with full powers to

[1] Letter from the Marquis of Hastings.—Secret Committee, 21st Aug. 1826. —Papers, Mahratta war, 423.

negotiate a treaty.[1] Terms similar to those which had been concluded with Sindhia, were proposed, and the Vakils returned with them to the Bai, who, with her favourite, Ganpat Rao, would now have gladly accepted any conditions that should extricate them from the violence with which they were surrounded, and solicited an asylum with the British force. This was readily promised, but, although the parties were no doubt sincere, it was not easy for them to avail themselves of the desired protection. The military commanders, particularly Roshan Beg, who was at the head of the disciplined brigades, and Ram Din, who commanded the Mahratta horse, knowing that the immediate consequences of a pacification with the British would be the disbanding of their licentious soldiery, and the annihilation of their power, and encouraged by the receipt of considerable sums from the Peshwa, and by promises of more, had perseveringly urged recourse to hostilities, and had compelled the Bai to sanction the movement of the Holkar troops towards the south, which had brought them into the proximity of the British divisions. Aware of the negociations that had been commenced, and of the disposition which prevailed in the court to conclude an accommodation, these men determined, not only to interrupt, but effectually to counteract the pacific projects of the Bai and her ministers. Motives of personal dislike instigated other influential members of the administration to favour the execution of the plot, and on the 19th of December, Ganpat Rao and Tulasi Bai were seized, and separated from the person of the young prince: the former was imprisoned: a strict guard was placed over the tent of the Bai, and at dawn of the following morning she was carried to the banks of the Sipra, where her head was severed from her body, and the body was thrown into the river. Tulasi Bai was a woman of low extraction, the supposed daughter of a mendicant priest; her beauty had introduced her to the notice of Mulhar Rao, over whom she acquired an entire command, and established an authority in his court, which secured her during his insanity, and after his death, the charge of the

[1] In a letter of the 17th Dec. he mentions, "Since the united division moved to this place, within fourteen miles of the camp, a more definite negotiation has been opened; Vakils have been sent to the camp, and the substance of a treaty has been proposed."

regency. She was not thirty when she was murdered. She was a woman of engaging manners, persuasive eloquence, and quick intelligence; but she was profligate, vindictive, and cruel, and excited the fears and contempt of those with whom she was connected in the administration of the government. Her death was little heeded, and still less lamented. The military commanders, the principal of whom were Ghafur Khan, the confederate and representative of Amir Khan, Roshan Beg, commanding the infantry, Sudder-ud-din, and Ram Din, commanding the cavalry, bound themselves by an oath of fidelity to each other, and professing to act under the orders of the young Mulhar Rao Holkar, prepared with great gallantry and some skill to encounter the British army.

Sir Thomas Hislop marched before daybreak of the 21st of December, from his encampment at Hernia, and following the right bank of the Sipra river, came in sight of the enemy about nine; a large body of their horse on the same side of the river had attempted to retard the advance, and harass the flanks of the army, but their main force was on the opposite side, the right resting on a rugged and difficult ravine, the left on a bend of the river, opposite to the town of Mahidpur. They were drawn up in two lines, with a range of batteries, mounting seventy guns in their front. The horse, which had crossed the Sipra, were soon driven back, and retreated to the main body forming in its rear. The troops then moved to the river, where a single ford was found available. The banks of the river were lofty, but under the further one was a spit of sand, on which the troops might form under shelter from the enemy's fire; and near at hand opened the mouth of a ravine, by which they could ascend under cover to the top of the bank. Batteries were erected on the right bank, to protect their passage. In this manner, the river was crossed without much loss, but as soon as the heads of the columns emerged from the ravine, a heavy cannonade was opened upon them, from which they suffered severely, With unflinching steadiness, however, they took up their position, and, as soon as they were formed, the first and light brigades, commanded by Sir J. Malcolm,[1] pushed forward against the enemy's left, whilst

[1] Malcolm.—Central India, i. 316.

the cavalry, supported by the second brigade, attacked the right. Both attacks were successful. The troops advanced in front of a well-sustained fire, and carried the guns, on which the enemy's infantry on either flank broke and fled. The centre stood firm, until the second brigade wheeled upon them, when finding themselves assailed on both flanks, they also dispersed. The fugitives were briskly pursued. In the pursuit, the cavalry came upon the camp, which was deserted, but found themselves exposed to the fire of a battery lower down the river, where the enemy seemed disposed to rally in a position difficult of approach, from the ravines into which the ground was broken. The object of the renewed resistance was, however, merely to give time for the passage of their troops across the river, and as soon as the infantry came up, the enemy hastily resumed their retreat. The pursuit was continued until dark, when the troops were re-assembled and encamped on the field of battle.

The victory was not achieved without loss. Of the British, nearly eight hundred were killed and wounded, including three European and twenty-seven Native officers.[1] Three thousand of the enemy were reported to be killed and wounded. Young Holkar, after the action, was carried off to Allote; he had been present in the action, seated on an elephant, and is said to have exhibited no marks of apprehension, but to have shed tears when he saw his troops retreat from the field. Ganpat Rao and Tantia Jog, who, during the action had escaped from their guards, joined the Raja, and the latter received the office of minister from Kesaria Bai, the mother of the young prince, who was acknowledged as Regent.

Although prostrated by the action of Mahidpur, the court of Holkar retained for a short period its hostile attitude, and it was necessary to detach a division of the army, under Sir J. Malcolm, to disperse the enemy's troops which still kept the field. The division moved on the 26th of December, and, after several marches, overtook the baggage and the cattle of the enemy, at Mandiswar, on the 31st. The main body of the army, under Sir

[1] The European Officers killed, were Lieutenant Macleod, Royal Scots; Lieutenant Coleman, Madras European regiment; and Lieutenant Glen, 1st battalion, 3rd regiment N. I.

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Thomas Hislop, followed on the 27th, and amidst very heavy rain, reached Taul on the Chambal on the 30th, where it was joined by the division from Guzerat, under Sir W. G. Keir. This force had marched from Baroda, on the 4th of December, on the high road to Ujayin, and had reached Dawad on the 13th, when it was recalled to the vicinity of Baroda, by the positive orders of the Bombay Government, who, on hearing of the attack on the British Residency at Poona, became alarmed lest the Gaekwar should imitate the Peshwa's example. It would have been rather extraordinary if the ruler of Guzerat had coalesced with a prince who had always been his inveterate foe, and whose participation in the murder of his minister, was in part the occasion of the existing hostilities; but the Gaekwar was a Mahratta, who shared in the national veneration for the office of the Peshwa, and in the sympathy felt for his humiliation, and these apprehensions of the Bombay Government were not altogether without foundation. The amount of the danger likely to arise from the Gaekwar's possible treachery, seems, however, to have been exaggerated; and the abrupt recall of General Keir's division was condemned by the Governor-General as unnecessary and ill-advised. The orders had been subsequently so far qualified, that their execution was made conditional upon the decision of the Resident, and as he did not consider the danger to be imminent, he authorised the division to march to its original destination, and it had proceeded accordingly to Malwa, where it fell in with the army of the Dekhin. The whole force then marched to Mandiswar, where it again united with the detachment under Sir John Malcolm.

Previous to the concentration of the British army, overtures of peace had been made by Holkar's ministers to Sir J. Malcolm, and preliminaries had been adjusted. Tantia Jog himself, had repaired, in consequence, to the British camp, and on the 6th of January, a definitive treaty was concluded. The principal terms of this engagement were the confirmation of the stipulations entered into with Amir Khan, and the relinquishment of all claims to the territories which had been guaranteed to him and to his heirs; the cession to the Raj Rana of Kota, of various districts rented by him of the Holkar state; the renunci-

ation of all right to territories within and north of the Bundi hills; and the cession to the British Government of all claims and territories within and south of the Sathpura hills, and in Kandesh, with all claims of tribute and revenue from the Rajput princes. It was also provided that Ghafur Khan, who had advocated pacific negotiations, and had kept his troops aloof from the battle of Mahidpur, should retain the lands held on the tenure of military service as a hereditary fief, on condition of his furnishing a stipulated force for the Raja's service. In return, Holkar was released from all dependency on the Peshwa, and was guaranteed in his dominions by the British Government, on whose part a Resident was appointed at the Raja's court, and by whom a field force was to be maintained, and stationed at pleasure in the Raja's territories.[1] He was thus, virtually, in the position of a prince bound by a subsidiary alliance, and deprived of all independent sovereignty. Such was the fate of a martial dynasty which had once been dreaded throughout Hindustan; which had at one time threatened the supremacy of the Peshwa, and had intimidated even the British Government in the moment of victory into a discreditable course of conciliatory policy, the abandonment of its advantages, and the desertion of its allies.

The defeat of Holkar's army completed the series of events, in the course of which all the Mahratta princes, with the exception of Sindhia, had blindly rushed into toils of their own weaving, and had, in a singular manner, converted anticipated contingencies into realities—their possible combination with the Pindaris into actual war against the British—and thus had fully justified the precautionary policy of the Governor-General. Little more was to be feared from any efforts they might make. Holkar was an ally dependent for his existence upon his late enemies, and the Raja of Nagpur was in an equally helpless predicament. The Peshwa was still at large, but no longer formidable; and the British Government was left free to prosecute to a conclusion the main objects of its arming, — the suppression of the predatory system, and the complete annihilation of the scattered remnants of the Pindari associations.

[1] Papers, Mahratta war.—Collection of Treaties, p. 86.

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The first operations of the British divisions had succeeded, as we have seen, in driving the Pindaris from their haunts along the Nerbudda, and had forced them to fly to the north and west, in the hope of penetrating either to Gwalior or to Mewar. They were frustrated in both designs by the intervention of the British forces, and had been roughly handled. They still, however, continued in some force on the line of the upper course of the Chambal, and, by the rapidity of their movements, for a while continued to elude pursuit. Their activity served only to delay, for a brief interval, the hour of their extinction, which it was now determined to prosecute with renewed vigour. Hitherto the different divisions had been retarded in their movements by the heavy artillery, which had been necessarily attached to them, while the enemies whom they might have to encounter were uncertain; but the diminished probability of requiring heavy ordnance in the field, enabled the brigades to dispense, in a great measure, with their guns, and to move with greater lightness and rapidity.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, reduced in number, exhausted by fatigue, and dispirited by defeat, had been arrayed with the battalions of Roshan Beg, at the battle of Mahidpur. The arrangements which were subsequently made with the government of the young prince, compelled their separation, and the Pindaris moved to the westward, towards Jawad, where Jeswant Rao Bhao, who had previously afforded Cheetoo and his followers an asylum, extended his protection to the other chiefs. At the same time, General Donkin was at the Ghynta Ghat, on the Chambal, just above the afflux of the Sindh, and General Adams at Gangraur, on the Kali Sindh. General Marshall had been recalled to Bairsia, detaching part of his division to rejoin the centre of the grand army, from which the Marquis of Hastings had detached General Brown in advance, to act against the Pindaris. The detachment consisted of two regiments of native cavalry, four regiments of irregular horse, a dromedary corps, one troop of gallopers, a battalion of native infantry, and a company of pioneers.[1] General Brown followed a line passing between the divisions of Generals

[1] Blacker, 195.

Donkin and Adams, and on the 5th of January was at Soneir, where he was in communication on his left with General Adams, and on his right with the Resident at Kota.

The retreat of the Pindaris towards Jawad being ascertained, the several detachments moved upon that place as the centre of their operations. On the north, General Donkin moved westward, so as to shut up all the passes which led from the narrow tract within which the Pindaris were now confined, and arrived at Sanganer on the 8th of January, where he halted for three days, in order to receive intelligence of the movements of the other divisions.

As soon as the submission of Holkar was tendered to Sir Thomas Hislop, and the direction taken by the Pindari Chief, Cheetoo, was ascertained, Sir W. G. Keir, with the Guzerat division, was detached in pursuit. He was preceded by Captain Grant, who, with three troops of native cavalry, fifteen hundred Mysore horse, and a weak battalion of infantry, had been sent to follow Karim Khan. As he advanced to the north-west, the Pindaris fled before him, and upon his arrival at Jawad, the chief, Jeswant Rao, was so far intimidated as to compel the parties of both Karim and Cheetoo to leave the immediate neighbourhood of his fort. No positive information of their movements could be obtained, as the inhabitants were friendly to them; and Captain Grant was therefore obliged to halt in the position which he had taken up. Sir W. Keir had turned off to the left, from the direct road to Jawad, in hope of surprising a body of Pindaris at Dhera; but they fled at his approach, leaving five guns and some baggage on the ground.

The advance of Captain Grant's detachment had driven the united durras of Cheetoo and Karim to the northward, and they were heard of by General Donkin at Dhaneta, in the neighbourhood of Chitore. Thither Colonel Gardner, with his irregular horse, was directed to proceed, but on his arrival learned that the Pindaris had again turned back to the south, and that the principal body, under Cheetoo, had moved towards the frontiers of Guzerat. while the durras of Karim and Wasil Mohammed had gone towards Malwa. Major-General Donkin, therefore

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recalled his parties, and resumed his defence of the northern line, shifting his head-quarters from Sanganer to Shahpura.

Sir W. Keir, having ascertained the intended direction of Cheetoo, pursued his course also to the westward, and was at Bhinder on the 12th of January, where the nature of the country precluding a forward movement, he retraced his march to Pertabgerh. On his route he learnt that a number of Pindaris were collected at the village of Mandapi, under the protection of Fazil Khan, a dependant of Jeswant Rao Bhao, who, like his superior, gave covert encouragement to the freebooters, and allowed his village to become a rallying point for fugitives from all the durras; disclaiming, nevertheless, all connexion with Karim, and having, through his chief, obtained from Captain Caulfield, the British agent, letters of protection. Sir W. Keir, having formed a detachment of four squadrons of the 17th dragoons, and eight hundred infantry, moved against Fazil Khan, and pushed on with the dragoons to surround the villages, until the infantry could come up. As soon as the cavalry appeared, the Pindaris rushed out in various directions, and endeavoured to escape, but they were pursued by the horse, and nearly a hundred were cut up. The infantry arrived; the village was occupied, and the fort was about to be attacked, when a nephew of Fazil Khan appeared and produced his letters of protection. They saved the place from pillage; and such articles as had been taken were restored to the inhabitants, although they were, in part at least, the spoils of the fugitives.

The main body of Cheetoo's force, after experiencing much distress from the unproductiveness of the country, and the hostility of the Bhil inhabitants of the mountains and thickets with which it was covered, and foiled in their attempts to reach the Guzerat frontier, by the measures adopted for its security, and by the activity with which they were driven from one post to another, endeavoured to reseek once more their original haunts on the upper part of the Nerbudda. By taking a circuitous route, they evaded the pursuit of the British detachments. Crossing the territories of Holkar to the eastward, Cheetoo reached Unchode, and on the 24th of January ascended the Ghat to Kanode, but twenty-two miles north-west

from Hindia on the Nerbudda, where Major Heath was stationed. Intelligence of the arrival of the Pindaris having reached him at 1 P.M., he formed a detachment of European and native infantry, and a party of irregular horse, about eight hundred strong in all, and marched without delay against the marauders. He came upon their camp at eight in the evening; the darkness prevented his inflicting much mischief, but his movements had the effect of completely dispersing them, with the loss of their elephants and camels, and many of their horses. Cheetoo fled up the Ghats, and again assembled some of his scattered followers, but he was heard of by General Adams, and was once more obliged to take to flight by the approach of a detachment under Captain Roberts. After this, he wandered about Malwa for some time, until finding his situation desperate, he suddenly made his appearance in the camp of the Nawab of Bhopal, and, through his intercession, attempted to make terms with the British Government, demanding to be taken into its service with a body of his followers, and a Jagir for their maintenance. Finding that he had nothing to expect beyond personal immunity, and a provision for his support in some part of Hindustan, he again became a wanderer, and, eluding all pursuit, made his way into Kandesh and the Dekhin, where he united himself with some of the disorganised bands of the Peshwa's routed army, and shared in their ultimate dispersion. Although his principal leaders had surrendered, and most of his followers had quitted him, he still disdained the conditions on which he might have purchased repose and safety; and in the rainy season of 1818, joined Apa Saheb, the Raja of Berar, with whom we shall, at present, leave him.

The durras of Karim Khan and Wasil Mohammed, after leaving Jawad, retraced their course to Malwa, which they entered in three bodies, more effectually to distract the attention of the British divisions, and avoid their collision. The most considerable of the three, led by Namdar Khan, the nephew of Karim, passed round by Nimach, and, crossing the Chambal, marched past Gangraur, where Colonel Adams was encamped, to Kotri, on the Kali Sindh, where they seemed to have considered themselves in safety. Accurate information of their progress was brought to

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Colonel Adams, and he despatched Major Clarke, with the fifth cavalry, to surprise them. The detachment came in sight of the bivouac of the Pindaris about an hour before dawn, and as there appeared to be no stir indicating any dread of his approach, Major Clarke halted, until daylight should enable him to make his onset with more precision. As soon as the day broke, he divided his detachment, and ordering Lieutenant Kennedy to make a direct attack with three troops, he led the rest to a point where he might better intercept the fugitives. The manœuvre was attended with complete success. The Pindaris, taken by surprise, attempted to escape from their assailants, and fell upon the party stationed to stop their flight. The pursuit was maintained for twenty miles, and of the whole body, estimated at one thousand five hundred men, not more than five hundred escaped.

Although the principal party was thus destroyed, there still remained the other two bodies which had passed to the southward of Gangraur, and to which the wreck of the defeated portion united themselves. They were not allowed to gather strength. Colonel Adams, satisfied that the district of Mewar was now cleared of them, confined his attention to those in Malwa, and following them up without intermission for nine days consecutively, drove them to the confines of Bhopal. Finding themselves thus hard pressed, the body finally disbanded, and Namdar Khan delivered himself up, with eighty-seven followers, to Colonel Adams, at Deorajpur, on the 3rd of February. Karim Khan, who had been concealed at Jawad until the 30th of January, and had subsequently wandered from village to village, surrendered himself to Sir John Malcolm on the 15th of February. His eldest son, and other Sirdars of his durra, gave themselves up soon afterwards through Zalim Sing of Kota. Kadir Buksh, of the Holkar Shahi Pindaris, delivered himself to Sir John Malcolm. Wasil Mohammed contrived to find his way to Gwalior, and threw himself on the protection of Sindhia, but was given up at the demand of the British Government. Many others put themselves into the hands of the Nawab of Bhopal. The terms that had been offered to the chiefs were, the removal of themselves and families to Hin

dustan,[1] where they were promised grants of land for their support, and in the interval a pecuniary provision. Karim Khan, Kadir Buksh, Rajan, and Wasil Mohammed were accordingly, with their families and followers, sent to Gorakhpur, where the two former were gradually transmuted into peaceable and industrious farmers.[2] Wasil Mohammed, restless and discontented, attempted to escape from the surveillance to which he was subjected, and being prevented from effecting his purpose by the vigilance of the police, took poison and perished. Namdar Khan, who had never led a predatory gang into the Company's possessions, and for whose good conduct the Nawab of Bhopal became responsible, was allowed to settle in Bhopal. The fate of Cheetoo will be subsequently noticed. Of their respective followers, great numbers had been destroyed by the troops,—still more by the villagers in some parts of the country, and by the Bhils and Gonds; still greater havoc was made among them by fatigue, exposure, and famine. That so many should still have adhered to their leaders, amidst all the hardships and dangers which they underwent, is a singular proof of that fidelity to their leaders, which characterises the natives of India; as nothing could have been more easy than for a Pindari to have deserted his captain, and become identified with the peasantry. The tenacity with which some of their principal leaders clung to the life of a wanderer and a plunderer, preferring privation, peril, and death, to the ease and security of tranquil social existence, exhibited also that impatience of control, that love of independence, which is the general attribute of half-civilised and martial people. It has been remarked as extraordinary, that in many parts of the country, and particularly in Harawati, the villagers were disinclined to give any information that might lead to the discovery and destruction of a Pindari band; but the inhabitants of

[1] Their great fear was being sent to Europe, by which, however, it was found they meant Calcutta.

[2] Karim's land was calculated to produce sixteen thousand rupees a year, his family and followers amounted to six hundred persons. Kadir Buksh's followers were about one hundred and twenty; his lands were of the value of four thousand rupees per annum: a few years after his establishment, he experienced some of the miseries he had been wont to inflict: in 1822, his house was attacked by a gang of Dekoits, from Oude; four of his people were killed, and many wounded, and much of his property was carried off.

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those countries had never suffered any greater injury from the Pindaris than from the other component members of the Mahratta army,—they considered rapine inherent in the system,—had often taken part in it themselves, and looked with sympathy and admiration upon the hardships and hazards which their countrymen and fellow-plunderers underwent. The state of society in Central India was similar to that of Europe in the early part of the middle ages, when robbers, and outlaws, free companions and banditti, were objects of less terror than the more powerful and equally rapacious baron,—the more necessitous and equally unscrupulous monarch.

Simultaneously, and in connection with the pursuit of the Pindaris, the forces on the north of the Nerbudda, were engaged in various military operations which require to be noticed. The conduct of Jeswant Rao Bhao, in the protection which he had given to the Pindari leaders,[1] was justly regarded by Lord Hastings to be incompatible with the alliance which subsisted with his liege lord, Sindhia, and as it was satisfactorily established, that, although the main body of the freebooters had withdrawn from Jawad on the approach of Captain Grant's detachment, yet a number of them, with some of the chiefs, had been secretly sheltered by him, he was denounced as a public enemy, and General Brown, whose advance to Suneir has been mentioned, was ordered to proceed against him. Before the receipt of these instructions, General Brown had marched towards Jawad, when Captain Caulfield, who had been despatched to act with Jeswant Rao's contingent, under the treaty of Gwalior, having found all expostulation unavailing, withdrew to the British camp. At his suggestion, a squadron of cavalry was sent round the town to occupy the road by which the Pindaris might escape. On their march they were fired at, both from the town and from an encampment of

[1] Besides the Pindaris who were driven out of the village of Fazil Khan, and those of inferior rank who were sheltered in his forts and villages, Jeswant Rao gave open countenance to Bhikhu Sayed, a Sirdar who led the incursion into Gantur in 1815, and permitted him to pitch his tents within a short distance of that of Captain Caulfield, the British political agent. It was afterwards discovered, also, that Karim Khan, who had been unable through indisposition to accompany his Durra, was secreted in the town of Jawad at the time of its occupation. Jeswant Rao's protection was not altogether gratuitous: he received, it was stated, a hundred rupees for every Pindari to whom he gave an asylum.—MS. Rec.

Jeswant Rao's forces on the south of the town, on which General Brown immediately ordered out his whole line for an assault upon the Mahratta posts. The third cavalry and horse artillery having joined the advanced squadron, the whole, under Captain Newbery, attacked and carried the camp, whence the detachment had been fired upon. Captain Ridge with the fourth cavalry, and a party of Rohilla horse, was sent against a second and still stronger encampment, formed of two regular battalions, besides horse and six guns, on the north of the town. The detachment, disregarding the fire, galloped into the camp, charged and cut up the battalions and captured the guns; while General Brown caused the gates of the town to be blown open, and carried the place by storm. Jeswant Rao escaped with a few followers, and took shelter in Komalner. He shortly afterwards surrendered that fortress to General Donkin, and gave himself up to Sir J. Malcolm in the middle of February. Jawad and Nimach, two of Sindhia's perganas held by him in Jagir, were occupied for a season, but were finally restored to Sindhia. The forts in the Mewar territory, Ramnagar, Raipur, and Komalner, the latter, one of the strongest hill forts in India, which Jeswant had unwarrantably wrested from Udaypur, were taken in the course of a few weeks by General Donkin's division, and were given back to the Rana. The whole of the country along the confines of Harawati and Mewar was thus cleared of enemies of any note.

The restoration of order in the territories subject to Holkar was an object to which the attention of General Brown was next directed. Shortly after the battle of Mahidpur, Roshan Beg, and other leaders of the mercenary brigades, retired with the remnants of their battalions to Rampura. Intelligence of their position reached General Brown on his arrival at Piplia, about twenty miles from Rampura, and he moved against them with the third cavalry, the dromedary corps, and two companies of infantry. No serious opposition was encountered; most of the refractory troops had already dispersed, leaving about four hundred foot and two hundred horse, who fled to a neighbouring hill, where they were overtaken, and lost about two hundred of their number; one of their leaders was captured, the others fled and found safety in ob-

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security. The only body of troops that remained in force consisted of the Paga, or household horse, under the command of Ram Din who, finding all attempts to raise an insurrection in the vicinity of Indore, where he had held authority, frustrated by the activity of Sir J. Malcolm, moved off to the Dekhin and joined the Peshwa. Bhima Bai, the daughter of Jeswant Rao Holkar, who had collected a body of troops in the neighbourhood of Dhar, surrendered herself to Sir Wm. Keir on the 10th of February, and was conducted to Rampura.

Whilst the great objects of the policy of Lord Hastings were thus attained, through the conduct of the commanders, and gallantry of the troops engaged in their prosecution, in Central Hindustan, no less judgment and activity were displayed on the occasions which called for the exertion of those qualities in the Dekhin, for the final eradication of the authority of the Peshwa. The once formidable prince who bore that appellation, continued throughout the same period to remain in arms, although a fugitive, and to keep alive the spirit of resistance in a portion of the Mahratta country.

Upon the retreat of Baji Rao from Poona to Purandhar, he was followed thither by General Smith, as soon as the arrangements for the security of the capital were completed. The march of the division was incessantly harassed by the Mahratta horse, which hung upon its flank and rear, threatening to cut off its baggage and intercept its supplies. On its approach, the Peshwa moved to Satara, whence he carried off the person of the descendant of Sivaji and his family, and continued his route to Poosasaoli, where he arrived on the 29th of November, 1817. Here his flight to the southward was arrested by the fear of falling upon the reserve under General Pritzler, which was moving in a northerly direction to meet him, and he turned aside to the east to Punderpur, whence he retraced his steps, and again moved northward towards the sources of the Godaveri river; on the road he was joined by Trimbak, with reinforcements from Kandesh. The fourth division followed him closely, arriving at Pundarpur on the second day after Baji Rao had quitted it; and thence continuing its march so as to deter him from making any attempt upon Poona, as he passed it on his northern

route. General Smith keeping the same track arrived at Seroor, the cantonments of the subsidiary force, on the 17th of December, and there, dropping the heavy guns which had somewhat delayed his progress, resumed his pursuit on the 22nd; and having ascertained that during the halt at Seroor, the Peshwa had loitered on his route, he made a circuit to the eastward with such expedition and secrecy, as to place his force on the line of the Peshwa's retreat, cutting him off in that direction from Malwa. Thus prevented by the superior activity of his pursuers from penetrating into Malwa, where he hoped that his presence would encourage Sindhia and Holkar to exert themselves in his favour, Baji Rao attempted to profit by the opening which the distance of General Smith afforded, and recover possession of Poona. He arrived at Watúr on the 28th, and on the 30th was at Chakan, within eighteen miles of the capital, a movement which led to one of the most brilliant actions which distinguished the campaign.

The approach of the Peshwa towards Poona, induced Captain Burr, who had been left for the defence of the city, with three native battalions and a body of irregular horse, to call for a reinforcement from Seroor, in consequence of which Captain Staunton was despatched with the 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment of Bombay N.I. six hundred strong, two guns, and twenty-six European artillerymen, under Lieutenant Chisholm of the Madras artillery, and a detachment of about three hundred and fifty reformed horse, under Lieutenant Swanston.

The detachment left Seroor on the 31st of December, at six in the evening, and by ten on the following morning, had ascended some high ground about half way to Poona, overlooking the village of Korigaon, and the adjacent plain watered by the Bhima river. Beyond the river appeared the whole of the Peshwa's forces, estimated at twenty thousand horse, and nearly eight thousand foot. Captain Staunton immediately determined to throw himself into Korigaon, which being surrounded by a wall, and protected on the south by the bed of the river, offered shelter against the Mahratta cavalry, and might enable him to resist any force of infantry that could be brought against him. As soon as his movement was descried, his

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intention was anticipated by the enemy, and a numerous body of their infantry, chiefly Arabs, pushed for the same point; both parties reached the place nearly at the same time, and each occupied a part of the village, the British the northern and western, the Arabs the southern and eastern portions. The Arabs obtained possession of a small fort which gave them the advantage, but good positions were secured for the guns, one commanding the principal street, the other the banks of the river. By noon the preparations of both parties were complete, and a desperate and seemingly hopeless struggle ensued. The first efforts of the British were directed to dislodge the enemy from that portion of the village which they had seized, but their superior numbers enabled them to repel the several vigorous assaults made for that purpose, and Captain Staunton was obliged to confine his objects to the defence of his own position. The Arab infantry became in their turn the assailants, and while some maintained a galling fire from the fort and the terraced roofs of the houses, others rushed along the passages between the walls surrounding them, leading to the British posts, with desperate resolution. They were torn to pieces by the discharge from the guns, which were served with equal rapidity and precision, or they were encountered and driven back at the point of the bayonet by the equal resolution of the defenders. In these actions, the few officers commanding the troops were necessarily exposed to more than ordinary hazard. They were eight in number, including two assistant surgeons, who were more usefully employed in encouraging the soldiers, than in attendance on the wounded, and who shared with their brother officers the perils and honours of the day. In addition to the dangers and toils of the engagement, the men were much distresssd by want of food and water, and by the fatigues of their previous march. Towards evening the situation of the party became critical; Lieutenant Chisholm, of the artillery, was killed; many of the artillerymen were killed or disabled. Lieutenants Pattinson, Conellan, and Swanston, and Assistant Surgeon Wingate had been wounded, and Captain Staunton, with Lieutenant Innes, and Assistant Surgeon Wylie, were the only officers remaining effective. At this time, one of the guns was

captured, and the enemy penetrated to a Choultry, a building for travellers, in which many of the wounded had been deposited. The ferocity of the assailants vented itself upon the helpless men who were thus within their reach, and many of them were barbarously slain. Amongst them, Mr. Wingate was cut to pieces, and Lieutenants Swanston and Conellan were about to share the same fate, when the surviving officers, at the head of a party of their men, charged into the Choultry, bayoneted every one of the enemy who was found within it, and put those without to flight. The gun was recovered by a sally, headed by Lieutenant Pattinson, although at the time mortally wounded. A second wound disabled him, but his example had been nobly followed, and the Arabs were driven back with great slaughter.[1] Notwithstanding their success, the loss had been so great, and the exhaustion of the troops was so excessive, that some of the men, both Europeans and natives, began to consider resistance hopeless, and expressed a desire to apply for terms of surrender. Their commanding officer, however, convinced them that their only hope of safety lay in a protracted defence, and that to surrender would doom them to certain destruction from barbarous foes, exasperated by the loss which they had suffered. This exhortation animated the troops to persevere, and the Arabs, disheartened by the ill-success of their repeated assaults, intermitted their exertions, and about nine, drew off, leaving the entire village in possession of the detachment. During the night water was procured, and arrangements were made for a renewal of the defence; but the Peshwa learning that General Smith was approaching, considered further delay unsafe, and at day-light of the 2nd of January, his whole force was in motion along the Poona road. Not being aware of the advance of the fourth division, Captain Staunton thought

[1] This incident is narrated by Captain Grant. Lieutenant Pattinson, who was a very powerful man, being six feet seven inches in height, lying mortally wounded, having been shot through the body, no sooner heard that the gun was taken, than getting up, he called to the Grenadiers once more to follow him, and seizing a musket by the muzzle, he rushed into the middle of the Arabs, striking them down right and left, until a second ball completely disabled him; Lieutenant Pattinson had been nobly seconded; the Sepoys thus led were irresistible, the gun was re-taken, and the dead Arabs literally lying above each other, proved how desperately it had been defended.—Mahratta Hist. 3, 435.

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it advisable to march back to Seroor. The enemy attempted to entice him to cross the river into the more open country, by sending fictitious messages from Poona, urging him to hasten his march in that direction, and he pretended to entertain the purpose of complying with the request. Towards nightfall, however, having procured conveyance for his wounded, he set off for Seroor, which he entered on the following morning, with both his guns and all his wounded, with drums beating and colours flying: thus having set a memorable example of what is possible to a resolute spirit, and of the wisdom of resistance in the most desperate circumstances. Surrender to Asiatic troops, ignorant of the laws of civilized warfare, is as likely to be fatal as ultimate defeat. It may not preserve life, although it must incur dishonour. Of Captain Staunton's small force, two officers were killed and three wounded, as above named, and of the latter, Lieutenant Pattinson subsequently died of his wounds. Of the twenty-six artillery-men, twelve were killed, and eight wounded; of the native battalion, fifty men were killed, and one hundred and three wounded; and of the auxiliary horse, ninety-six were killed, wounded, and missing. Captain Staunton received the thanks of the Governor-General for his gallant conduct, and a public monument was erected on the spot in honour of those who fell.[1]

On the day after the action of Korigaon, General Smith, who had learned at Chakan the situation of Captain Staunton's detachment, hastened to his rescue. Finding that he had fallen back to Seroor, he proceeded thither himself, and after one day's halt, resumed the pursuit of the Peshwa. In the mean time, Baji Rao had found his southward flight again obstructed by the advance of the reserve division, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, which had crossed the Krishna early in December, and after being delayed some days at Bijapur, in order to secure the safe junction of supplies, had reached the Salpi Ghat by the 8th of January, and ascending the pass, came upon the Peshwa's rear, who had crossed the head of the column, and keeping to the left bank of the Krishna, con-

[1] For the particulars of the battle of Korigaon, see Papers, Mahratta war, 180, 221. Grant Duff, 3, 434. Blacker's Memoir, 179. Bishop Heber describes the monument.

tinued his flight to the vicinity of Merich. He was followed closely by the reserve, and on the 17th a smart action took place between the cavalry of the division, and a large body of horse, under Gokla, who interfered, as was his practice, to give the Peshwa time to escape. The Mahrattas showed themselves in two divisions, which were successively charged and dispersed by Major Doveton, with a squadron of dragoons, and two of native cavalry: a third body intercepted his return to the camp, but this, also, was resolutely charged and broken, and the whole then drew off. The pursuit was again continued, until it was ascertained that the Peshwa had been forced upon the track of the fourth division. The reserve then halted for two days, after having marched twenty-five days without cessation. The proximity of General Smith once more threw the Peshwa on a southern route; his presence brought the fourth division into communication with the reserve, and both corps were united near Satara, on the 8th of February. The fort was summoned, and surrendered without resistance on the following day, when the flag of the Raja was hoisted on the fort, and a proclamation was issued, announcing to the Mahratta nation the deposal of Baji Rao, and that the Company intended to take possession of his territories, establishing the Raja of Satara in a principality for the maintenance of his rank and dignity, and of that of his court.[1]

After the occupation of the Fortress of Satara, it was determined to continue the pursuit of the Peshwa with the cavalry and a light division[2] only, leaving the guns and the rest of the infantry to reduce at leisure the various strongholds in the southern Mahratta districts. Divisions for the same purpose were directed upon Ahmednagar and to the Konkan. Their objects were effected with little opposition. In the course of March, ten forts, including two of great strength, Singgerh and Purandhar were reduced. Ahmednagar, and the country between the Pheira and Bhima rivers, were occupied by Colonel Deacon, with a detachment which was at first stationed in

[1] Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone.—Papers, Mahratta war, 245.

[2] Consisting of the horse artillery, 2 squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, 2nd and 7th regiments Madras cavalry, one thousand two hundred Poona auxiliary horse, and two thousand five hundred infantry.

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Kandesh, to guard the province against an inroad of the Pindaris, and subsequently to intercept the Peshwa's flight to the north. The forts in the Konkan, were carried by a small force fitted out from Bombay, under Colonel Prother. Brigadier-General Munro, overran the country as far south as the Malparba. Little remained to the Peshwa except the ground on which he was encamped.

Immediately after the occupation of Sattara, General Smith had marched with the detachment he had organised for the pursuit towards Pundrapur and Sholapur, where the Peshwa had delayed and had levied contributions. From thence, Baji Rao resumed his flight, at first towards the west, but turned suddenly to the north and reached Ashti on the 18th of February. Accurate information was gained of his movements, and early on the 20th, General Smith came in sight of the Mahratta army as they were preparing to march. The tents were struck, the baggage was loaded, and the men had just taken their morning meal, when the alarm was given. Baji Rao, who had throughout displayed great want of personal courage, mounted his horse and fled with the greatest celerity. Gokla, with between eight and ten thousand horse, stood firm, in the hope of covering his flight and the retreat of the baggage. The Mahratta cavalry were divided into several masses, which made a demonstration of supporting each other, and they were separated from their pursuers by a deep Nulla or water course. The British cavalry advanced in three columns. The two squadrons of His Majesty's dragoons in the centre; the 7th Madras cavalry on the right, and the 2nd on the left. The Bombay horse artillery were on the right flank, and the galloper guns on the left, both a little retired. The ground over which they had to march was much broken, and intersected by small water courses running from the hills to the main stream. The formation of the line was consequently retarded, and the centre and right columns were separated from the left. Taking advantage of their disjunction, Gokla anticipated the attack. A strong division of Mahratta horse, led by himself, darted across the nulla, and charging obliquely across the ground from the left to the right, his men firing their matchlocks as they passed, turned the right of the 7th Native cavalry, and rode round

to the rear of the line. There with their long lances in rest they threatened the flank of the dragoons, but Major Dawes,[1] their commanding officer, immediately threw back the right troop, and wheeling the left into line met charge with charge. A confused fight ensued, in which General Smith received a sabre cut, and the gallant commander of the Mahrattas, Gokla, fell covered with wounds. His fall, and that of some other Sirdars of note, disheartened the enemy. The 7th cavalry having recovered from their disorder, and coming again into action, supported by a squadron of the 2nd, completed the enemy's defeat. They fled in utter confusion to the left, in which direction the main body had retreated, pursued by the second cavalry: after following the fugitives for about five miles the pursuit was discontinued. The whole of the camp equipage and a number of camels, elephants, and palankeens, laden with valuable property, among which were the images of the Peshwa's household gods, were captured. A more important prize was the person of the Raja of Satara, whom the Peshwa had hitherto detained, and who, with his mother and brothers, gladly placed himself under British protection. But the consequence most fatal to the Peshwa, was the loss of the chieftain, who, with exemplary loyalty and intrepid valour, had hitherto directed and defended his flight.[2] This officer had been long known to the English: he had succeeded chiefly through their influence to the rank and command held by his uncle, who was Governor of the Carnatic, and was killed in the course of the hostilities with Dhundia Wagh. At the time of the treaty of Bassein, Bapu Gokla commanded on the Peshwa's frontier, and joined the British forces under Colonel Wellesley, on his march to Poona;[3] he afterwards served in the campaign, and was recommended for his military services by the British commander to the favour of the Peshwa's Government. He had been frequently indebted to the interposition of the Resident, for the preservation both of his possessions and his life, when he had incurred the displeasure of the Peshwa. Upon his reconciliation with

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[1] Prinsep has Davies.

[2] See Duff, Mahratta History, iii. 443.

[3] Wellington Despatches, vol. i., January to April, 1803. Grant Duff's Mahrattas, vol. iii. 47, 193.

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Baji Rao and his restoration to favour, he became the implacable enemy of the English, and the chief instigator of Baji Rao in the warlike policy which he finally adopted. He does not seem to have been actuated by any sinister motives, nor by any personal aversion to his former friends and patrons, and may be entitled to credit for a patriotic feeling. He had vehemently opposed the treaty of Poona, and advocated the more honourable alternative of an appeal to arms, and he may have hoped that a vigorous resistance would eventually secure for the Peshwa terms less inglorious than a tame and prompt submission. The counsel he had given he vindicated by his own exertions, and was spared the pain of witnessing, and possibly of sharing his master's degradation.

The defeat at Ashti was quickly succeeded by the total ruin of the affairs of the Peshwa in the southern portion of the Mahratta states, the chiefs of which, with few exceptions, hastened to proffer their allegiance to the British authorities, or to the Raja of Satara. Many of his followers also despairing of success, and worn out by the fatigues and terrors of incessant flight, detached themselves from his person, and returned quietly to their homes. With the remainder, much reduced in number and lowered in spirit, Baji Rao fled northwards, hoping to be able to pass through Kandesh into Malwa; but when he had forded the Godaveri, he found in his front the main body and detachments of the first division of the army of the Dekhin, which had crossed the Tapti on its return southwards in the beginning of March. After making some forward movements to facilitate a junction with Ram Din, and the horse of Holkar's routed army, and to call in the garrisons of such forts as could not be maintained, he again fell back to the south-east, but was stopped by the second division, under General Doveton. General Smith also advanced on the west from Seroor. There was still an opening to the eastward, and thither also the Peshwa was invited by secret communications from the Raja of Nagpur, who promised to meet him at Chanda with all the force that he could muster. The timely discovery of this plot prevented its execution. A detachment from Nagpur, under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott covered Chanda, while the main body of the Nagpur sub-

sidiary force, under Colonel Adams, marched to Hingan Ghat;—at the same time Baji Rao was closely pressed by the Poonah and Hyderabad divisions, which had been concentrated at Jalna, and proceeded thence in two parellel lines so as to intercept the Peshwa's entrance into Berar. After a few marches the Hyderabad force diverged to the north-east, towards the rough country that lies between the upper part of the courses of the Warda and Payin Ganga rivers, where they are separated by the ramifications of the Berar hills, which are covered with jungle, and difficult of access. After various long and fatiguing marches, Brigadier-General Doveton arrived at Pandukora on the 18th of April, and his approach compelled the Peshwa to make a precipitate retreat from Seoni, where he had been encamped. A simultaneous movement from Hingan Ghat towards Seoni had been made by Colonel Adams, and his division arrived at Pipal Kote shortly before daylight on the 10th. After a short halt to refresh the horses and men, the march was resumed. The troops had scarcely moved five miles on the road to Seoni, when the advance came in sight of the van of the Peshwa's army flying from General Doveton. Baji Rao, as usual, made off upon the first alarm; some of his cavalry attempted to cover his flight, but they were driven back by the fire of the horse artillery, supported by the fifth cavalry, and the whole of the Peshwa's force was wholly broken and scattered. The nature of the ground prevented their sustaining very severe loss, but the rout was complete. Baji Rao was attended by his personal guards, and Ram-Din carried off some of his horse towards Berhampur, but the greater part were dispersed in every direction, and never afterwards rejoined their leaders.[1]

The Peshwa fled on the first day to Mainli, thirty miles in a south-westerly direction, and continuing the same course, reached Amarkeir on the fourth. He was hotly pursued by General Doveton, with part of his force lightly equipped. On the 23rd of April, the division was within eight miles of Amarkeir; but the exhausted state both of

[1] Among the Sirdars who returned to their own country, were Madhu Rao Rastia, Apa Dhundheri, Baji Rao's father-in-law, and a cousin of Bapu Gokla; so many applications were made for leave to return, that the Resident issued a proclamation, declaring that those who returned quietly to their homes, should suffer no molestation.

men and horses, and the necessity of waiting for supplies, compelled a halt. The Peshwa's adherents had suffered still more severely from fatigue and privation, and had been able to leave Amarkeir only on the same morning on which General Doveton reached the neighbourhood. Their route was tracked by cattle, dead or dying on the road, and their numbers were daily thinned by desertion. From Amarkeir, Baji Rao fled northwards, towards Burhanpur, and his pursuers suspended their movements, General Doveton retiring towards the cantonments at Jalna, and General Smith towards Seroor: the former arrived at Jalna on the 10th of May, the latter at Seroor on the 16th. On the march, a light detachment, under Lieutenant-Colonel Cunningham, dispersed a body of infantry stationed at Dharúr; and the Poona auxiliary horse, under Captain Davies, came up with a party of Mahratta cavalry near Yellum, the leaders of which, Chimnaji Apa, the Peshwa's younger brother, and Apa Desay Nipankar, one of his best officers, gave themselves up without resistance. This terminated the operations against the Peshwa in the Dekhin. It will now be expedient to advert to other transactions in the same quarter, which took place during the movements that ended in his final expulsion.

As long as the Peshwa, at the head of a considerable force, continued to elude the pursuit of the British divisions, a strong feeling in his favour pervaded the Mahrattas, and many of the Jagirdars, remaining faithful to their allegiance, retained in his name the forts and districts entrusted to their keeping, and propagated a belief of his eventual restoration to power. It became necessary, therefore, to convince his adherents that the British Government was determined to admit of no adjustment with him, and to compel, by forcible means, where force was requisite, submission to the authority which was to be substituted, absolutely and for ever, for that of the Peshwa.

The southern extremity of the Poona territory, the districts of Darwar and Kusigal, bordering on Mysore, had been ceded to the British Government by the treaty of Poona, and had been placed under the civil administration of Colonel Munro. When the army of the Dekhin was organised, he was nominated to the command of the

reserve, but by a change of arrangements, the command had been transferred to Colonel Pritzler. It was again assigned to Colonel Munro; but as the division was in active service in communication with the fourth division, Colonel Munro refrained from interfering with its movements until a more convenient opportunity of taking charge of it should arrive, occupying himself, in the meanwhile, with the establishment of the British authority in the districts under his charge, and its extension to the neighbouring territory, which was still subject to the Peshwa, and was held for him by Kasi Rao Gokla, with a force of fifteen hundred horse, and eight hundred foot, besides about five thousand infantry in different garrisons.[1] Colonel Munro had but limited means at his disposal: his character compensated for the deficiency. He knew that the agricultural population were well affected towards him, and he had no hesitation in confiding to them the defence of the districts, or even in employing them to subjugate those of the Peshwa. Retaining in the pay of the Company the native Peons, or irregular militia, of the country, armed with spears and swords, or occasionally with matchlocks, and reinforcing them by similar Peons from Mysore and the Carnatic, he placed in their hands the forts hitherto occupied by the regular troops, and thus rendered the latter available for more active service. Being joined by Lieutenant-Colonel Newall, the Commandant of Darwar, Colonel Munro took the field with five companies of native infantry, belonging to the second battalions of the fourth and twelfth regiments; three troops of the fifth cavalry, subsequently joined by a party of Mysore horse, and a small battering train. With this force he proceeded to reduce the forts in the enemy's territory, and in the course of the month most of them had surrendered. Parties of Peons alone, under native military Amildars, established the British authority in the open country. Little vigour was shown in the opposition encountered. Kasi Rao, although he occasionally made his appearance at the head of his horse, ventured upon no serious conflict. His most vigorous attempt was upon an open village, which five hundred Peons had taken from his troops, and he was repulsed with the loss of

[1] Life of Sir Thomas Munro, i. 473.

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many of his men. Colonel Munro about the same time dispersed a body of Pindaris, who, in the beginning of January, eluding the pursuit of the British divisions, directed their course to the south, and committed some depredations; one of their parties entered the district of Harpanhali, but they were surprised and routed by the left wing of the fifth cavalry, and returned expeditiously to the north. The irruption, in some degree, deranged Colonel Munro's plans, as it induced the Madras Government to withhold the reinforcements with which it had been designed to furnish him, in order to guard the frontiers of Mysore; but the retreat of the Pindaris having removed all ground of apprehension, the troops were again ordered to the west, and Colonel Munro was reinforced by the 2nd battalion of the 9th N. I., and two squadrons of His Majesty's 22nd Dragoons.

In the beginning of February, Colonel Munro marched against Badami, beyond the Malparba river, a post consisting of fortified hills, with a walled town at their foot, having an inner fort, the whole being esteemed one of the strongest hill forts in India, and almost impregnable, if defended by a determined garrison. The division arrived before the place on the 12th of February, batteries were erected against the town walls without delay, and by the evening of the 17th, a practicable breach was effected. At dawn, on the following day, the town was stormed and carried, and the assailants following the fugitives to the upper forts, the garrison apprehending an escalade, called out for terms of capitulation. They were allowed to march out with their arms, and by ten o'clock, on the 18th, Badami was in the possession of the besiegers. Turning hence to the westward, Colonel Munro marched up the Ghatparba to Padshahpur, receiving the ready submission of different strongholds on his way, and establishing British functionaries for the management of the conquered country. The only place of any strength remaining to be subdued in this quarter was Belgam, south of Padshahpur, near the western Ghats. Colonel Munro commenced the siege on the 20th of March; the fort was strong and of great extent, the walls were massive and in perfect repair; a broad and deep ditch surrounded it, and the interior was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men. They

made a more obstinate defence than had yet been encountered, and the spirit of the besieged, with the imperfect means available to the besiegers, delayed the surrender of the fort until the 8th of April, when a sufficient breach in the curtain having been effected, the commandant capitulated. The reduction of Belgam completed the subjugation of the country about the sources of the Krishna, subject to the Peshwa; and the rulers of the adjacent districts, the southern Jagirdars readily gave in their adherence to the British Government, stipulating only not to be required to serve against the Peshwa. Matters being thus settled, Colonel Munro was at liberty to proceed to the northward, and to assume the command of the reserve which, under Brigadier-General Pritzler, had again separated from the fourth division, and had been employed since the latter part of March in reducing to obedience the country in the vicinity of Satara. The principal operation undertaken was the siege of Wasota, a fort situated on the summit of a lofty mountain in the western Ghats, part of a range accessible only by a few narrow and difficult passes. It was considered one of the strongest forts in the Mahratta territory, and had been selected therefore by the Peshwa as a depository of his treasures, and as the prison of the family of the Raja of Satara. Cornets Morrison and Hunter, who had been taken in the beginning of the war, were also prisoners in Wasota. The force arrived before the place on the 11th of March, and as the Killadar declared his purpose to hold out, it was at once invested. With great labour and difficulty batteries were erected on mountain points commanding the fort. A brisk bombardment was opened by the 5th of April, and on the following day the garrison surrendered unconditionally. The Raja of Satara was in the camp, and witnessed the operations. Having placed a garrison of Bombay N. I. in the fort, the division returned to Satara, where the Raja was formally installed in his principality by the British Commissioner. On the 12th, the reserve marched southwards to meet Colonel Munro, and joined his force on the 22nd at Nagar-Manawali; receiving on its route the submission of a great number of hill forts, the governors of which beheld in the elevation of the Raja of Satara the hopelessness of aid or reward from Baji Rao.

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Having concentrated and organized the force now under his orders, Brigadier-General Munro moved on the 26th of April towards the Bhima river, near which the Peshwa had left his infantry and his guns, on his flight towards the west in the middle of February. The Bhima was crossed on the 7th of May, and the Sena on the 8th, and on the 9th a position was taken up within two miles of the enemy's camp,[1] and the fortress reconnoitered; a summons to surrender on terms, having been answered by the unjustifiable murder of the native officer who had been sent to make the communication.

Sholapur was a town of considerable extent, enclosed by a strong mud wall with towers of masonry; on the south-west it was further protected by the fort, a parallelogram of ample area, built of substantial masonry, and defended on the south by a large tank, supplying a broad deep ditch, which circled entirely round the fort, separating it on the north and north-west from the town: the Peshwa's infantry, amounting to about six thousand foot, including one thousand two hundred Arabs, and eight hundred horse, and having fourteen guns, were posted on the west of the tank. The garrison of the fort was about one thousand strong.

At day-break of the 10th of May, two columns of attack, under the orders of Colonel Hewett, advanced to the walls of the town, and carried them by escalade. The attack was supported by a reserve, under General Pritzler; little resistance was made to the assault upon the town, and, except the part adjacent to the fort and exposed to its fire, the whole remained in the possession of the assailants, in spite of several attempts made for its recovery. During the assault, the Mahratta commander, Ganpat Rao, had moved round to the east side of the town, to take the attacking party in flank; but he was checked by the reserve, and upon one of his tumbrils exploding, the division led by General Munro in person, charged with the bayonet and drove him back to his original position, with the loss of three of his guns. Ganpat Rao was wounded, and the

[1] After this junction, Brigadier Munro's force consisted of the European flank battalion, four companies of rifles, the 4th regiment, the 2nd, 7th, 9th, and 2nd of 13th of the Madras N.I., the 1st of the 7th Bombay, two squadrons of his Majesty's 22nd dragoons, two companies of artillery, and four of Pioneers,—in all about four thousand strong.

next in command was killed by a cannon shot. Disheartened by this repulse, and the loss they had suffered, the Mahrattas began to retreat, leaving behind their artillery, and whatever might encumber their flight. As soon as their retreat was known, they were pursued by the dragoons, and a body of auxiliary horse, but such had been their expedition, that they had marched seven miles before they were overtaken. They made an irresolute stand, and were speedily and completely dispersed before night put an end to the pursuit on the banks of the Sena river. Nearly a thousand were left dead on the field, and the rest were so entirely disorganized, that for all military objects the force had ceased to exist. The fort held out but a short time after the discomfiture of the troops. Batteries were immediately erected against its southern face, in which a practicable breach was made in two days, when the garrison surrendered, upon the promise of security for themselves, and for private property. The reduction of Sholapur completed the subjugation of the southern districts, and the operations of the campaign were concluded by the cession of Manawali, by Apa Desai Nipankar, a Mahratta chieftain, who had followed the fortunes of Baji Rao, until his flight towards the Nerbudda. This chief had strongly fortified his residence, Nipani, but as he had submitted in time, he was allowed to retain a portion of his territory, subject to the usual feudal conditions under which he had held it of the Peshwa. After visiting him at Nipani, General Munro returned to Dewar and Hubli and the troops went into cantonments.

It has been already mentioned, that in the beginning of the war, a small detachment was formed at Bombay, for the purpose of occupying the Mahratta territory below the Ghats, in the Konkan, and keeping open the communication with Poona. This object being effected, the detachment, commanded by Colonel Prother, was reinforced,[1] and directed to extend its operations above the Ghats. Colonel Prother ascended the Bore Ghat, and on the 4th of March arrived before Logerh, a strong hill fort, near the

[1] The force consisted at first of about six hundred men, detachments of the 5th and 9th regiments of N.I., and a few European foot and horse. It was afterwards reinforced by two companies of the 2nd of the 4th N.I., and about three hundred and seventy of his Majesty's 89th regiment sent round from Madras.

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road from Bombay to Poona: no resistance was met with; the garrison of the fort, as well as that of Isagerh, in its vicinity, capitulated as soon as preparations were made for an assault. Several other fortresses were given up with the same promptitude. At Koari, a hill fort, twenty miles south of the Bore Ghat, and situated at the summit of the Ghats, it was necessary to erect batteries, the fire from which, causing an explosion of the enemy's magazine, compelled them in the course of two days to surrender. Intimidated by this event, the garrisons of other forts surrendered them at once, and the division returned to the low country belonging to the Peshwa, between the Ghats and the sea coast.

Before Colonel Prother's ascent of the mountains, operations were successfully commenced with the reduction of a number of petty forts below the Ghats, and along the sea-coast, by smaller detachments, under Colonels Kennedy and Imlach, with the occasional assistance of parties from the cruizers off Fort Victoria, and a detachment of H.M.'s 89th, which, on its way to Bankut, had been, by stress of weather, obliged to put into Malwan. Little remained to be accomplished for the entire subjugation of this part of the Konkan, when Colonel Prother, returning from above the Ghats, laid siege to Raigerh, a stronghold to which the Peshwa, in the belief that it was impregnable, had sent his wife, Varanasi Bai, and a valuable treasure. It was garrisoned by one thousand men, of whom many were Arabs. All impediments to the approach having been surmounted, the Petta, or town of Raigerh, was occupied on the 24th of April, by a party of European and native troops, under Major Hall. Much difficulty was experienced from the ruggedness of the ground, in bringing up the mortars and howitzers, with which to bombard the place, but the object was attained, and shells were thrown into the fortress with great effect. A safe conduct was offered to the Bai, to enable her to leave the fort, but the communication was suppressed by the officers of the garrison, who appeared determined to make a resolute resistance. On the 7th of May, however, a shell set fire to the residence of the Bai, and she is said to have prevailed upon the troops to surrender. Terms were accordingly demanded, and the garrison marched out, preserving their

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private property and arms. Varanasi Bai was permitted to retire with her attendants to Poona, from whence she was afterwards escorted to join her husband in captivity. Raigerh is celebrated in Mahratta history as the early seat of Sivaji's successful insurrection against Mohammedan oppression; and at the time of its capture, boasted possession of his palace and his tomb. Previous neglect, and the recent bombardment, had left scanty vestiges of either. The near approach of the monsoon compelled the return of the troops to cantonments, although several forts, of minor importance, were still held by the Mahrattas. They were ultimately given up, and the Konkan became a British province.

Quitting the sea-coast, and returning to the eastward of the Ghats, we find that a supplemental division had been originally despatched under Colonel Deacon, from Hurda, to occupy Kandesh, upon the recall of General Smith to Poona.[1] The detachment took up its station at Akola, on the 28th of December; but, in the course of two days, was ordered to move to the south, to counteract the Peshwa's advance in that direction, and disperse his adherents. The whole of January was occupied in the discharge of this duty; and in the beginning of February, the detachment was at Ahmednagar. Colonel Deacon was here in communication with Mr. Elphinstone, and was directed by him to clear the country between the Phaira and Bhima rivers, of any parties of the enemy that might show themselves. This was effected by the capture of the forts of Kurra and Chakan, in the course of February; after which, the detachments marched to Poona, where the different corps, composing the Poona division, underwent a new distribution, in consequence of the arrangements which had been rendered necessary by the dissolution of the army of the Dekhin.

[1] Consisting of two squadrons from the 4th and 8th regiments N. C., the 2nd battalion 17th N. I., and the contingent of Nawab Salabat Khan, being detached from the Second or Hyderabad division of the army of the Dekhin.

CHAPTER VIII.

Dissolution of the Armies of Hindustan and the Dekhin.— Divisions left in the Field.— March of Sir T. Hislop with the 1st Division to the South.— Contumacy of the Kiladar of Talner.— Fort stormed.—Murder of British Officers.— The Kiladar hanged.— Return of Sir T. Hislop to Madras. Military Operations in Kandesh.— Hill Forts surrendered or captured.— Arab Mercenaries. —Siege of Maligam.— Storm of the Fort.— Repulsed.— Petta carried.— Garrison capitulate.— Operations in the Nerbudda Valley.— Movements of the Left Division of the Grand Army in Bundelkhand.—Rights of the Peshwa transferred.—Sâgar annexed to the British Territory.— General Marshall advances to the Nagpur Ceded Districts —Dhamani and Mandala taken.—Kiladar of the latter tried — Acquitted.— Operations in Gondwana.— Proofs of Apa Saheb's hostile Designs.—His Arrest and Deposal. Baji Rao, a Minor, made Raja.— Administration by the Resident.— Fatal Error of the Peshwa.— Chanda taken. —Colonel Adams cantoned at Hosainabad.—Apa Saheb sent to Hindustan.—Makes his Escape.—Peshwa overtaken by Colonel Doveton.— Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by Sir J. Malcolm.— Negotiates with the latter. —Join his Camp.— His Troops mutiny.— Are reduced to Terms and Dismissed.— Baji Rao marches towards Hindustan.—Governor-General disapproves of the Terms Granted to the Ex-Peshwa.— Confirms them.— Their Defence by Sir J. Malcolm.—Baji Rao settled at Bithur. — Trimbak taken.— Confined at Chunar.— Mahratta Power annihilated.

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AS soon as the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, the Marquis of Hastings deemed it unnecessary to maintain his military arrangements on the extensive scale on which they had been hitherto constructed and accordingly at the end of January, he determined to break up both the grand army and the army of the Dekhin, entrusting the duties which remained to be executed to such of the subordinate divisions as were most conveniently situated. They were re-organized for the purpose,

and orders were issued for the return of the centre and right divisions of the grand army to the British territories. From the centre a brigade of three strong battalions, and a regiment of Native cavalry, under Brigadier General Watson, was dispatched to Sámthar, to take up the heavy ordnance which had been left there upon the march of the centre from Seonda, and the whole were then directed to join the left wing, under General Marshall, which remained embodied in order to complete the subjugation of the territories on the Nerbudda taken from the Raja of Nagpur. The remaining corps of the centre fell back to the Jumna by the end of the month, and retired to their appointed stations. Lord Hastings on quitting the army, proceeded on a visit to the Nawab of Oude, and arrived at Lucknow on the 6th of March.

The right wing of the grand army speedily received the same orders, and commenced its homeward march by the end of February. One brigade of Native infantry was placed at the disposal of Sir John Malcolm, to assist in restoring subordination in the territories of Holkar, after which it joined the reserve under Sir David Ochterlony, who remained some time longer in force in Rajputana. Most of the remaining battalions had crossed the Jumna by the end of March. The divisions of Colonels Toone and Hardyman had previously been broken up, but troops were detached from the former to enable Major Roughsedge to take possession of the Berar dependencies of the Sirguja, Jaspur, and Sambhalpur, and a force under Colonel Hardyman, remained some time longer in the country upon the upper course of the Nerbudda.

The dissolution of the army of the Dekhin commenced somewhat earlier, and in the middle of January, the head quarters, with the first division, from which reinforcements had been furnished to the third, left in Malwa with John Malcolm, began their march southwards; consigning to the Guzerat troops the task of freeing the country round Indore from the scattered parties of Pindaris and disbanded mercenaries, by which it was still partially infested. Sir Thomas Hislop moved to the Nerbudda, and crossed the river on the 10th. The other three divisions, the Berar and Hyderabad subsidiary troops, with Generals Adams and Doveton, and the Poona division,

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remained embodied, but were placed under the orders of the Marquis of Hastings, as Commander-in-Chief, in communication with the Residents and the Commissioner of the Mahratta territory. Sir Thomas Hislop, with the first division, arrived before the fortress of Talner on the 27th of February, intending to cross the Tapti river at that place.

The country between the Nerbudda and the Tapti, subject to Holkar, had been ceded to the British, by the treaty of Mandiswar, and no obstacle had been hitherto experienced from the officers of the Holkar state in taking possession. The stronghold of Sindwa had been given up as soon as summoned, and no expectation was entertained that the fortress of Talner would be closed against British authority. No precaution had been adopted anticipatory of such an event, and the column of baggage preceding the division, advanced into the plain on which Talner is situated, without any suspicion of danger, when its progress was arrested by the salute of a gun charged with round shot from the fort. The division was halted, and a summons was sent to the Kiladar, or governor, requiring him to surrender the fort, warning him of the serious consequences to which he exposed himself, by acting in contempt of his sovereign's orders, and setting the right of the British at defiance; and "apprising him distinctly, that if he attempted resistance, he, and his garrison would be treated as rebels." A verbal message of the same tenor accompanied the letter, and, although the Kiladar declined to receive the latter, the former was delivered. The messenger was robbed and beaten, and his return was followed by a sharp fire of matchlocks from the walls, by which several of the Sipahis were wounded, and some were killed. The summons was dispatched between seven and eight in the morning, but the fire of the garrison was not returned until noon, when, finding that no answer had arrived, and that indications of resistance continued, batteries provisionally erected were opened against the defences of the fort. The wall of the outer gateway was soon in a condition to admit of a storm, and preparations were made for the assault. The Kiladar now applied for terms, and was told that none but personal immunity would be granted. No answer was received,

and the storming party, consisting of the flank companies of the Royal Scots and Madras European regiment, under Major Gordon, supported by the rifle battalion, and the third Native light infantry, was ordered to advance. They carried the outer and one of the inner gates: a number of persons unarmed, and apparently intending to escape, came out from the wicket of a third gate as the troops approached it, and were placed under a guard: among them, as was afterwards discovered, was the Kiladar, but he did not make himself known.[1] This and a fourth gate were passed through by the assailants, but they found the fifth closed, with the wicket open, and the passage within occupied by the garrison. Some parley with the Arabs regarding the terms of their surrender was attempted, but, it was, no doubt, mutually unintelligible.[2] Concluding that surrender was acquiesced in, Major Gordon passed through the wicket, accompanied by Lieutenant-Colonel Macgregor Murray, and a few grenadiers. The instant they entered, Major Gordon was dragged forward and killed, the grenadiers were shot or cut down, and Colonel Murray was stabbed. Fortunately the wicket was kept open by the foremost assailants, and Colonel Murray was extricated from his peril. A fire was poured in which cleared the gateway, and the leading files, headed by Captain Macgregor, forced their way in with the loss of their leader. The whole party then penetrated into the fort, and the garrison, about three hundred strong, were put to the sword. Their conduct justified this retaliation, although the motives by which they were instigated, if there were any, except the impulse of the moment and ungoverned fury, remain unexplained.[3] The Kiladar was

[1] Mr. Prinsep says the Kiladar came out and proffered his surrender to Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General, but, according to the evidence on his trial, he did not disclose himself when arrested, nor had he any distinguishing marks of his rank in his dress or appearance, and the inference therefore was warrantable, that he intended to get off without being recognized.

[2] Colonel Blacker says, from the circumstance of noise and apprehension which attended it, more probably, from mutual ignorance of each other's language. It is not likely that the officers knew more of Arabic than the Arabs did of English.

[3] Sir Thomas Hislop imputed the attack to the treachery of the Arabs. Despatch.—Papers, Mahratta war. Colonel Blacker (232) to apprehension of consequences. Mr. Prinsep ascribes it to a paroxysm of distrust and desperation, in consequence of the inability of the officers to make themselves intelligible. Lieutenant Lake assigns a cause which will sufficiently explain the business, if the statement be correct. He says, some of the Grenadiers who had entered by the wicket, attempted to disarm the Arabs by force, and as the

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brought to immediate trial, and hanged upon one of the bastions the same evening, for waging hostilities without the authority of any recognized power, and therefore within the predicament of a robber or a pirate.

The circumstances which attended the capture of Talner attracted public notice and drew upon General Hislop much severe animadversion, an explanation was required by the Governor-General, and at home, both Houses of Parliament, in passing a vote of thanks to Sir Thomas Hislop and the army of the Dekhin, specifically excepted his execution of the Kiladar from the purport of the vote, considering it necessary to await further information on the subject. With that which had been received, Mr. Canning declared neither the Government nor the East India Company were satisfied. When the first feelings had subsided, the business was forgotten, and it was not deemed necessary to communicate such information as was received to the public.[1] The severity was vindicated by Sir Thomas Hislop, and his reasoning was supported by the Marquis of Hastings upon two grounds: the lawless character of the proceedings of the Kiladar, and the absolute necessity of deterring others from a similar conduct, involving needless peril and loss of life, by the example of his punishment. The fort that had been placed in his care by his sovereign, had been voluntarily abandoned by that sovereign. He had no warrant for its defence; he was no longer the representative of any acknowledged prince, and could not urge obedience to orders

retention of their arms is a point of honour of which they have always shown themselves tenacious, they resisted the attempt, and the affray ensued.—Sieges, Madras Army, 55. Colonel Macgregor Murray, at a subsequent period, affirmed that the attack was instantaneous; they had no time for parley. Lieutenant Lake's account is partly confirmed by Sir T. Hislop's despatch, in which he says, "the garrison were to the last moment offered the assurance of their lives being preserved, on their unconditional surrender. This, unfortunately, they did not, or could not, understand, as they persisted in asking for terms: none other could be given.

[1] Some of the despatches on the subject, were printed by order of Parliament, 16th February, 1819; but the documents are very meagre, and comprise but a small and unimportant part of those on record. Much more ample materials are on record, particularly the minutes of the Governor-General, in March, 1819, and Sir Thomas Hislop's vindication in September of the same year, confirmed by the answers to queries which he had addressed to Lieutenant-Colonels Conway, Blacker, Murray, and Captain Briggs. Colonel Conway states his opinion, that the sentence was a humane one, and Captain Briggs declares his belief, that it was demanded by the political exigencies of the times.—MS. Records.

in palliation of his resistance. That he was in possession of the orders for the delivery of the fort was proved by evidence: and it was also testified that he had declared his resolution not to give up the fort but with his life. He had incurred a foreseen peril voluntarily, and had made himself responsible for all the consequences springing from his determination. Even the attack upon the officers who had passed through the gate, was a catastrophe every way imputable to him, as he had stimulated his soldiers to resistance, and then abandoned them to the guidance of their own passions. He had been distinctly apprised, also, that if he stood an assault no mercy would be shown to him. He had despised the warning and was liable to the forfeiture.

Reasoning from the usage of civilized nations, and adopting the principles which they have agreed to appeal to, as calculated to alleviate the evils of war, there could be no doubt of the justice of the sentence; but it might have been pleaded in mitigation, that the Mahrattas were ignorant of those principles, and that the Kiladar was punished for the violation of a law of which he was wholly ignorant. The loose practice of his government palliated his conduct, disobedience of the prince's instructions was far from uncommon, and the officers of Sindhia and Holkar were accustomed to interpret the orders they received, not according to the expression, but to what they conjectured to be the real intention of the chief by whom they were sent. In this case, also, the Kiladar might have urged, that, although holding immediately of Holkar, he owed a higher duty to the Peshwa, who was still in arms, and whose cause it was incumbent upon him to defend to the utmost extremity. As to the garrison, it is most probable that he had little or no control over them, and that they would not have listened to any commands which he might have issued.

The necessity of an example, is a more tenable apology for the rigour of the sentence than the violation of the laws of European warfare. Baji Rao was yet at the head of a considerable force, and was moving towards Kandesh, in which he had numerous adherents. The country was studded with fortresses; the commandants of which were in the interest of the Peshwa, and were known to be pre-

paring for resistance. The reduction of Chandore might have been the work of a campaign; Galna and Rasaigerh were also strong places. The occupation of a large portion of the British force in these sieges, would have protracted military operations, until the season admitted no longer of their continuance, and the interval would have given the Peshwa an opportunity of reorganising his forces, and of forming dangerous combinations in his favour. The extensive mischief, and the great loss of life which another campaign would have occasioned, were considerations of undoubted weight, and extenuated, if they did not justify, the condemnation of the Kiladar. At any rate, these were the reasons which mainly actuated Sir Thomas Hislop, and in which he was supported by the concurrent opinion of Lieutenant-Colonel Conway, the Adjutant-General of the army, and Captain Briggs, the political agent, who assisted at the trial. The Kiladar made no defence. The effect of his fate was undeniable. Tulasi Ram, the Kiladar, was a man of rank, the uncle of Balaram Set, the late minister of the Bai, and his execution made the greatest impression. Chandore, held by his brother, was immediately surrendered, and the other fortresses were given up with equal promptitude. On the other hand, an opinion prevailed among the people and the soldiery, that the Kiladar had been unfairly dealt with; and, in some places, a more obstinate resistance was in consequence encountered. An equally advantageous result would probably have been attained by a sentence of perpetual imprisonment, and the imputation of needless severity would have been avoided. But it must be admitted, that hostilities in this campaign were generally prosecuted in a stern and inflexible spirit, vindicable, perhaps, by the cruelty and treachery of the Mahratta princes; but making little account of the feelings which the humiliation they underwent, could not fail to engender both in them and their adherents

After the reduction of Talner, Sir T. Hislop continued his march towards the Godaveri, and his route had the effect of arresting the flight of the Peshwa in that direction, and turning him back upon the pursuit of the second division. On the 15th of March, the head-quarters were at Phulthamba, and here the corps composing the first

division were divided between the Poona and Hyderabad forces, with the exception of a small personal escort, attended by which, Sir T. Hislop proceeded to Aurangabad, where he arrived on the 26th, and promulgated his final orders as Commander-in-Chief of the army of the Dekhin. He also relinquished his civil authority; and the management of the political interests of the British Government in the south reverted to the functionaries in whom they had been vested at the beginning of the war. Sir Thomas then resumed his route by way of Poona to Bombay, where he embarked on the 12th of May, on his return to Madras. 1818.

While the several divisions of the army of the Dekhin had been almost exclusively engaged in circumscribing the Peshwa's movements, the province of Kandesh, the first seat of military operations for the suppression of Trimbak's partisans, had been comparatively neglected; and the adherents of the Peshwa, in that quarter, had been suffered to collect round them numerous bands of mercenaries, and to strengthen the fortresses of which they were in possession. Opportunity now offered for their reduction, and Mr. Elphinstone, the Commissioner of the Mahratta territories, resolved to adopt active measures for that purpose: a detachment from the Hyderabad division,[1] under Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall, was employed upon the duty, and ordered to proceed against the strong-holds, situated in the line of hills north of the Godaveri, which form the southern boundary of Kandesh. The range is formed of a series of detached elevations, rising abruptly from the plain to the height of from six hundred to eleven hundred feet, connected by low narrow necks of high land. From the summit of many of the hills start up bluff and perpendicular rocks, of eighty or one hundred feet high, and so regularly scarped, that they have every appearance of having been artificially wrought. Such of the hills as contained water had been fortified, and the rocky scarp constituted a minor fort, or citadel. There was seldom any work of defence raised upon them, as they

[1] It consisted of one company of foot Artillery, two companies of the Royal Scots, three of the Madras European regiment, 1st battalion 2nd N.I., four companies of the 2nd battalion 13th N.I., five companies of Pioneers, and a few hundred irregular horse; a small battering train and a corps of Sappers and Miners were also attached to the force.

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were accessible only by flights of steps cut out of the solid rock, and leading through a succession of gate-ways or barriers commanding each turn of the steep and winding staircase. The ascent was utterly impossible, if the garrison were resolute, as those who attempted it were not only exposed to a raking fire, but might be crushed by the rocky fragments which the defenders had the easy means of precipitating on their heads. Of this description was the fort of Ankitanki, before which Colonel Macdowall presented himself on the 3rd of April. Either the courage or the fidelity of the Kiladar failed, or he was intimidated by the recent catastrophe at Talner, and he surrendered the post as soon as summoned.

The next place to which the detachment advanced, Chandore, was, in like manner, at once given up by Ramdas, the brother of the Commandant of Talner; but beyond the Chandore pass were two forts, Rajdher and Inderai, the Kiladars of which disregarded the summons to surrender; Colonel Macdowall, therefore, marched to attack the former, one of the strongest of those natural fortresses with which the hills were crowned. The troops encamped in the valley which separated the heights of Rajdher from those of the adjacent Inderai, on the 11th of April, and a battery was constructed on the low ground, chiefly intended to cover the attempts which were made to form a lodgment on an elevation more nearly level with the fortress, access to which, although difficult, was practicable at the south-eastern end of the hill, on which Rajdher was situated. This was effected easily on the 12th, and an outwork occupied by the garrison, was carried. Arrangements for constructing a battery on its site, within two hundred and fifty yards of the fort, were immediately made. The guns were taken from their carriages and brought up by hand, and the battery would have opened on the morning of the 13th; but after it was dark, the buildings within the fort were observed to be on fire, and the garrison endeavouring to quit it. Parties sent to make them prisoners were deterred from approaching, by the heat of the passage, and in the confusion and the darkness of the night, most of the enemy escaped. Forty were brought in captives on the following

morning, by the irregular horse.[1] Inderai, and several similar strong-holds, in the vicinity of Rajdher, abandoned all purpose of resistance after the prompt fall of a place so celebrated for the strength of its position.

After halting at Rajdher till the 15th of April, the detachment moved to the south-west, and on the 22nd sat down before Trimbak,[2] a fortified rock, the summit of which was five miles in extent; the sides presented a perpendicular scarp, varying from two to four hundred feet in height, and everywhere unassailable, except at two gateways, one on the northern, the other on the southern face. The ascent was by narrow passages with flights of steps, and was protected by other gateways at the top, flanked by towers: there were few works on the summit, and the magazine and dwellings of the garrison were excavations in the rock. The petta of Trimbak lay in a valley on the north side of the fort, and the Godaveri river, issuing from the western face of the rock, flowed round the fort, and through the centre of the town.

Notwithstanding the difficulties of the approach, enhanced by the rocky nature of the soil, which rendered it necessary to carry up earth for the formation of an elevated, instead of a sunken, battery, a lodgment was effected on the north side, on the 23rd, and a battery was opened at day-light on the following day, against the curtain and tower of the gateway. A battery was also erected against the southern gateway, to distract the attention of the garrison, and intercept their communication. A nearer approach to the north gate was accomplished on the 24th, and the enemy were driven from a ruined village at the foot of the scarp which afforded cover for the besiegers. Following up this advantage with some precipitancy, and under a misconception of orders, the covering party attempted to ascend to the gateway, but

[1] Colonel Blacker states that the cause of the conflagration was never ascertained, but supposes it might have been the effect of the shells, p. 320—According to Lieutenant Lake, it was a quarrel which took place in the garrison, originating in the Brahman Kiladar's refusal to pay to the families of those men who had been killed, the arrears of pay due to them. In revenge, the garrison set fire to his house, and the manner in which the flames spread alarmed them so much, that they were induced to capitulate, 97.

[2] Trimbak, or more correctly Tryambak, is a name of the Hindu deity, Siva, to whom a celebrated shrine was here dedicated, whence the name of the place. The appellations of their divinities are commonly adopted by the Hindus, whence the designation of the Peshwa's favourite.

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they were quickly driven down by a heavy fire of gingals, rockets, and muskets, and by heavy stones. Retiring behind the walls of the village, a battery of four six-pounders was completed there during the night, but before it could open on the 25th, the Kiladar expressed a desire to treat, and the garrison being allowed to march out with their arms and private property, the fort was surrendered. The example of Trimbak, as celebrated for its strength, as for its sanctity as the source of the Godaveri, a river second only to the Ganges in the veneration of the Hindus, was quickly followed. Seventeen hill forts were immediately afterwards relinquished, and the whole of the country, one of the strongest in the world, submitted in the course of a very short campaign.

That the defence of places of such extraordinary natural strength, should have been conducted with so little vigour, was to be expected from the constitution of the garrisons, and the depressed fortunes of the prince whom they served. Enlisted on the spur of the moment, and composed of hirelings from every country in India, they were held together by no feeling of nationality, by no attachment to the Peshwa, and from his evident inability to make head against his pursuers, anticipated his speedy downfall. The sentiments thus inspired contributed more effectually to the easy reduction of Rajdher and Trimbak than the science and courage of the assailants; but these qualities were soon to be called into exercise, independently of any facility from the disaffection or indifference of the native garrison.

The employment of Arab soldiers by the princes of the Peninsula and of Central India has been frequently noticed, as has the character of those mercenaries for determined and desperate valour. Of the Arab troops set at liberty by the capitulation of Nagpur, a considerable portion had taken service with the Mahratta officers in Kandesh, and others had similarly enlisted, who had been cast loose by the dispersion of the infantry of the Peshwa. Although caring little for the cause of the fugitive prince, they were not disposed to forego their military habits, and retire to inactive tranquillity in their native deserts, and it became necessary to impose this alternative by their forcible expulsion. They had taken their chief stand at the fortress

of Maligam, and, notwithstanding the advanced period of the year, Lieutenant-Colonel Macdowall was instructed to lead his detachment against the place, he accordingly retraced his steps to the north, and returned to Chandore on the 10th of May. After a halt of three days, the force marched northward, and arrived on the 15th before Maligam, a fort of formidable strength, garrisoned by seven hundred Arabs. The detachment was much weakened by the fatigues it had undergone, and the losses it had suffered, as well as by the guards left in most of the captured forts, so that it scarcely mustered nine hundred and fifty firelocks, besides two hundred and seventy pioneers, and a small detail of European artillery.

The fortress of Maligam stood on the left bank of the river Musan, shortly above its junction with the Girni, a feeder of the Tapti; it was situated in a circular bend of the river, which protected its western and part of its northern and southern faces. The body of the work was a square, enclosed by a high wall of masonry, with towers at the angles: a second quadrangular wall of considerable elevation, at some distance from the first, surrounded the latter, and in the space between the walls ran a deep and wide dry ditch: an exterior enclosure at a still greater interval, of an irregular quadrangular form, surrounded the whole. The gates were nine in number, very intricate, and all containing excellent bomb-proofs. Part of the defences were of clay, but the greater portion was of substantial masonry: the petta was opposite to the eastern face, and was capable of being defended, as it contained many strong and lofty buildings, and was surrounded by a rampart, which, however, was somewhat decayed.

After reconnoitering the place from the right bank of the river, it was determined to attack it from the south-west, and operations were accordingly commenced on the 18th, after dark, in rear of a mango grove, which stood at this point near the bank of the river. The besiegers were not allowed to proceed without interruption, a sortie being made by the garrison, supported by a sharp fire from the fort. The river being fordable, the Arabs crossed and attacked the covering party in the grove, consisting of a detachment of the Madras European regiment, with great intrepidity: they were repulsed after a short but san-

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guinary conflict in which Lieutenant Davies, the commanding engineer, was unfortunately killed. The spirit thus evinced by the garrison was displayed in several similar attempts, but the works proceeded, batteries were erected, and by the 28th of May, what was thought to be a practicable breach had been made in the body of the work. Considerable reinforcements[1] had been received, and it was resolved to attempt a storm.

Accordingly, on the morning of the 29th, three columns advanced against the place. The column directed against the breach, consisting of one hundred Europeans and eight hundred Sipahis, was commanded by Major Greenhill, and conducted by the engineer in command, Lieutenant Nattes; of the other two columns, one under Lieutenant-Colonel Stewart, was directed to carry the Petta, and the other, under Major Macbean, to attempt the escalade of the outer wall of the fort near the river gate. The Petta was taken, but the escalade was abandoned in consequence of the failure of the attack upon the breach. Lieutenant Nattes led the way, but was shot when he had gained the summit; the commanding officer was wounded, and the second in command killed, the troops arrived at the head of the breach, and remained there with great steadiness, exposed to a destructive fire. Finding that no progress was likely to be made, and having reason to suppose that there were obstacles to be overcome, for which preparations had not been devised, Colonel Macdowall recalled the storming party to the lines.[2]

The failure of the attack on the west face of the fort, and the cover afforded by the Petta, induced a change of plan, and it was determined to assail the fort from the north and east. The main body of the force accordingly crossed the river, and batteries were constructed on the side of the town nearest the fort, and efforts were made

[1] They were two companies of the 2nd battalion 14th, the same of the 2nd battalion 13th, and the 2nd battalion of the 17th N.I., a battalion of the Russell brigade, and a body of irregular horse.

[2] Colonel Blacker states, that when the column was under partial cover, the scaling ladders were dropped from the top of the wall, and disappeared, which unfavourable circumstance being reported to Colonel Macdowall, he directed the attempt to be abandoned, 327. Lieut. Lake doubts the insufficiency of the ladders, and attributes the failure to the hesitation of the troops, occasioned by the casualties which deprived them of their leaders, 141.

to carry mines under the towers of the eastern wall. These arrangements occupied the troops till the 10th of June, when they were reinforced by a battalion of N. I., and a battering train from Seroor. The mortars were placed in position on the same night, and on the following morning occasioned an explosion of two of the enemy's magazines, by which a considerable extent of the inner wall was thrown down, and the interior of the fort laid open. Advantage was taken immediately of the accident, and batteries were erected to take off the defences of the inner breach, and open one in the outer line; the result of these preparations was anticipated, by the proposal of the garrison to capitulate; and on the 13th of June they marched out and grounded arms in front of the line; their side arms were restored to them, and their arrears of pay discharged, after which they were marched to the sea-coast, and sent back to Arabia, with the exception of those who had been long settled with their families in the south of India. Those that surrendered were three hundred and fifty in number, part having effected their escape.

The loss sustained by the besiegers, amounted to two hundred and nine killed and wounded, including twelve officers.[1] After the surrender of Maligam, the division was broken up, and the troops composing it returned to their several quarters for the monsoon.

When the annihilation of the Pindaris, the desperate condition of the Peshwa, and the seeming contrition of Apa Saheb, gave reason to hope that military operations were on the eve of discontinuance, they were renewed in the upper part of the valley of the Nerbudda with increased activity, and for a protracted period. Their renewal originated in the perfidy and ultimate hostility of the Raja of Nagpur.

The restoration of Apa Saheb to a portion of his dominions, after having justly forfeited the whole by his unprovoked attack upon the Residency, might be supposed to have taught him, if not a lesson of gratitude, the danger of involving himself in hostilities with an enemy against whose overpowering strength he had found him-

[1] The officers killed were Lieutenant Davis and Ensign Natter, sappers and miners; Lieutenant Kennedy, 17th N.I., and Lieutenants Eagan and Wilkinson, 13th N.I.

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self so wholly unable to contend. Yet, whether he fancied that as long as Baji Rao was at large there were hopes of success, or, whether he was impelled, as he affirmed, by an irresistible sentiment of duty towards the head of the Mahratta confederacy, he had scarcely been replaced upon the throne of Nagpur, when he began to plot against the power to whose forbearance he was indebted for the recovery of any part of his territories, and for the rank and title of a prince. The intercourse with Baji Rao was renewed, and urgent messages were despatched to induce him to march towards Nagpur. The orders, which upon the recent occasion had been issued to the Commandants of his forts, to shut their gates against the English, were either left unrecalled, or secret orders to the same effect were now circulated, notwithstanding the places were those which the Raja had bound himself to surrender. The British troops were, therefore, compelled to possess themselves by force of the fortresses which had been ostensibly ceded to them by treaty.

The left wing of the grand army had been left in the field for the purpose of occupying the districts in the upper valley of the Nerbudda, relinquished by the Raja of Nagpur, and, with this view, was strengthened by the division from the centre, under General Watson. The force was concentrated on the 5th of March in Bundelkhand, and its first operations were called for in that province.[1] Although not immediately connected with the affairs of Berar, it will be convenient here to notice the transactions in this quarter.

The treaty of Poona had transferred the rights which the Peshwa still claimed in Bundelkhand, to the British Government. These were chiefly feudatory services, and tribute from the petty principalities of Jalaun, Jhansi, and Sâgar. Treaties were accordingly concluded with Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, and with the manager of Jhansi, on the part of Ram Chand, the Subahdar, a minor, by which they were both recognized as hereditary chiefs of these states. The succession was guaranteed to their heirs for ever, and they were taken under British protec-

[1] It then consisted of the 7th N.C., the 2nd battalions 1st, 2nd 13th, 1st 14th, 1st 26th, and 2nd 28th regiment of N.I., three thousand horse of Sindhia's contingent, four hundred of Baddeley's irregular horse, with a train of heavy artillery.

tion. They were bound to serve in time of war with all their forces with the British armies; and to render all such assistance compatible with their means as might be required. No tribute was demanded from Jhansi, the former ruler having always been a friend of the British. The tribute of Jalaun, was remitted in consideration of some districts ceded by the Nana.[1] The arrangement with Ságar was less easily adjusted. The Government was nominally exercised by the widow of the last Raja, but was managed on her behalf by Vinayak Rao. The right of the Bai was disputed by Nana Govind Rao, of Jalaun, who was the nephew of the former Raja, and the successor to the principality. According to the terms of the grant made by the Peshwa, the Nana was bound to pay an annual tribute of three lakhs of rupees, and to maintain a body of three thousand horse. In the new engagement to be proposed to Vinayak Rao, it was determined to remit all arrears of tribute, and to reduce it to one lakh, or less, upon the cession being made of a fort or tract of land. The contingent was also limited to six hundred horse. As soon as preparations for the campaign were in a state of forwardness, Vinayak Rao was required to accede to these conditions, and to supply his quota of troops; but no answer was returned to the demand, and it was discovered that he had opened secret communications with the Pindaris, and had suffered troops to be levied within his districts for the service of the Peshwa and Raja of Nagpur. His contumacy and disloyalty were deemed sufficient grounds for dispossessing him of the power he held, and annexing Ságar to the British possessions; making an adequate provision from its surplus revenue for the maintenance of Vinayak Rao and the Bai, and transferring the balance to Govind Rao for his life in commutation of his claims.[2] General Marshall was instructed to carry these measures into effect. No resistance was attempted. Vinayak Rao was sensible of the futility of opposition, and submitted without further hesitation to the terms imposed.

The political management of Ságar, having been as-

[1] Treaty with the Subahdar of Jhansi, 17th November, 1817.—Collection of Treaties, Papers, Lord Hastings' administration. A treaty of a similar purport was at the same time entered into with Govind Rao, of Jalaun.

[2] Papers, Mahratta War, p. 413.

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sumed by Mr. Wauchope, the Commissioner in Bundelkhand, General Marshall, sent detachments to receive the submission of the dependent fortresses. The whole were surrendered peaceably, and the division marched to Dhamauni, a fortress belonging to Nagpur, included in the cessions which the Raja had agreed to make. The orders given to the Kiladar were of a different tenor, and it was not until batteries were opened that the fort was given up. General Marshall thence crossed the Nerbudda into Gondwana, where the same spirit of resistance had been excited by the instructions of the Raja; and the Commandants of the principal fortresses, and the rude tribes of the forests and mountains, the Gonds, who professed allegiance to Nagpur, had been encouraged to violate the conditions to which Apa Saheb had acceded. It was, therefore, necessary to enforce submission, and the force marched against Mandala, the capital of the district, situated on one of the branches of the Nerbudda, not far from its source, where it is joined by a small feeder, the Banjira. The mountainous irregularity of the country rendered the march of the division, and the transport of the ordnance for the siege, extremely laborious; but the difficulty was overcome, and on the 18th of April the town was invested. As the Kiladar refused to comply with the summons to surrender, batteries were constructed against the wall of the Petta, and on the 25th they opened with such effect as to lay it sufficiently in ruins for an assault. Accordingly, on the 26th, a storming party, under Captain Dewar, supported by a column under Colonel Price, both commanded by General Watson, ascended the breach, and advancing into the town, drove out the troops which had been stationed for its defence. They retired upon the fort, which was separated from the town by a deep ditch, filled from the river; the gates were closed upon them, and the greater number fell under the fire of the assailants; a portion endeavouring to escape, were cut up by the cavalry. This success intimidated the garrison, and on the following morning they voluntarily evacuated the fort without arms.[1] The Kiladar had attempted, during the night, to cross the river in a boat, but was taken prisoner as soon as he landed. He pretended that

[1] General Marshall's Despatch, Papers, Mahratta War, p. 207.

he had come to offer an unconditional surrender of the fortress, but his contumacy in defending it, contrary to the terms of the public treaty by which it had been relinquished, and a treacherous attempt made by him in the beginning of March, to cut off, by a vastly superior force, a small party under Major Bryan, who had proceeded to Mundala to settle the arrears of pay due to the garrison, and recover possession of the fort, agreeably to the instructions of the Resident of Nagpur, were thought to deserve the punishment of treason. The Kiladar was, therefore, tried by a drum-head court-martial of native officers, for rebellion against the Raja of Nagpur, and treachery against Major O'Brien.[1] He was, however, acquitted of both charges, Major O'Brien declaring his belief that the Kiladar was not concerned in the attack upon him, and the court expressing their conviction that he had acted agreeably to the secret commands of the Nagpur Government, and under the restraint and coercion of chiefs sent by the Raja to control the Kiladar, and enforce obedience to his secret instructions.[2]

After the capture of Mandala, General Marshall was called to the command of the cantonment of Cawnpur, and left that of the division in Gondwana, to Brigadier-General Watson, whose duty it became to reduce to subjection the Gond chiefs inhabiting the mountains that form the southern barrier of the eastern valley of the Nerbudda. A small force under Lieutenant-Colonel Mac Morine, the head-quarters of which had been at Jabalpur, had hitherto performed this office, as far as its strength permitted, and had latterly been engaged in checking the predatory excursions of the garrison of Chouragerh, the Commandant of which had hitherto refused to give it up to the British authorities. The feebleness of the detachment prevented it from undertaking more comprehensive operations, and the reduction of the country awaited the approach of a more powerful force. The division under General Watson marched, accordingly, on the 1st of May, from Mandala, and, after passing by Jabalpur, arrived on the 13th, within one day's march of Chouragerh. The necessity of a further forward movement had ceased, the garrison of Chouragerh had abandoned it on hearing of

[1] Prinsep, ii. 208. [2] Papers, 329.

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his approach, and it was immediately taken possession of by Colonel Mac Morine. The successful surprise of a remnant of the Pindaris on the confines of Bhopal, and the reduction of some small fortresses in the neighbourhood of Bairsia, completed the service of Brigadier-General Watson in this quarter.

The plea upon which the Kiladars of Mandala and Chouragerh justified their refusal to surrender their forts, necessarily suggested doubts of the Raja's sincerity, and the truth of the plea was established by the discovery of letters from his minister, authorising the proceedings of the subordinate functionaries. The discontent of Apa Saheb had been manifested soon after his restoration, and he professed a wish to resign the whole of his revenues into the hands of the Resident, contenting himself with a pension for his personal support. His complaints were not limited to this representation, but were repeated in an intercepted letter to Baji Rao, in which he pressed the Peshwa to come speedily to his succour. Other proofs of hostile purposes rapidly accumulated. The agents of the Mahratta princes were still in Nagpur, and admitted to private conferences with such of the ministers as enjoyed the confidence of the Raja; particularly Nago Punth and Ramchandra Wagh, who were notoriously opposed to the British connexion. Those who were friendly to it were sedulously excluded from the prince's councils. The family of the Raja, and the principal part of his treasures, were deposited at Chanda, a fortified town, one hundred miles south-west from Nagpur, and thither it was that Apa Saheb proposed to retire. He was there to be joined by Ganpat Rao, who, after the battle of Nagpur had gone over to the Peshwa with a body of Arab foot, and the Berar horse, and it was known that he was marching towards Nagpur, followed by the Peshwa in the beginning of March. The time called for decision, and to prevent the dangers arising from his intrigues, it became necessary to put the Raja under restraint and deprive him of the power of doing mischief. After placing guards round the city so as to prevent Apa Saheb from quitting it, he was required to repair to the Residency, and remain under the Resident's supervision. As he delayed compliance with the requisition, a party of Sipahis under

Lieut. Gordon, assistant to the Resident, was sent to compel his attendance. This was done without any occasion for violence, and Apa Saheb was a prisoner. Nago Punth, and Ramchandra Wagh were apprehended at the same time. The arrest of Apa Saheb and his advisers was followed by multiplied testimony of their hostile intentions, and by irrefragable proofs of their communication with the enemies of the British Government. It was now also ascertained beyond contradiction, that the death of the late imbecile Raja Parswaji, was the act of Apa Saheb's partisans, and was committed with his privity and approbation. An attempt to poison the unhappy prince having failed, he was strangled in his bed. For this, however, Apa Saheb was not brought to account. His treacherous attack upon the Resident, of which he confessed himself to have been the author, in opposition to the advice of his ministers, and the revival of his inimical designs, were considered sufficient grounds for his being visited with condign punishment. The Governor-General, therefore, determined that Apa Saheb should be deposed, and that the next of kin also named Baji Rao, the son of Raghuji Bhosla's daughter, a boy between eight and nine years of age, should be raised to the Raj. The regency was to be vested in the mother of the young prince, but the administration of affairs was to be exercised by the British Resident, until the Raja should be old enough to assume the Government of the country.

The secret negotiations carried on by the Peshwa with the Raja of Nagpur proved eventually as fatal to him as to the Raja, as they diverted him from his purpose of making directly for Hindustan, which he might possibly then have reached, and led him to the easterly route which ended in his being hemmed in between the divisions of Generals Adams and Doveton, and the dispersion of his troops by the former at Seoni. The van of the Mahratta army, in pursuance of the plan of forming a junction with the troops of Apa Saheb, had advanced to within fifteen miles of Chanda, where they were anticipated by a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Scott, consisting of the 6th Bengal Native cavalry, and one squadron of the 8th; a reserve of auxiliary horse, 1st battalion of 1st Madras Native cavalry, and the 6th company of the 2nd,

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which had been sent to intercept their march. At the same time, the division of Colonel Adams had marched to the south, and its approach caused the Peshwa's retreat. He lost time and opportunity by this demonstration on Chanda; and the attempt to combine with the Raja of Nagpur involved him in the same ruin.

After the retreat of Baji Rao to the westward, Colonel Adams advanced against Chanda, and arrived before it on the 9th of May, with an effective and well equipped force. The town of Chanda, about six miles in circumference, was surrounded by a stone wall, from fifteen to twenty feet high, flanked by towers, and defended by two water-courses, running along its eastern and western faces, and meeting nearly half a mile from its southern extremity. In the centre of the town was the citadel; the garrison of which was between two and three thousand men, of whom part were Arabs. They had fired upon Colonel Scott's detachment, when recently before the walls. The division took up its ground on the south of the town, and batteries were erected opposite to the south-east angle, which, by the 19th, had brought down a sufficient portion of the defences to admit of an assault being attempted. On the 20th, accordingly, a storming party under the command of Lieut.-Col. Scott, marched to the breach in two columns, and, although received with a warm fire from the garrison, forced their entrance into the town. An occasional stand was made by parties of the garrison on the ramparts and in the streets, but all opposition was overborne, and the town being in the possession of the British, and the Commandant being killed,[1] the citadel was abandoned. Most of the garrison escaped into the thickets which approached on the north side close to the walls, and gave cover to the fugitives. The loss attending the capture of Chanda was inconsiderable, and booty of some value rewarded the resolution of the assailants. This operation terminated the campaign. Part of the force was stationed at Nagpur, but the head-quarters returned to Hoseinabad, where the force was attacked by cholera, and lost more men by that fatal malady than by the whole of the pre-

[1] According to Prinsep, he was wounded at the breach, and apprehensive of being put to death, if taken, poisoned himself; he had no claim to mercy, as he had ordered the bearer of the summons to surrender sent by Colonel Adams, to be blown from a gun.—2,258.

vious operations. Notwithstanding the state of the troops and the unfavourableness of the rainy season, detachments were obliged to be kept occasionally in the field in consequence of the escape of Apa Saheb and the effects of his presence in the mountains and thickets of Gondwara.

As soon as all apprehension of the Peshwa's advance upon Nagpur had been dissipated by the movements of the subsidiary force, the Resident, in obedience to the orders of the Governor-General. sent off Apa Saheb, whom it was thought expedient to place in security in the fort of Allahabad, towards Hindustan. The Raja marched from Nagpur on the 3rd of May, under the guard of one wing of the 22nd Bengal N. I. and three troops of the 8th N. C., commanded by Captain Browne. On the 12th the party halted at Raichur, a small town, one march on this side of Jabalpur. On the following morning the Raja had disappeared. During the night he had been secretly furnished with the dress and accoutrements of a Sipahi, and when the sentinels were changed, had marched off with the relieving party. A pillow took his place on his couch, and when the native officer, whose duty it was to inspect the tent, looked into it, he saw what he supposed to be the Raja, quietly reposing, and two servants kneeling by the bedside, engaged in the office of rubbing his limbs. Some of the Sipahis had been induced to contrive the Raja's escape, and became the partners of his flight. Sufficient time had elapsed between his evasion and its discovery, to enable him to reach the thickets of the adjacent hills; and although, as soon as his flight was known, an active pursuit in all directions was set on foot, the prisoner was not retaken — he had fled to Haray, a place about forty miles to the south-west, on the skirts of the Mahadeo hills, and in these recesses, and under the protection of Chain Sah, a Gond chieftain, was, for the present, at least, safe from recapture. The fidelity of his protectors was proof against all temptation, and the large rewards offered for the recapture of the Raja failed to seduce from their allegiance the half-savage mountaineers.[1]

[1] The reward was a Lakh of Rupees (£10,000), and a Jaghir of 10,000 Rupees (£1,000) a year for life. The pecuniary reward was afterwards doubled.

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While the Raja of Nagpur thus effected his escape from captivity, the chief in whose cause he had perilled his freedom and lost his dominions, was hastening to throw himself into more durable toils.

After his surprise and rout at Seoni, the Peshwa fled to the north-west with the design, it was suspected, of seeking a refuge in the strong fortress of Asir, which was held by Jeswant Rao Lar. He was closely followed. The Hyderabad division, after resting but a few days at Jalna, again took the field on the 14th of May, and on the 25th halted a short distance beyond Burhanpur, within fourteen miles of the Peshwa's camp. An immediate attack was arrested by intelligence that negotiations were in progress with Sir John Malcolm for Baji Rao's surrender. Prevented from crossing the Nerbudda by the military arrangements in his front, and alarmed by the rapid advance of Colonel Doveton; wearied of a life of flight and terror, and deprived of his chief adherents by death or desertion, Baji Rao became sensible of the fruitlessness of prolonging the contest, and resigned himself to the humiliation from which he could not hope to escape. He addressed himself accordingly to Sir John Malcolm, as to an old friend, and besought his intercession with the Governor-General for favourable terms, inviting him to his camp that they might discuss the conditions in person. Nor was he actuated solely by his own convictions. The few chiefs of rank who still adhered to him, conveyed to Sir John Malcolm their assurances that they would follow Baji Rao no longer if he refused to negotiate. Sir John Malcolm declined the invitation, but consented to send some of his officers to communicate his sentiments to the Peshwa himself, at the same time apprising the Peshwa's Vakils that the sentence of deposal was irrevocable, and that no negotiation would be admitted which had for its basis any proposal of Baji Rao's restoration; that the Peshwa must give up the persons of Trimbak, and of the murderers of Captain Vaughan and his brother, if he had the power so to do, and that he must evince his sincerity by coming forward without any force, and meeting Sir John Malcolm on the Nerbudda. The Vakils were sent back to Baji Rao with this message. Sir J. Malcolm moved from Mow to Mandaleswar, where he arrived on

the 22nd of May, and thence despatched Lieutenant Low to the Peshwa at his earnest solicitation. Notwithstanding the fears under which Baji Rao laboured, Lieutenant Low found him very reluctant to relinquish his title or his capital although consenting to a reduction of his territories, and very apprehensive of the consequences of the proposed interview with Sir John Malcolm. The terms of the meeting were after much discussion agreed upon, and it took place on the 1st of June, at Khori, a village at the foot of the mountain pass, above which stood the Peshwa's camp. Baji Rao, clinging to the shadow of power, attempted to give the interview the character of a public audience, and received Sir John Malcolm and his staff with the customary formalities, after which, withdrawing to a private tent, he exerted all his eloquence to procure from Sir John Malcolm some assurance of a reversal of the decree which had been issued against him. He declared that he had never intended to engage in warfare with the British Government, and that he had been the victim of the intemperance and rashness of those about him, most of whom had deserted him in his extremity, and his only reliance was in Sir John's friendship, and the generosity of the Governor-General. The hopelessness of a compliance with his desires was distinctly stated, and the interview terminated without his coming to any decision. As no delay could be allowed, an engagement was submitted in the evening to Baji Rao for his signature, with an intimation, that if not acceded to within twenty-four hours, hostilities would re-commence. The conditions stipulated that Baji Rao should resign for himself and his successors, all claim to sovereignty; that he should repair with his family, and a limited number of his adherents and attendants, to the camp of Brigadier-General Malcolm, whence he should be escorted to Benares, or any sacred place in Hindustan which the Governor-General, at his request, might appoint for his future residence. In the event of his prompt submission, he was promised a liberal pension, not less than eight lakhs of rupees per annum: that his requests in favour of such of his followers as had been ruined by their devotion to his cause, should meet with liberal attention, and that the same should be paid to his representations in favour of Brah-

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mans and religious establishments supported by his family. These terms were received with varying sentiments by the Peshwa's advisers, and the whole of the following day was passed in communications from the Peshwa and his principal adherents, some of whom became more anxious for their own interests, than those of their chief.[1] There were honourable exceptions to this selfishness, and the Vinchoor Jagirdar, the Purandhar chief, and the manager of the interests of the family of Gokla, deserve honourable mention for their regard for the fallen fortunes of the Peshwa, and their resolution to abstain from all disrespectful importunity, although convinced of the hopelessness of the contest, and willing to employ every means of persuasion and remonstrance in order to prevail upon him to submit.[2] The counsels of those who advocated submission at last prevailed, and after some further vacillation, and attempts to procrastinate his surrender, Baji Rao, with a force more numerous than that of Sir J. Malcolm, removed to the vicinity of the British encampment, and on the 4th of June accompanied the division on its first march towards the Nerbudda. Trimbak, who had been in the Peshwa's camp, with a strong body of horse and Arab infantry, had previously moved off towards Asir; and Cheetoo, with his followers, took the same route. Ram Din, and other leaders, dispersed in different directions. On the 9th, Sir John Malcolm having crossed the Nerbudda, was obliged to halt to suppress a mutiny of the Arab infantry of the Peshwa, in which his person was in danger. The mutineers, intimidated by the arrangements made for an attack upon them by the British force, consented to an equitable adjustment of their demands, and marched off, as enjoined, for Kandesh. Henceforth, Baji Rao, attended by about twelve hundred horse and foot, accom-

[1] Amongst the applicants were Trimbak, Ram Din, and the Pindari, Cheetoo. Unconditional surrender was insisted upon for the first and last. Ram Din was desired to dismiss his followers, and return quietly to Hindustan.—Papers, Mahratta war, 356. To the Mahratta chiefs was extended the indulgence granted to those who had left the Peshwa, after the defeat at Ashti, Jagirs for their personal support, not for the maintenance of a military contingent.

[2] The Vakil of the Vinchoor chief said, that his master's family had served that of the Peshwa for five generations, and had always spoken boldly to him and his ancestors; "but now that fate is upon him, we must be silent, unmerited reproaches ever have remained, and must remain unanswered."—Malcolm's Political History of India, 2, ccix.

panied the British camp, declaring that now only he felt his life secure.[1]

When the conditions which had been tendered to Baji Rao were submitted to the Governor-General, they were not such as met with his unqualified approbation. Lord Hastings entertained a conviction that Baji Rao was at this time conscious of the helpless state to which he was reduced, and that he had resolved to come in under any terms, although he sought to obtain favourable conditions by keeping up the show of negotiation. His being suffered to negotiate at all was an indulgence to which he was not entitled; and the despatch of British officers to his camp evinced an anxiety for peace and a deference to the Peshwa, which were incompatible with the relative position of the parties, and might be liable to be misconstrued by the natives and princes of India, as well as tend to foster erroneous notions in the mind of Baji Rao himself. The Governor-General also objected to the amount of the stipend, and the stipulation in favour of the Peshwa's adherents; both of which should have been left entirely open for the determination of the Government. On the other hand, Sir John Malcolm urged the probability of a still longer protracted contest and the importance of its prevention. The Peshwa might have found means of retreating into the thickets of Kandesh, or of crossing the Nerbudda into Malwa, or he could with ease have thrown himself into Asirgerh, the Commandant of which had given shelter to his family and his treasures, and had offered an asylum to Baji Rao.[2] Had either event occurred, hostilities must have been delayed for several months, as the approaching monsoon would have rendered it impossible for the troops to move, and, during this interval, the hopes of Baji Rao and his partisans would have been kept alive; and agitation

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[1] Narrative of Baji Rao's surrender.—Malcolm's Political History of India. —Appendix.

[2] Political History, 522. In his previous correspondence, Sir J. Malcolm expresses an opinion that the Kiladar would not commit himself and his prince, by openly sheltering an enemy of the British Government.—Papers, 349. Doveton asserts, that Sindhia had given orders to receive the Peshwa into the fort.—Political History, 524. See Papers, 46. A letter was subsequently found in Asirgerh, in Sindhia's own handwriting, commanding Jeswant Rao Lar to obey whatever orders the Peshwa should give him. It was of a somewhat earlier date, or December, 1817; but the instructions had never been countermanded, and Jeswant Rao was fully disposed to obey them.—MS. Rec.

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would have been at work in every part of the Mahratta States, from the frontiers of Mysore to the northern extremity of Malwa. The expense of another campaign and of the preparations which it would be necessary to set on foot, were saved by a prompt arrangement, and the stipend granted to the Peshwa was not more than was consistent with the honour and dignity of the British nation, whose proceedings had, on all similar occasions, been marked by the utmost liberality. With reference also to the personal character of Baji Rao, it was to be expected that the more easy his condition was rendered, as long as his income was not calculated to furnish him with the means of carrying on dangerous intrigues, the more contented he would be, and the less inclined to incur any hazard for the sake of change. This last consideration seems to have been justified by the result, as the ex-Peshwa appears to have been reconciled to his altered position by the pleasures he has been able to purchase, and has never instigated any serious attempts to recover his power. Nor is there any reason to suppose that the annihilation of the Peshwa, as the head of the Mahratta federation, was rendered less impressive upon the native mind by the liberality of the British Government: however munificent the allowance, the representative of a chief who had once given laws to Hindustan, had descended to the level of a dependant upon the bounty of his victorious enemies. Although not approving of the stipulations, Lord Hastings immediately ratified them, and did full justice to the motives of Sir John Malcolm. He also admitted, four years afterwards, when addressing the Secret Committee, that none of the evil consequences which he had anticipated, had resulted from the arrangement.[1] The Court of Directors also formally pronounced their opinion, that the important advantages which resulted from Baji Rao's surrender, justified the terms by which it had been secured.[2]

Baji Rao, after accompanying General Malcolm to Mahidpur, was transferred to the charge of Lieutenant Low, by whom he was escorted to Hindustan. A residence was assigned him at Bithur, about ten miles from Cawnpore, on the Ganges, recommended to the Government of Ben-

[1] October, 1822.—Papers, 457. [2] Political History, I, 533.

gal by its proximity to that military cantonment, and to the Mahrattas[1] by its reputed sanctity; a European officer was stationed at Bithur as Commissioner, having the general charge of Baji Rao, and those who remained with him, and being the medium of his communications with the Government.[2] Trimbak, after the failure of his attempt to obtain any conditions, retreated to Nasik, and remained concealed there for some time; but information of his lurking-place having been received, a party of horse, under Captain Swanston, succeeded in discovering and apprehending him; he was conveyed to the fort of Thanna, whence he had formerly escaped, but was afterwards sent round to Bengal, and kept in confinement in the fort of Chunar, where he died. The commander of the party by whom the Vaughans were murdered, was long harboured by Chintaman Rao, one of the southern Jagirdars, but upon a force being sent against that chief, he was given up. As he pleaded, however, the orders of his superiors, his life was spared; but he was imprisoned for the rest of his days in one of the hill forts. Sure retribution thus overtook the perpetrators of acts of treachery and cruelty, as contrary to the dictates of humanity, as to the laws of international intercourse, and bringing deserved disgrace and defeat even upon the justifiable vindication of national independence.

The extinction of the name and power of the Peshwa, and the dissolution of the bonds by which the Mahratta chiefs were held together, constituted one of the greatest political revolutions that modern India had witnessed. Little more than half a century had elapsed since Sadasheo Bhao led two hundred thousand combatants to the battle of Panipat, and although the result of the combat was disastrous, the speedy retreat of the Afghans and the decline of their power allowed the vanquished to recruit their strength, and renew their ambitious designs with improved resources and enhanced success. A Mahratta prince ruled Hindustan as the nominal representative and real master

[1] It is fabled to have been the scene of a performance of an Aswamedha by Brahmá.

[2] In 1832, the land adjacent to the town of Bithur was converted into a Jagir, and granted to Baji Rao exempt from the operation of the Regulations of the Government; the civil and criminal jurisdiction being intrusted to the ex-Peshwa, subject to such restrictions as might at any time appear advisable. Bengal Regulations, i. 1832.

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of the Mogul. Again yielding to the ascendancy of the stranger, the supremacy of the Mahrattas was destroyed; but they retained strength sufficient to be formidable, and needed only consolidation and guidance to dispute with the victors the mastery over Hindustan. The blow now inflicted was irretrievable. The diminished and scattered fragments of the Mahratta confederacy were reduced to a state of weakness which could acquire no vigour from reunion; and as the main link which had held it together was struck out of the chain, it was disunited for ever.

Although the escape of Apa Saheb occasioned the prolongation of military operations after the surrender of the Peshwa, yet, as all the principal objects of the campaign had been accomplished, and the armies of the British Government had, for the most part, been finally withdrawn, the war might be now considered at an end. In taking a brief retrospect of the transactions by which it had been signalised, it is impossible to withhold from them the merits of comprehensiveness of plan, skill of combination, and vigour and precision of execution, although it is equally impossible to deny that the tortuous policy and insane temerity of the Mahratta princes surpassed all reasonable anticipation. The web was woven with masterly art, but that the victims should rush so precipitately into its meshes, appeared to be the work of an overruling destiny, rather than the result of human infatuation, against which it could have been necessary to provide.

The equipment of a force so much more than adequate to its avowed object,—the extinction of the predatory system, upheld, publicly at least, by a scanty horde of undisciplined and ill-organized banditti, was fully justified by the knowledge which the Governor-General possessed of the disposition of the Mahratta princes to countenance that system, and to perpetuate a state of things which, in their belief, contributed to their strength and ministered to their necessities; replenishing their coffers with a portion of the spoil, and recruiting their armies in time of war, with willing and hardy partisans. That they would lend secret aid to the Pindaris was therefore certain; that they would make common cause with them was not impossible, and it was wisely done, therefore, to show them the danger of such policy by a display of the vast and

irresistible might of the British Government. The armies that took the field, and the commanding positions which they assumed, were well calculated to intimidate the most daring of the native chiefs, and to impress upon their minds the hazard of secret support, the hopelessness of open resistance.

But beside the bias in favour of the Pindaris, arising from an imagined identity of interests, the Mahratta princes, as the British Government was correctly apprised, were animated by a spirit of intense hostility, engendered by their past discomfiture and recent humiliations, against the effects of which it was equally necessary to guard. Although it may be reasonably doubted if any definite combination against the British power had been concerted, yet it is certain, that Baji Rao, who had been the greatest sufferer by the British connexion, had been labouring for some years to infuse into the minds of other chiefs, the indignant feelings which rankled in his own, and to engage them in a scheme for the regeneration of the Mahratta power, and the restoration of the Peshwa to the rank and consideration enjoyed by his predecessors. That his intrigues had not altogether failed of effect was ascertained; and although no perceptible indications announced the general adoption of his projects, yet it was prudent to leave no temptation to their adoption by a mutilated display of the strength by which they would be encountered. By the extent and disposition of the grand army, Sindhia, the most formidable of the chiefs, was at once paralysed, and the army of the Dekhin was well suited to curb the discontent of the Peshwa and the Raja of Nagpur, had they not, with inconceivable desperation, defied consequences, and rushed upon their fate.

It is not easy to comprehend the motives which urged the Peshwa into a deadly rupture with his allies, at a moment when his dominions were occupied, and his communications intercepted by armies to which he had nothing to oppose. He no doubt over-rated both the disposition and the ability of Sindhia to assist him, and he probably exaggerated the embarrassments and difficulties of the attack upon the Pindaris. He was not ignorant, however, of the resources of the British, or of the comparative insignificance of his own, nor was he destitute of judgment

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or sagacity. It is not, however, inconsistent with the native character, to throw away in a fit of extreme irritation the fruits of a long course of caution and craftiness, and to dare inevitable destruction. Without question, however, he relied upon a larger measure of forbearance than he experienced, and looking back to the excessive lenity which had been displayed to Sindhia and Holkar at the close of the last war, expected no heavier retribution than an augmented subsidy and territorial sequestration.

The conduct of Apa Saheb was, if possible, still more insane than that of Baji Rao. Inconvenient as he might feel the engagements which he had contracted, yet it was to them that he owed even what he possessed. His power was the work of his allies, and if the price he paid for it was heavy, he had yet no reason to believe that it was incapable of alleviation. His only plea in vindication of his conduct, was his allegiance to the Peshwa, a plea scarcely compatible with his position, as the Bhonsla Rajas had never regarded themselves as vassals of the Peshwa, and had not unfrequently been their opponents. The plea was a mere excuse for the indulgence of a rash and restless nature. His treachery could not have been an element in the estimate of probable foes, but the arrangements that had been made were adequate to the unexpected contingency. The hostility of Holkar was an occurrence upon which anticipation was less at fault. The inefficiency of the Government of the State was matter of universal notoriety, and the predominating influence of the military leaders was likely to compel it to warfare. Their interests were involved; they were a part of the predatory system.

Whatever, therefore, might have been thought of the disproportion between the magnitude of the original preparations, and the objects for which they were originally designed, events vindicated in a remarkable manner the wisdom and foresight with which the Marquis of Hastings had adopted so extensive a scale. Contingencies which were unforeseen, as well as those which had been anticipated, were fully provided for, and not only had the predatory hordes been extirpated, but the princes who came forward in their support had shared their downfall. Every object that could have been proposed had been

triumphantly achieved, and a single campaign had totally changed the political aspect of Hindustan. The extent of the transformation will be best understood when we shall have completed the narrative of military operatinos.

CHAPTER IX.

Barbarian Races of the Ranges of Hills along the Nerbudda. — Gonds, Bhils, &c.— Measures against the Depredations of the latter in Kandesh and Malwa. — Operations against the Gonds, and other Adherents of Apa Saheb. — His Refuge in the Mahadeo Hills. — Irregular Bands in his Service. — Desultory Hostilities. — Defeat of a British detachment. — Death of Captain Sparkes. — Extension of the Insurrection. — Checked. — Many Parties cut up. — Troops penetrate into the Hills.— Gond Villages destroyed. Concerted Plan of Operations. — The Mahadeo Hills ascended. — Apa Saheb leaves the Hills, accompanied by Cheetoo. — Flies to Asir. — Not allowed to remain. — Assumes the Disguise of an Ascetic. — Makes his Way to Mundi. — Cheetoo not admitted into Asir. — Flies to the Thickets. — Killed by a Tiger.— Asirgerh demanded from Sindhia. — Jeswant Rao Lar ordered to deliver up the Fort.—Procrastination.—The Fort besieged.—Lower Fort taken. — Upper surrendered. — Documents proving Sindhia's Insincerity. — Asirgerh retained. — Close of the War. — Its Results. — Territorial Acquisitions from the Peshwa. — System of Management. — From Holkar. — From Sindhia. — From Nagpur. — Territorial Arrangements with the Nizam. — With the Gaekwar. — Political Results.

THE Vindhya and Sathpura ranges of hills, which accompany the Nerbudda, from its source to its termination in the Gulph of Cambay, following nearly parallel lines on the north and south of the course of the river; expanding, at its eastern extremity, into a mountain rampart, which separates Bengal and Orissa from Berar, and at the western into a similar, but less extensive barrier, dividing Malwa from Kandesh and Guzerat; appear to have afforded an asylum to the aboriginal inhabitants of central India when

they retreated before the southern progress of the Brahmanical Hindus. In the middle portion of this line, the hills sink down to their lowest elevations, and they accordingly afford the most practicable routes from the Dekhin to Hindustan, and are the seats of several populous and flourishing towns; but the country on the east and west presents a succession of hills, of greater, although not very lofty height, which are rendered difficult and dangerous of access, by dense and insalubrious thickets, amidst which existence is secure only to the beasts of the forest, or the scarcely tamer human beings whom habit has fortified against the pestiferous vapours by which their haunts are best protected against the encroachments of more civilised tribes. The most eastern of these hills, from the confines of the British possessions to the borders of Berar, are the loftiest and most inaccessible, and much of the country is even yet unexplored. They are tenanted by various barbarous races, of whom the principal are the Koles, the Khonds, and the Gonds, living in villages among the forests, under their own chiefs; practising, in some places, a limited agriculture, but more usually subsisting on the produce of their cattle, the gleanings of the chase, or the wild fruits, herbs, and grain, which are the spontaneous growth of the thickets. The want of wholesome nutriment is in some measure compensated by the use of fiery spirits, to which the people are immoderately addicted. They are as scantily clothed as fed, and are armed chiefly with bows and arrows, large knives, and occasionally with matchlocks. Although sometimes professing to respect the few ignorant Brahmans who may have settled among them, this is not universally the case, and they cannot be said to follow the Brahmanical religion. The objects of their rude worship, which is commonly sanguinary, and sometimes comprises human victims, are local divinities, as the Deity of the Earth, or the presiding Genii over certain mountain-peaks; or shapeless blocks of wood or stone, occasionally dignified with denominations borrowed from the Hindu Pantheon—particularly with the name of Siva, and his wife Parvati: in some few places, also, Mahadeo, in his ordinary type, seems to have been adopted as one of their gods. The Koles, called in some

places also Lurka Koles,[1] are found principally in Sirguja and Sambhalpur; the Khands on the borders of Cuttack and Ganjam. The Gonds are still more widely extended, and spread from the western and southern limits of Bahar to those of Bundelkhand and Berar, and for some distance along the valley of the Nerbudda. Towards the western extremity of the ranges, the hills and forests are occupied by the Bhils,[2] a race similar in their general habits and character to those which have been mentioned, but associating more freely with their civilised neighbours, and therefore somewhat less barbarous. The same familiarity with civilisation had, however, fostered other propensities, and the Bhils had learned to lay waste the cultivated lands in their vicinity, or levy a tax upon the villagers as the price of their forbearance. These barbarians occupied chiefly the rugged country between the Tapti and the Nerbudda, spreading both to the south of the former, and

[1] Of the Koles, or Lurka Koles, little authentic information has been published, and that little has appeared in ephemeral publications. According to Lieutenant Blunt, he met with Koles near the river Son, on the eastern confines of Rewa, while all the mountain tribes, from the northern limits of Ruttenpur, towards the confines of Berar and Hyderabad, between them and the Mahanadi, he calls Gonds. — Journey from Chunar to Yertnakudam, Asiatic Researches, vol. vii. Mr. Colebrooke, in his journey from Mirzapur to Nagpur, describes Koles, Gonds, and other tribes, on much the same line of route. — As. Ann. Reg. for 1806, vol. viii. "The Alpine region of Orissa, comprising the central ridge, the lofty plateau, and the inner valleys of the chain of Ghats, with the great tracts of forest by which they are surrounded, has been occupied from the earliest historical periods by three races, the Koles, the Khonds, and the Souras,—according to tradition, the original occupants, not only of this portion, but of the greater part of the Orissa."—Macpherson's Report on the Khonds. How far these races are allied or distinct, has not been determined by the only test now available, that of their language. Some tolerably copious vocabularies of the Khond language are given in the sixth and seventh volumes of the Journal of the Madras Literary Society, but I am not aware if any of the languages of the Koles or Gonds have been published. Of these races, the Gonds seem to be most widely spread; occupying the interior mountains from the confines of Bahar and Orissa to the south-western limits of Bundelkhand and the valley of the Nerbudda.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, 1842, vol. ii. p. 1, 341. In three districts of the Nerbudda territories, the Gond population is considered to be much underrated at 180,000.—Ibid. 351. Sir J. Malcolm also mentions the existence of Gonds between Bagli and Mandaleswar. See also Jenkin's Report on Nagpur for the Gond tribes of the eastern portions of the province. Koles and Gonds are named in early Sanscrit works, the latter are found in the Amara Kosha.

[2] Sir J. Malcolm has given an account of the Bhils in his Central India, vol. i. 517. According to him they are a distinct race from any other Indian tribe, but this requires to be established by a comparison of their dialects with those of the other mountaineers. Their own traditions bring them from the north, the borders of Jodhpur. In Sanscrit works of the tenth and eleventh centuries, we find Bhils inhabiting the country between Bahar and Bundelkhand, the present site of the Koles and Gonds—an additional reason for considering them to be allied.

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north of the latter river, into Kandesh, and the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam on the one hand, and Nimaur and Malwa on the other. At an early date, some of the Bhils migrated into the plains in search of subsistence, and earned it by acting in subservience to the village authorities, as a rural police; serving as watchmen in the villages, and patrolling the roads. They received an equivalent in money or in grain, and this they came to consider as their indisputable right. In the latter days of disorder, their connexion with the Government officers had been dissolved, and many acts of mutual offence had transformed them from guardians of life and property, into their most dangerous assailants. The Bhils of the plains had been joined by recruits from the hills, and cultivation and commerce were almost annihilated by their depredations.

Upon Trimbak's escape from captivity, he sought security, as we have seen, in the vicinity of the Bhil settlements, and found among them ready partisans. The licence to plunder with which he requited their services was too agreeable to their habits to be relinquished when their leader was obliged to fly to the east, and their predatory incursions were continued for some time after his expulsion. The movements of the Peshwa left the British functionaries no opportunity to attend to minor evils, but as soon as any peril from that cause ceased to be apprehended, active measures were adopted by Captain Briggs, the political agent in Kandesh, and by Sir John Malcolm, in Malwa, for the protection of the districts under their control, against the irruptions of the Bhils.

The unhealthiness, as well as the ruggedness of the tracts in which the villages of the mountain Bhils were situated, rendered it impossible to undertake any operations against them on an extensive scale, or for a continuous period. Small detachments were, however, sent occasionally into the hills, which were in general successful, burning the Hattas, or villages of the mountaineers, killing many of the men, and capturing their families and their chiefs. Troops were also posted along the skirts of the hills to check their inroads, and cut off the supplies which they were accustomed to procure from the plains. At the same time, the chiefs were invited to come in and resume the police duties which they had formerly dis-

charged, upon the assurance that their claims should be equitably investigated, and those for which precedent could be established should be allowed.[1] Many of them accepted the conditions, and although, in some instances, the engagements into which they entered were not held sacred, and travellers and merchants were still robbed and murdered, yet the greater number adhered to their pledge; and as prompt punishment followed the perpetration of violence, a salutary terror confirmed their peaceable disposition, and rendered them even willing instruments in the apprehension of the refractory.[2] This object was further promoted by the introduction of the policy which had long proved effective in Bengal, in respect to the wild tribes of the Rajmahal hills. A Bhil militia, disciplined and commanded by British officers, was substituted for the disorderly gangs, headed by their own Nayaks; and the same men who were the scourge and dread of the districts contiguous to their forests were trained to guard the labours of the farmer, and to guide the traveller and the merchant in safety along the road.[3]

The military operations which it became necessary to undertake against the Gonds, partook more of the character of systematic warfare, as they grew out of political occurrences, and were required for the accomplishment of a political object, — the suppression of the adherents of the fugitive Raja of Nagpur, and his seizure or expulsion.

When Apa Saheb effected his escape from his escort, in

[1] Elphinstone's Report on Poona.—Extracts from the Records, iv. p. 141.

[2] Nadir Sing, a Bhil chief of great notoriety, had been induced, partly by threats and partly by rewards, to promise conformity to the British system. After some time he violated his engagements, and plundered and put to death some inoffensive travellers; an atrocity that required exemplary punishment. At the time when his guilt was established, he was on a visit to some of his kindred for the purpose of celebrating the marriage of his son; an order was immediately sent to the chiefs with whom he was, to apprehend and send him to the British functionary. Troops were ready to enforce the order, but their presence was unnecessary. He was seized by his own associates and sent to Sir J. Malcolm, by whom he was sentenced to imprisonment for life at Allahabad. His son was allowed to succeed to his authority. "No event," says Sir J. Malcolm, "was ever more conducive to the tranquillity of a country than this act of justice."—Central India, i. 524. As an instance of Bhil habits, as well as of the liberality of his captors, Nadir Sing was allowed, during his captivity, a bottle of brandy every four days.—MSS.

[3] There are several Bhil corps in the service of the Company. Under the Bengal Presidency are three, the Mewar, Nimaur, and Malwa corps; collectively about one thousand one hundred foot, and one hundred and twenty horse. There is also a Bhil corps in Kandesh.

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the middle of May, he fled to Harai, a petty state in the Nerbudda valley, governed by Chain Sah, a powerful and ambitious Gond chieftain, who had usurped the chiefship from his nephew while a minor, and had established his authority not only over Harai, but several of the adjacent districts. His power extended throughout the Mahadeo hills, a detached cluster, lying on the south of the river, and to the right of the main road from Nagpur to Hosainabad, at about an equal distance, or eighty miles from either. Within this circuit was a temple of celebrity, dedicated to Mahadeo, whence the name of the hills, which at certain seasons was a place of great resort as an object of pilgrimage, and the sanctity of which was, no doubt, considered by Apa Saheb as a sanctuary from pursuit. A much more effective protection was afforded by the thickets which spread over the hills, and which could not be penetrated with impunity during the rainy season, now about to commence. Here the Raja was at leisure to devise measures for the annoyance of his enemies, if not for the recovery of his power, and found a ready auxiliary in the restless and turbulent Gond. Many other chiefs, professing themselves to be vassals of Berar, also joined the Raja; and the Mahratta soldiers, Pindaris, and Arab mercenaries, who had been cast adrift by the dispersion of the regular troops of Poona and Nagpur, either repaired to the Mahadeo hills, or concentrated in different parts of the surrounding country, and carried on a war of posts against the British detachments. Their numbers were exaggerated, but they occasionally acted in bodies of three or four thousand, and the aggregate in arms could not have been much less than twenty thousand, so easy was it at this period to collect armed bands around every standard which led the way to confusion and plunder.

Although it was indispensably necessary to postpone an attack in force upon Apa Saheb's head-quarters, until a more favourable period, yet the equally imperious necessity of protecting the country from desolation, and of checking the extent of the rising in the Raja's favour, rendered it impossible to avoid exposing the troops to the harassing services of desultory hostilities at an inclement season; and detachments were accordingly stationed in various parts of the valley contiguous to the hills, from

the several divisions of Colonel Adams at Hosainabad, Lieutenant-Colonel Scott at Nagpur, and Brigadier-General Watson at Ságar. Their distribution and movements counteracted, in a great measure, the objects of the enemy; but the organisation of the latter, their knowledge of the country, and the countenance and assistance which they received from the natives and from the civil functionaries of the Mahratta Government, enabled them at first to elude the attacks of the British, and even to gain some advantages over them. As the contest was prolonged, the troops became more manageable, the country better known, and the insurgents suffered severe retaliation.

The first affair that took place was calculated to give confidence to the Raja's partisans. A body of Arabs, after assembling at Mail Ghat, on the Tapti river, advanced to the town of Maisdi, and took possession of it. In order to dislodge and disperse them, Captain Sparkes was detached, on the 18th of July, from Hosainabad to Baitul, with two companies of the 10th Bengal Native infantry. He was followed on the two following days by stronger detachments, but without waiting for their junction, Captain Sparkes pushed forward, and on the 20th, encountered a party of horse, the van of the enemy's force. They retreated, but only to fall back on the main body, consisting of two thousand Mahratta horse, and fifteen hundred Arab and Hindustani foot. Taking post upon the edge of a ravine, Captain Sparkes checked, for some time, the enemy's advance, but when they had crossed the ravine in considerable masses, retreated to a hill, where his men again maintained their ground until their ammunition was expended, and many, with Captain Sparkes, had been killed. The enemy then rushed upon them in overwhelming numbers, and put nearly the whole to death. A few wounded Sipahis contrived to escape, and eight others, who had been left to guard the baggage, effected a timely retreat.

To remedy the ill effects of this disaster, Major Macpherson was sent to take the command at Baitul, and reinforcements under Captain Newton and Major Cumming were immediately despatched from Hosainabad. Captain Hamilton was sent from Nagpur to superintend the country about Deogerh, and was followed by Captain

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Pedlar with reinforcements. On the north and north-east a division was thrown forward from Jabalpur. A corps of Rohilla horse was distributed along the northern skirts of the Mahadeo hills, and Salábat Khan of Elichpur, on the south-east, was called upon for his contingent. Brigadier-General Doveton also moved from Jalna; but his march was delayed by the inclemency of the weather, and the impassable state of the roads and rivers. The troops were exposed to incessant rain and frequent storms, and soon began to suffer in their health. At the Gawilgerh pass the whole of the tents were blown down by a violent gale. Their advance was, therefore, painful and tedious, and after frequent halts, and leaving behind the artillery and heavy luggage, it was not until the middle of September that the force was concentrated at Elichpur.

Until the troops could be assembled in sufficient strength, the partisans of the Raja continued their successful career. A small party of Sipahis, posted at Shahpur, was surprised and destroyed by a Gond Raja, and in the beginning of August, the enemy gained possession of the town of Multai, chiefly through the connivance of the civil authorities. To the eastward, the Gonds and Arabs occupied Lanji, Compta, Ambagerh, and other places, and advanced to within forty miles of the capital, where much agitation prevailed, and a conspiracy against the young Raja was detected. The leaders were punished; and to repel the advancing insurgents, Captain Gordon, with a further portion of the subsidiary force, was sent from Nagpur. Major Cumming was directed to recover Multai —a service which he executed at the end of the month— the garrison evacuating the town and fort. Light detachments, under Captain Newton and Lieutenant Ker, overtook parties of the fugitives, and put numbers to the sword. In like manner, the places to the eastward were soon retaken. Compta, which was defended by a stockade with a ditch and a small fort, was carried by assault, in which six hundred of the garrison perished. Amba-gerh was taken by escalade, and Pouri by storm, by another detachment from Nagpur, commanded by Major Wilson. Other places were recovered, and the enemy were driven from all their posts upon the plain in this direction. Important successes were also gained in other quarters. A

party at Burday, about five hundred strong, was attacked by Major Bowen, with a squadron of cavalry and one hundred light infantry, and three hundred of the number were slain. A like party was destroyed at Jiva-gerhi by Lieutenant Cruickshanks, with a detachment of one hundred and eighty infantry, fifty of the 7th Bengal cavalry, and eighty Rohilla horse. A vigorous effort by Chain Sah, at the head of two thousand Gonds and Mahrattas, to gain possession of Chauragerh, was checked by the gallantry of a native officer and thirty men, its slender garrison, until the arrival of a detachment under Lieutenants Brandon and Bacon; when the Gonds were defeated and driven off with heavy loss. By the end of September, operations began to spread into the hills. Captain Newton, with the 2nd battalion of the 12th Bengal infantry, a company of the 1st battalion of the 23rd, and a squadron of the 7th native cavalry, marching from Baitul, followed the flying Gonds to their villages, burnt many of them, and captured or killed their defenders. Several of the chiefs fell; among whom was one who had headed the party which put to death the Sipahis at Shahpur. The villagers at several places had also been engaged in the action with Captain Sparkes, as appeared from the dresses, arms, and accoutrements, of the 10th infantry, which were found in their huts, and their comrades exulted in the vengeance which they had inflicted, and the trophies which they had recovered.

With the commencement of 1819, the system of detached and desultory war was discontinued, and was succeeded by a concerted plan for an attack upon the head-quarters of Apa Saheb. With this view the detachments were, for the most part, called in. A concentrated portion of the Nagpur subsidiary force marched from Nagpur to Multai. Colonel Adams, with his main body moved from Hosainabad upon Pachmari, and Major O'Brien, from Jabalpur, upon Harai. Brigadier-General Doveton advanced from the south-west, to cover the road to Jilpi-amner, a fortified town, of which the siege detained him several days. Major O'Brien, on his march, fell in with Chain Sah, defeated and took him prisoner. Parties from the Nagpur and Hosainabad divisions penetrated into every recess of the hills, and Colonel Adams arrived at

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Pachmari in the middle of February. Apa Saheb was no longer there.

Reduced to great distress for supplies, by the vigilance of the British detachments, skirting the bases of the hills, and cutting off all communication with the adjacent country, and foreseeing the adoption of decisive movements as soon as they should become practicable, Apa Saheb determined to look to some other quarter for an asylum. In this design he was encouraged by the Pindari Cheetoo, who, after loitering along the southern limits of Bhopal, made his way, in the beginning of August, into the Mahadeo hills. Their knowledge of the friendly disposition of Jeswant Rao Lar, the Kiladar of Asir-gerh, induced them to expect a refuge in his fortress, and thither, therefore, they resolved to direct their flight. On the 1st of February, Apa Saheb, accompanied by Cheetoo, and a few well-mounted horsemen, quitted the hills, and passed through Burday, the officer commanding there having been misled by false reports of the Raja's intended route, and having marched to Shahpur, in the hope of intercepting him. On his arrival at Shahpur, he discovered the trick, and immediately countermarched and reached Burday in time to encounter and destroy a large body of Arabs and Hindustanis, who attempted to follow the route which the Raja had succeeded in taking. The first party pursued their course to the west towards Asir, but not with the same good fortune. News of Apa Saheb's flight having been conveyed to Lieutenant-Colonel Pollock, commanding at Jilpi-amner, he marched immediately to the north, and arrived on the morning of the 4th of February at Piplode, where he covered the two main roads to Asir-gerh. About two miles in his rear lay a third road, by the village of Yuva, and this was guarded by a strong picquet of cavalry and infantry. Late in the evening, the Raja and his companions came unexpectedly upon the British post at Yuva. As soon as they perceived their error, they turned their horses' heads and dashed into a deep ravine, where, aided by the darkness of the night, they escaped from the pursuit of the cavalry. A few were taken; and amongst the prisoners were several of the Sipahis, who had assisted Apa Saheb in his flight from Captain Brown, and who suffered the penalty of their disloyalty: the rest effected their retreat to the neighbour-

hood of Asir-gerh, where a temporary shelter was given to the Raja. Jeswant Rao refused, however, to admit Cheetoo and his followers; and while they hovered about Asir they were attacked by Major Smith, who had been detached by Sir John Malcolm to secure the passes north of Asir-gerh. They fled under the walls of Asir, from which a fire of matchlocks checked their pursuers, and afforded them an opportunity to disperse. Whether his own fears or those of Jeswant Rao abridged the period of the Raja's stay may be doubted, but after a few days, Apa Saheb repaired in the disguise of a religious mendicant to Burhanpur, where he was secreted for a short interval. Thence he made his way in the same disguise into Malwa, and approached Gwalior; but Sindhia was not inclined to risk the displeasure of the British Government in behalf of a Raja of Nagpur. He was obliged, therefore, to resume his travels, and found no rest until he reached the Punjab, where Ranjit Sing gave him shelter and subsistence for a season. Upon the withdrawal of his countenance, Apa Saheb had recourse to a petty Raja, the Raja of Mundi, beyond the first range of the Himalaya, and was suffered to remain there unmolested for several succeeding years. At a subsequent date he returned to Hindustan, and was protected by the Raja of Jodhpur, who was allowed to grant him an asylum, on condition of becoming responsible for his safe custody and peaceable conduct.

The companion of the ex-Raja of Nagpur, the Pindari Cheetoo, was still more unfortunate; and, after surviving the destruction or surrender of his former associates, was fated to suffer a death not undeserving of commiseration, although not an unapt close to his wild and sanguinary life. After the dispersion of his followers under the walls of Asir-gerh, he fled, with his son, to the north, with the intention of escaping into Malwa. Having crossed the Nerbudda at Pún-ghat, he sought to traverse the Vindhya mountains by the pass of Bágli, but finding it vigilantly guarded, he parted from his son, and turned off into a thicket near Kantapur, notoriously infested by tigers, to one of whom he fell a prey. His horse, wandering alone, was caught by a party of Holkâr's cavalry marching from Bágli to Kantapur, and being recognised, search was made for the rider. On penetrating into the thicket, his sword,

and parts of his dress torn and stained with blood, were found, and, finally, his head was discovered. These remains were readily identified by several of his followers who had been captured, and by his son, who, at the same time, gave himself up to Sir John Malcolm. Such was the end which the Pindari had hazarded rather than submit to a tranquil life, shackled by the restraints of dependance.

The attempt of Apa Saheb to take shelter in Asir-gerh, had been anticipated by the British Government, and in order to prevent its success, Sindhia had been required to place the fort in the temporary occupation of a British force. This arrangement had been proposed at the beginning of the war, and had been ostensibly acceded to; but as no emergency arose which rendered its fulfilment peculiarly expedient, and as it was probable that Sindhia's orders for the delivery of the fort, even if issued in a spirit of sincerity, would be disregarded, and that it would be necessary to lay siege to Asir-gerh, to ensure its occupation, it was judged advisable to refrain from insisting upon the transfer of the fortress. Now, however, a contingency had arisen which admitted of no longer hesitation. It was of the highest importance to exclude Apa Saheb from a stronghold, in the strength of which he might find the means of renewing a protracted resistance, and reanimating the hopes of his partisans; and it was accordingly resolved to call upon Sindhia to execute the original stipulation. Dowlat Rao affected cheerful compliance, and despatched orders to Jeswant Rao Lar to give up his fort to Sir John Malcolm, and repair to Gwalior. He followed up his orders by sending officers to enforce obedience, and declared himself prepared to unite his troops with those of the British in the siege, if the place was not promptly surrendered. Jeswant Rao pretended a like readiness to obey, but frivolous pleas were devised from day to day to defer his departure to Gwalior, until the contingency against which it was intended to provide, actually occurred, and Apa Saheb was admitted into Asir-gerh. It was obvious that Jeswant Rao had no intention of resigning his fort, and that Sindhia either connived at his recusancy, or was unable to enforce compliance with his orders. The reduction of the place was necessary to vindicate the British

power, and to deprive an unavowed enemy of the means of causing mischief. By firing also upon the British troops when in pursuit of Cheetoo and the followers of the Nagpur Raja, as well as by the reception of the Raja himself, Jeswant Rao had committed overt acts of hostility, which it was impossible to leave without rebuke. Sir John Malcolm, therefore, and General Doveton were instructed to employ the resources at their disposal in the siege of Asir-gerh.

The fortress of Asir-gerh stood upon a detached rock, about two miles from the end of one of the chief ranges of the Sathpura hills, commanding one of the great passes from the Dekhin. It consisted of two forts, a lower and an upper; the former occupying the western extremity of the rock, opposite to the Petta, or walled town beneath it, from which alone an ascent into the fortress was practicable: on every other side the perpendicular scarp of the rock defied assault, and the ascent from the town was strongly fortified. The approach from the lower to the upper fort, which crowned the summit of the rock, at an elevation of seven hundred and fifty feet above the plain, was by steep flights of stone steps, which led in succession through five gateways of solid masonry. There were some breaches in the face of the rock, especially on the north and east, but the chasms had been built up with substantial walls. The top of the rock was surmounted by thick and lofty ramparts, and by large cavaliers carrying guns of immense calibre.[1] The country on the north and south sides was generally level, but on the east and west was intersected by deep ravines, and crossed by ranges of hills, connected with the Sathpura range.

Brigadier-General Doveton, having been reinforced with troops and ordnance from Kandesh and Hosainabad,[2] advanced to the vicinity of Asir late in February, while Sir John Malcolm moved close to the fortress with the forces which he had collected at Mhow,[3] and with which he had

[1] One of these, an iron gun carrying a ball of three hundred and eighty-four pounds, was believed by the natives capable of lodging a shot at Burhanpur, fourteen miles distant.—Lake.

[2] His force consisted of one troop of European Horse Artillery, three regiments, the 6th Bengal, and 2nd and 7th Madras N.C., the Madras European regiment, the 15th regiment Bengal N.I., 1st batt. 7th, 1st batt. 12th, 2nd batt. 13th, 2nd batt. 14th, 2nd batt. 17th Madras N.I., and details of Bengal and Madras Pioneers, with an extensive battering train.

[3] These were details of European Horse Artillery, camel howitzer battery, 2nd regiment Madras N.C., 2nd batt, 6th, and 1st batt. 14th Madras N.C., 1st

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been employed in settling some disturbed districts on the Guzerat frontier, in the beginning of the year. As soon as it was obvious, that compulsory means alone would obtain possession of Asirgerh, General Doveton's division took up its ground on the south of the fort, while that of Sir John Malcolm was posted on the north. On the 18th of March, operations were commenced by the advance of a column from either division upon the Petta, which was carried with little loss, the enemy retreating into the lower fort. Posts were established and batteries constructed in the Petta, and a spirited sally of the enemy on the 20th having been repulsed, although with the loss of Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer of the Royal Scots, a practicable breach was made by the 21st, and the garrison retreated to the upper fort; but the explosion of a powder magazine attached to one of the batteries, emboldened them to return and resume the fire from the lower fort. It was soon silenced by the fire of the batteries. The charge of the Petta, and the prosecution of the siege on that side were made over to Sir John Malcolm, while General Doveton, with the principal part of the heavy ordnance, moved to the east front, as most favourable for the attack of the upper fort. By the 29th, both divisions were in full operation, and on the 30th preparations were made for storming the lower fort, when it was finally abandoned by the garrison and occupied by the assailants. On the eastern front the progress was necessarily slower, but by the 7th of April the defences were in so ruinous a condition, that Jeswant Rao despaired of the result, and after a conference with the British Generals consented to unconditional surrender. The garrison, composed chiefly of Arabs and Baluchis, marched out accordingly on the 29th; they were allowed to retain their shields and daggers and all private property, and were promised a conveyance to their native country. The loss of the garrison was less severe than that of the besiegers: the former having been sheltered by the nature of the ground. The latter had one officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Frazer, killed, and eleven wounded; the whole of

Grenadier regiment Bombay N. I., and 1st of the 8th ditto, with Pioneers. They were joined by two battalions Bengal N.I., 2nd batt. 1st, and 2nd batt. 13th, with artillery and heavy guns from Sagar.

the killed and wounded amounted to three hundred and thirteen. The reduction of a fortress of such high repute in native estimation as Asirgerh in so short a time, confirmed the impression which the success of the British arms had inspired throughout the campaign of the futility of opposition.

The capture of Asirgerh disclosed indisputable proofs of the insincerity of Dowlat Rao Sindhia; of his having sanctioned the contumacy of the Kiladar, and of his having contemplated affording shelter and succour to Baji Rao. A box of papers was seized containing letters, not only from the Peshwa and Apa Saheb, but others in Sindhia's own hand-writing, as was acknowledged subsequently by his ministers and himself, in which he directed that the fort should not be given over to the English, and that whatever orders might be received from the Peshwa they should be obeyed. As a punishment for this double dealing, it was determined to retain possession of Asirgerh and the district dependent upon it, and to communicate to Dowlat Rao the grounds of its detention. No further notice was deemed necessary, as the objects of the war had been accomplished, and allowance was made for the pardonable prepossession of the Mahratta chief in favour of his paramount lord. Dowlat Rao admitted the authenticity of the documents, but declared that they were intended only to make it appear that he wished to do something for the Peshwa's service, and that the tenor of any orders he might have sent was immaterial, as he knew well that Jeswant Rao would obey none but such as should be consistent with his own designs. He even admitted that he had written to Baji Rao to invite him to Gwalior, because he believed that his coming there was impossible. As an apology for this double duplicity, he merely pleaded in the figurative language which he frequently employed that it was natural for a man seeing a friend struggling in the water and crying for help, to stretch out his hands towards him, and to speak words of comfort, although he knew that he could give him no assistance. He was, however, evidently apprehensive of the consequences of his conduct, until time convinced him of the sincerity of the purposed forbearance of the British Government.

The capture of Asirgerh terminated the military move-

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ments of the British armies, and most of the troops returned to their stations in time of peace, having throughout this supplementary campaign, as well as in the earlier progress of the war, distinguished themselves, as much by their cheerful endurance of hardship and privation, and of the labours which they had undergone, as by their steadiness and intrepidity in action.

We are now prepared to consider the results of the past transactions, as they affected the British Government, and the Native powers of India.

The acquisition of additional territory formed no part of the original objects for which the Marquis of Hastings took the field. The districts from which the Pindaris were expelled were restored to the princes by whom they had been granted, or from whom they had been usurped; and not a rood of land would have been annexed to the British possessions, had not the violence and treachery of the Mahratta chiefs exposed them to the loss of their dominions. It was evident that Baji Rao considered himself too deeply wronged ever to forgive, and no leniency towards him could appease his resentment. His deposal was necessary for the preservation of public tranquillity, and for the security of the British power; and it, therefore, became a question to whom his extensive authority should be intrusted. He had no children, and no hereditary claims were involved in his downfall. To have elevated the Raja of Satara in his place, would have been to invest a doubtful ally with the means of becoming a formidable enemy, and would have been a boon exceeding his reasonable expectations. It was doubted by the Governor-General whether the grant of a liberal Jagir would not have been an adequate provision for him, and the substitution of a principality, as recommended by the Resident on political considerations, was coupled with the condition of a subordinate rule over a circumscribed territory.[1] The country set apart for the Raja, was bounded by

[1] "Your Excellency's instructions left me the choice of giving him a Jagir or small sovereignty, and I was inclined to adopt the latter plan, for various reasons. At the time when I had to decide, the Mahrattas showed no disposition whatever to quit the Peshwa's standard, and it appeared not improbable that the dread of the complete extinction of their national independence, and still more, that of the entire loss of their means of subsistence, from the want of a government likely to employ them, would induce them to adhere to Baji Rao, that could never have been produced by affection for his person, or in-

the Nira on the north, the Krishna and Warna on the south, the Ghats on the west, and the district of Punderpur on the east; and was calculated to yield an annual revenue of about thirteen lakhs of rupees.[1] The remainder of the Peshwa's dominions, comprising an estimated area of fifty thousand square miles, and a population of four millions, was made an integral part of British India.

The territory acquired by the British Government in the Dekhin, which had formerly acknowledged the authority of the Peshwa, comprised the province of Kandesh on the north; the country constituting that of the Mahrattas especially, comprising the districts of Ahmedabad and Poona, above the Ghats, and the Konkan on the west of the Ghats; and south of the Krishna, a portion of Canara, which had been formerly subjugated by the Mahrattas, and was, for the most part, divided among a number of feudatory chieftains, or Jagirdars, most of whom, although declining to act against the Peshwa, had either refrained from joining him, or had abandoned him at an early period, and were, consequently, permitted to retain their lands on the same tenures on which they held them under the Peshwa. The Konkan was added to the Bombay Presidency; the rest was placed under the authority of a Commissioner, assisted by five officers, including the political agent with the Raja of Satara, who, under the designation of collectors, discharged the supreme revenue and judicial duties. The arrangements adopted for the administration of the Mahratta territories were based upon the existing institutions, and which, when weeded from some glaring defects, were considered to be most acceptable to the people, and best suited to the prevailing condition of society. In the collection of the revenue, the chief principles laid down were to abolish the farming system, which had been carried to a ruinous extent under Baji Rao;[2] to levy the revenue according to the actual

terest in his cause. It therefore seemed expedient to remove these grounds of alarm, by the establishment of a separate government." —Letter from the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone to the Governor-General, Parl. Papers, Raja of Satara, Part I., p. 498.

[1] In the second year the net revenue amounted to nearly fifteen lakhs. —Treaty with the Raja of Satara, 25th Sept. 1819. Papers. Adm. of the Marquis of Hastings.

[2] The office of Mamlatdar, or Head Collector of a district, was put up to auction among the Peshwa's attendants, who were encouraged to bid high,

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cultivation; to make the assignments light; to impose no new taxes; and to abolish none, unless obviously obnoxious and unjust; and above all, to make no innovations. In the administration of civil law, Panchayats were had recourse to, while criminal cases were investigated by the British functionaries in person: to them, also, was entrusted the principal personal superintendence of the police. In their mixed duties, they were assisted by the native officers, combining similar powers. The system worked well; for although vast numbers of disorderly persons were thrown out of employment by the dispersion of the Peshwa's soldiery, the country speedily assumed a tranquil aspect, cultivation was extended, and trade revived; and no attempt of any importance was made to re-establish a native government. The immediate consequence of the mal-administration of the revenue, as well as of the mischief caused by political and military events, was a considerable diminution of the revenue. The amount of this, at one time, under the Peshwa, had exceeded two crores of rupees, but the cessions demanded from him in June, 1817, and other circumstances, had reduced it to one crore and ten lakhs, of which, not above fifty lakhs came into the treasury of the Peshwa. This sum it was expected to realize, and a surplus of thirty lakhs was calculated on, but after the first twelve months, the revenue was found to amount to but seventy-six lakhs, while the charges and assignments, exclusive of the pensions to the Peshwa and his brother, extended to seventy-two, leaving, therefore, the new possessions a financial loss. This, however, was but a temporary disappointment, and

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and sometimes disgraced if they showed a reluctance to enter on this sort of speculation. Next year this operation was renewed, and the district was generally transferred to a higher bidder. The Mamlatdar had no time for inquiry, and no motive for forbearance; he let the district out to under farmers who repeated the operation until it reached the Patel. If this officer farmed his own village, he became the absolute master of every one in it. If he refused to farm it at the rate proposed, the case was perhaps worse, as the Mamlatdar's own officers undertook to levy the sum with less knowledge and mercy. In either case, the actual state of the cultivation was little regarded; a man's means of payment, not the land he occupied, was the scale by which he was assessed. No moderation was shown in levying the sum fixed, and every pretext for fine and forfeiture, every means of rigour and confiscation were employed to squeeze the utmost out of the people before the time when the Mamlatdar was to give up his charge.—Elphinstone, Report of the territories conquered from the Peshwa, Calcutta, 1824; also Selections from the Records, iv. 139.

the improvement of the country, with the diminution of the expenses, rendered the acquisitions in the Dekhin as valuable in a financial as they were in a political point of view.

By the treaty with Holkar, the districts in Kandesh and the Sathpura hills, as well as those in the Dekhin, which were intermixed with the territories of the Peshwa and Nizam, were ceded to the British. They were not of great extent or value, but derived consideration from the manner in which they were scattered among territories subject to other princes, involving the inconvenient proximity of different independent jurisdictions. The conflict of claims arising out of such juxtaposition, was congenial to Mahratta policy, which hoped, from such collision, some contingent advantage. Such objects were of course foreign to the system now adopted; and, although some indulgence was shown in regard to places recommended by peculiar considerations, the districts of Holkar,[1] in the Dekhin, were amalgamated with those in their vicinity.

In the engagements concluded with Sindhia, no territorial cession was originally contemplated; but those districts which had belonged to the Peshwa, and had devolved on the British, either by cession or conquest, and which had been usurped by Sindhia or his officers, in Malwa, were reclaimed: the restoration of all usurpations from princes under British protection was also insisted on. It was further found desirable to require various exchanges of territory between Sindhia and the British government and its allies, for the purpose of establishing a more compact and better defined boundary. In this manner, several districts on the confines of Bhopal and Bundelkhand were annexed to them, and Ajmir was transferred to British authority. The possession of this province was recommended by political considerations, as its centrical position afforded ready communication with the Rajput states, and held in check the western confines of Sindhia's dominions, and the newly created principality of Amir Khan. Its

[1] The right of Holkar, as Des-mukh or head of a district, to villages, or parts of villages, or to certain payments or perquisites, presents a characteristic picture of the intricate and incompatible arrangements common under the Mahratta system. A statement of his claims is therefore given in the Appendix.

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financial value was inconsiderable,[1] and its sequestration was no loss to Dowlat Rao, as the whole revenue had been appropriated by his officer, Bapu Sindhia, by whom it had been held for some time past. Upon the whole, Sindhia was a gainer by these exchanges,[2] although his duplicity and treachery ill-deserved such favour.

The acquisitions next in extent and importance to those made from the Peshwa were derived from the territories of the Raja of Nagpur. They comprised the eastern portion of the valley of the Nerbudda, on either bank of the river, extending north and east to the district of Ságar, which, as we have seen, had been also taken possession of by the British, and to the borders of Bundelkhand; and on the west and south to the confines of Berar. In the latter province were ceded Gawilgerh and Narnala, with Akote and the contiguous districts. The government of the Raja's reserved territories was, as has been noticed, exercised, with the entire concurrence of the young Prince's nearest relatives and of the Regent Bai, by the British Resident, assisted by British officers as superintendents of the main division of the Principality, to whom the collection of the revenue, and maintenance of public order were entrusted, and who were instructed to preserve the native system and establishments unchanged, except in the correction of gross and palpable abuses. Under this system, the principality of Nagpur progressively improved in resources and prosperity until its final restoration to the Raja.[3] The territories separated from it were placed under the direct authority of the Government of Bengal. Sambhalpur, and the wild country spreading to Bengal and Orissa, hitherto dependent upon Nagpur, were likewise ceded, and a line of communication from Bengal to the Mahratta territories on the west, was thus completed.[4] The management of the district of Ságar

[1] In the first year of its occupation the revenue was less than a lakh and a half of rupees. Four years afterwards it exceeded four lakhs. The population was also quadrupled.—MS. Records.

[2] The revenue of the territory ceded by Sindhia was estimated at six lakhs, those made to him at nearly seven.—MS. Records.

[3] Report on the territories of the Raja of Nagpur, by Richard Jenkins, Esq., printed in Calcutta, 1827.

[4] These cessions were demanded in the conditional agreement entered into with Apa Saheb, 6th January, 1818, but the agreement was annulled by his flight, and was not finally renewed until December, 1828, when the Raja attained his majority. In the mean time the administration of the whole being

was united to that of Bundelkhand. The Nerbudda valley was subjected to the authority of a civil Commissioner, whose administration was based upon the same principles that had been adopted in the Poona territory, and who combined in his own person the chief revenue and judicial, as well as political, functions; having under him several assistants, entrusted with similar powers, but subject to the superintendence of the Commissioner. The assessment of the revenue, the distribution of civil justice, and the regulations of the police, were founded upon the institutions and usages of the people, but modified by the spirit of the British regulations. Subsequently Ságar was united to the Nerbudda territories; but the character of the administration long remained unaltered. The mountain countries to the eastward were governed by an agent, especially deputed for the purpose: and with some other dependencies of Nagpur, which, although not alienated, were managed by British officers for some years after the Raja's exercise of authority, were generally under the control of the resident of Nagpur. The revenues of the cessions from Nagpur were intended to provide funds for the payment of the seven and a half lakhs, the cost of the subsidiary force, and to be a compensation for the contingent force which the Raja was bound to maintain, the expense of which was estimated at nine and a half. The produce of the ceded territory approached nearly to this amount, realising, after some years' occupation, inclusively of Gondwana, about sixteen and a half lakhs of rupees, levied from a population of one million, three hundred and forty thousand persons. Conjointly with Ságar, the increase of British subjects in this quarter might be called two millions, paying a revenue of two millions and a half of rupees.[1]

in the hands of the Resident, the terms of the agreement had been acted on and the territories occupied.—See Treaty with the Raja, 13th December, 1826, Com. House of Commons, 1832, App. Pol. 620. The whole area of the ceded territory was estimated at 70,000 square miles.—Jenkins's Report on Nagpur.

[1] The following are the returns of 1827, when the Sagar and Nerbudda territories were united under one agency, and divided into three principal districts, viz. 1. Jabalpur, &c.; 2. Hosainabad, &c.; 3. Sagar:

NERBUDDA.

	JABALPUR.	HOSAINABAD.	SAGAR.	TOTAL.
Revenue	7,50,000	8,85,000	9,81,000	26,16,000
Population	7,20,000	6,25,000	5,60,000	19,05,000

The revenues of the Nerbudda districts are stated by Mr. Prinsep as having

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Although not immediate annexations to the British territories, yet as arising out of the war, we may notice the new arrangements made with the Nizam and the Gaekwar. As usual, districts subject to the Mahratta princes, especially to the Raja of Nagpur and the Peshwa, were intermixed inconveniently with the dominions of Hyderabad. Such of these as had fallen to the British, it was proposed to exchange for territories belonging to the Nizam, situated beyond his general frontier, giving him the advantage, as a recompense for the services of his subsidiary force, and his other contingents during the war. The adjustment was delayed, through the difficulty of obtaining an accurate valuation of the districts to be exchanged, and by the reluctance of the Nizam's ministers to admit the validity of any of the Peshwa's claims, to which the British government had succeeded. A treaty was at last concluded in 1822, by which the Nizam was released from all claims and demand on account of the late Peshwa, and received territories belonging to that prince and the Baja of Nagpur and Holkar, yielding a revenue of ten lakhs of rupees a year; in return for which he relinquished his lands between the Sena and Tumbhadra rivers, and his rights and possessions within the district of Ahmednagar, the whole being estimated at little more than four lakhs. He also engaged to give up a small tract to the Raja of Nagpur, and to continue the payments made by the Peshwa to certain of his dependants leviable from the revenues of the territory transferred to the Nizam.[1]

As great advantages were secured to the Gaekwar by the treaty with the Peshwa, in June 1816, in which the claims of the latter for tribute, and for his share of the farm of Ahmedabad, were abandoned;[2] and as the opportunity

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been in 1818-19, fourteen and a half lakhs; in 1819-20, twenty-one lakhs, and as having averaged twenty-three lakhs (say £230,000), during the three following years. The Sagar revenue rose in the same time from eight to nearly eleven lakhs, forming a total of thirty-four lakhs; but the first assessments on the land were too high, and the diminution made, with the gradual recovery from temporary depression, left them at the period here referred to, 1839-40, as stated, twenty-six lakhs.

[1] Treaty with the Nizam, 12th December, 1822.—Treaties with Native Princes, printed by order of Parliament, 1825.

[2] The annual gain to the Gaekwar was estimated at something more than twenty-two and a half lakhs of rupees (£222,500), viz:

was considered favourable for imposing an additional burden upon the finances of Guzerat, in the shape of an augmented subsidy, that Prince was, therefore, required to increase the subsidiary force, by a battalion of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, and to provide the requisite funds. It was at first proposed that they should be supplied by the transfer of Kattiwar, but as this was objected to by the court of Baroda, it was finally arranged that the Gaekwar should cede all the benefit which he had obtained from the perpetual farm of the Peshwa's territories subject to the city of Ahmedabad, in perpetuity to his allies. Some exchanges of territory were at the same time effected.[1]

These were the principal territorial additions which were the results of the war, and which brought with them a valuable accession of revenue and population. They were still more important in a political respect. Besides the actual extension of territory, they opened the whole of India to British access. Malwa, Rajputana, and a great part of the Dekhin had been almost closed against the British before the war, and the armies by which they were traversed beheld countries previously unknown. The dominions of the Mahratta chiefs interposed an extensive but compact barrier, separating the three Presidencies of Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, from each other, and from the principalities of Rajputana. This barrier was now broken down, and the intervening country pierced in every direction by British districts and dependencies, which enabled the Government at once to exert its influence or employ its power, whenever either might be required for

Tribute relinquished - - - - -	11,50,000
Ahmedabad farm - - - - -	9,75,000
Interest of a loan raised to pay off part of the debt to the Peshwa - - - - - -	1,00,000
Rupees	22,25,000

The average revenue of Guzerat for the three years, 1813-16, had amounted to 71,90,000 rupees, and the expenses to 62,70,000 rupees, leaving a surplus of above eight lakhs per year. The debt to the Company had been liquidated, and it was expected that all other encumbrances would be discharged in two years more.—Letter from Bombay, August, 1817. These expectations were disappointed, as we shall hereafter have occasion to observe.

[1] Supplement to the Defensive Treaty with the Gaekwar, 6th November, 1817, ratified by the Governor-General, 12th March, 1818, also additional article modifying exchanges and fixing the value of Ahmedabad at 12,61,969 rupees, 6th November, 1818.

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its own benefit, or the general welfare. The termination of hostilities was coincident with the establishment of the political supremacy of the British government over every native state; and although some short time elapsed before this supremacy was fully recognised, or its good effects were universally experienced, the delay was ascribable more to the reluctance of the Government to take advantage of its position, than to the disinclination of the native Princes to submit to, or their ability to resist, its dictation. The progress made in the establishment of the paramount influence of the Government of India during the first few years subsequent to the war, we shall now proceed to trace.

CHAPTER X.

Settlement of Central India. — Territories of Holkar. — Improvement in Population and Revenue. — Claims of the State. — Of its Dependants. — Adjusted by British Interference. — Rival Pretenders to the Throne. — Suppressed. — Settlement of Dhar and Dewas. — Relations with Sindhia. — Services of the Contingent. — His Financial Difficulties. — Engagements with Bhopal. — Islamnagar restored to the Nawab. — Death of Nazar Mohammed. — Killed by Accident. — His Widow Regent. — Principality prospers. — Rajput Princes — Secondary and Principal. — Topographical Situation of the former. — Engagement with Banswára. — Dungerpur. — Pertabgerh. — Sirohi and Krishnagar — With Bundi and with Kota. — Peculiarity of the Treaty with the latter. — Its Inconveniences. — Death of the Raja. — Aversion of Kesari Sing, his Successor, to the Hereditary Minister. — Quarrels with Zalim Sing. — Raises Troops. — Action of Mangrole. — Kesari Sing restored under Restrictions. — Death of Zalim Sing. — His Son succeeds as Minister. — Continued Aversion of the Raja. — Treaty with the Rana of Udaypur. — Alienated and usurped Lands recovered and restored to him. — Country improved. — Treaty with Jaypur. — Delay — Finally concluded. — Interference necessary. — Death of the Raja. — Disputed Succession. Birth of a Posthumous Son. — Bhyri Sal made Minister.

—Resident appointed.— Supports the Minister.— Treaty with Jodhpur. — State of Parties.—Man Sing resumes the Government.— Puts his Adversaries to death.— Country prospers.— Treaty with Bhikaner. — Suppression of Insurrection among the Bhattis.— Treaty with Jesalmer. — International Tranquillity assured. — Internal Tranquillity imperfectly maintained.

AFTER all the alterations and exchanges which remodelled the political subdivisions of Malwa, a considerable portion of this extensive and valuable province continued to be subject to the Mahrattas. The share of Mulhar Rao Holkar had been much diminished by the separation of the districts assigned to the independent rule of the military adventurers, Amir Khan and Ghafur Khan, and by the cessions made, under the treaty of Mandaleswar, to Kota, Bundi, and the British Government. There still remained, however, territory of some extent in the south-west of Malwa, surrounding the capital, Indore; some relaxation was admitted in regard to the tributes due from various subordinate Rajput chiefs: and several of Holkar's villages, in the Dekhin, were also restored to him. The Raja, Mulhar Rao Holkar, was a boy, but the administration was in able hands; and Tantia Jôg, with the advice and support of Sir John Malcolm, soon raised the state to a degree of prosperity which it had not experienced when of less circumscribed extent. Hundreds of villages, which had been left desolate, were re-peopled, and the peasantry, in following the plough, laid aside the spear and shield which they had been formerly obliged to bear for their defence during their agricultural labours. The mercenary troops were greatly reduced, and the expenses of the court economically regulated. In the course of a year, the revenue was raised from a nominal amount of four lakhs of rupees — the whole of which had been formerly anticipated by assignments in favour of military marauders — to fourteen lakhs; and continuing to improve during the life of the minister, amounted at his death, in 1826, to thirty-five lakhs of rupees.

The principal objects that required British interference, were the claims advanced by the state upon its tributaries, and those made upon it by a particular class of its

dependants. At the time of the conquest of Malwa by the Mahrattas, they either expelled from their possessions the Rajput chiefs, among whom the country was divided, or, when those chiefs were too powerful, were satisfied to require from them an acknowledgment of allegiance, and payment of an annual tribute. The weaker Rajas, who were despoiled of their patrimonies, fled to the hills and forests, and, collecting armed followers, ravaged the districts of which they had been dispossessed. Unable to arrest their predatory incursions by force, the Mahratta rulers submitted to purchase their forbearance, and granted them fixed assignments on every village within their reach, on condition that they desisted from plunder. The assignments were, in general, of small amount, but they were irregularly paid, and still more irregularly levied, and afforded a constant excuse for rapine and disorder. The number of claimants of this order, termed Grasias, from the nature of their demands,[1] was considerable. The more powerful Rajas were much fewer, but there were several tributary to Holkar, or Sindhia, or to both. In the general anarchy which had prevailed, their lands had been laid waste, and their means of discharging their tributes had been greatly reduced. But the means of enforcing payment had been equally enfeebled, and long arrears had been suffered to accumulate, the liquidation of which was a fruitful subject of contention between them and their superior lords. By the intervention of the British functionaries, both descriptions of claims were adjusted. The assignments of the Grasias were commuted for fixed payments by the public treasury, and arrangements were entered into for the gradual discharge of the arrears, and the regular payment of the stipulated tribute of the dependent Rajas. In this manner the states of Jabua and Narsinggerh, dependencies of Holkar, and those of Amjira, Ratlam, Silana, Sitamow, and others tributary to Sindhia, were made to contribute to the resources of the paramount power, while protected against its extortion by the interposition of the British Residents.

Little else occurred seriously to disturb the peaceable settlement of the Holkar state, although attempts were

[1] They were so termed from *Grás*, a mouthful, or as much as may be put into the mouth at once.

made to dispute the title, and even the identity of the young Raja. The former had a claimant, with a preferable right, in the person of Hari Rao Holkar, the son of Etoji, the elder brother of Mulhar Rao, who was put to death by the Peshwa. The young man showed little inclination to dispute the pretensions of his cousin, but he was detained in easy confinement by the prudence of the minister. The attempt to contest the Raja's personal identity was attended with more trouble. It was asserted that the young Raja had fled alone from Mahidpur, and concealed himself in an unfrequented part of the country so effectually that he could not be found. As, however, the British refused to treat with any authority except the Raja, Tantia Jôg had provided for the occasion the supposititious prince who now bore the title. The story was well supported, and the appearance and deportment of the Pretender, gave it so much the air of probability, that several old servants of the family believed its authenticity. There was no difficulty in collecting troops—many of the disbanded soldiers of Holkar's armies were wandering about the neighbourhood, and were ready to join any cause which held out the promise of free quarters and unrestricted pillage. Active measures were, however, promptly adopted, and the insurrection was suppressed before it had attained maturity. Krishna, the pretended Mulhar Rao, was captured, and proved to be the adopted son of a member of the family, of the age of the Raja, and not unlike him in person. After a short confinement, he was set at liberty as not likely to be again formidable. With the exception of the occasional disturbances created by refractory dependants, the affairs of the Holkar state continued for several years to prosper, under the able administration of Tantia Jôg, and the support and advice of Mr. Wellesley, the Resident.

West of the territories of Holkar, extending towards Guzerat, are situated the two small states of Dhar and Dewas, the governments of kindred chiefs. Their ancestors were Rajputs of the Powar tribe, but they had migrated at an early period to the south, and had become naturalised as Mahrattas. Included among the Peshwa's officers, they obtained assignments of land and tributes in Malwa upon the Mahratta conquest; and, although their

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possessions had been reduced to extreme insignificance by dissensions among themselves, and the encroachments of Sindhia, Holkar, and the other more powerful Mahratta leaders, they still retained a portion of their patrimony, and a place among the Mahratta princes of Malwa. Upon the advance of the British armies, they applied to be taken under protection, and, as part of the plan of effecting a settlement of Malwa, the application was, after some investigation, complied with. Allegiance, with military service on the one hand, and protection on the other, were the main conditions of the contracts.[1] Dhar ceded to the British government its claims of tribute on the Rajput principalities of Banswara and Dungerpur, and as security for a pecuniary loan, the province of Bairsia for five years. This district was eventually restored to Dhar.

The relations established with Sindhia have been already noticed. They continued unaltered, and Dowlat Rao seems to have learned to rely upon the friendly disposition of the British authorities, with some degree of confidence, although unable to divest himself wholly of suspicion of its ultimate designs against him. In his own language, although it might be possible for a man to become familiar with a tiger, and enter his cell without the fear of instant destruction, yet it would be difficult to remove all apprehension from his mind that he might at last become the prey of the animal. The anticipation has not been falsified, although its verification was deferred. The actual conduct of his allies was, however, calculated to confirm his reliance. The contingent, under British officers, performed services for Sindhia, which his other troops, perpetually in a state of mutiny and disorder, were unable to effect; recovered for him the province of Gurra Kota, from which his officers had been expelled; and reduced to submission the chiefs Ajit Sing and Dhaukal Sing, who had succeeded to the rights and resolution of Jaysing of Raghugerh. The latter of these chiefs repeatedly foiled all attempts to prevent his incursions into the settled territories, and defeated the detachments sent against him. He was at length taken by Captain Blacker, with part of the contingent, when a compromise was effected, by which the

[1] Treaty with the Raja of Dewas, 12th December, 1818, and with the Raja of Dhar, 10th January, 1819.

Khychwari chiefs recovered the town of Raghugerh, and were allowed pensions, in commutation of their other claims. The contingent was effective also in enforcing Sindhia's authority in a domestic quarrel. Patankar, the governor of his districts in Guzerat, having withdrawn from court, and carried with him his son, who had been betrothed to the Raja's daughter, the recovery of the bridegroom, as well as the preservation of his dependencies, were objects, for the realisation of which, the contingent was successfully employed. Sindhia had recourse also to the British government for assistance under the pecuniary difficulties by which he was constantly embarrassed. His own habits of life, and the expense of an armed rabble, useless in the altered condition of India, and at all times as formidable to those in whose service they were enlisted as to their enemies, occasioned a surplus expenditure, which left the prince at the mercy of the bankers and money-lenders of his court, and perpetuated the mismanagement of his territory, by the practice of payment of loans through assignments on the revenue. Still Sindhia preferred a struggle with his difficulties to a resignation of his independence; and, although he professed indifference as to what might become of his country after his death, he steadily persisted in declining to contract any subsidiary alliance.

A general agreement, stipulating for the co-operation of the Nawab of Bhopal with the British divisions in the part of Malwa contiguous to the principality, had been entered into at the commencement of the campaign. A formal compact was not executed until the principal events of the war had occurred. A treaty was then concluded, in which the Nawab acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, and received the assurance of its protection. No tribute was imposed, but the Nawab agreed to furnish a contingent force of six hundred horse, and one thousand foot, whenever required; and to assist, in case of necessity, with all his troops. In requital of his services against the Pindaris, a valuable accession of territory was granted to him from the possessions of the Vinchur Kar, which had devolved upon the British; and, at a subsequent date, the fort of Islamnagar, obtained by exchange from Sindhia, was restored to Bhopal. This was

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peculiarly grateful to the Nawab and his Mohammedan subjects, as it was the first strong place acquired by Dost Mohammed, the founder of the family, and was made his capital. It had been taken by Sindhia's predecessor by treachery, and the strength of the fortress rendered its recovery by force hopeless. It was situated within a short distance of Bhopal, and its occupation by a Mahratta garrison was a perpetual insult and annoyance. Its restoration was, therefore, a subject of national rejoicing to the Bhopal Pathans, and drew forth expressions of the warmest gratitude from Nazar Mohammed. There was no reason to question his sincerity; but he did not live long enough to attest it by his acts, and his early death was attended by circumstances ill-adapted to secure the consolidation and prosperity of his principality. A few months after the conclusion of the treaty, Nawab Nazar Mohammed was killed by a pistol shot. He had retired to the interior apartments of his palace, in company with his infant daughter and his brother-in-law, Faujdar Khan, a boy but eight years of age. There were no grounds to suspect treason, except the relationship of the Begum and her brother to Ghaus Mohammed, whom Vizir Mohammed had virtually deposed; and the affection of the Begum, and the tender years of the boy, as well as the circumstances under which the Nawab perished, satisfied the authorities, by whom a strict investigation was set on foot, that the pistol must have been accidentally fired by Faujdar Khan, in play with his brother-in-law.[1] Upon the death of the Nawab, the chief members of the family, and of the court, in the exercise of a privilege sanctioned by the usages of of the principality, elected, in concert with the British Resident, the son of Amir Mohammed, the elder brother of the Nawab, who had been debarred from the succession by the will of Vizir Mohammed, and the exigency of the times, to which his character was unfitted. The succession was restored to his son, but on the condition of his betrothal to the infant daughter the only child of Nazar Mohammed; and that, during the minority of the parties, the government should be administered by the Begum, as Regent, aided by two of the principal members of the family, and the counsels of the Resident. Although

[1] Major Henley, &c.—See Malcolm, Central India, i. 417.

the advance of Bhopal proved less rapid than had been anticipated by the sanguine expectations of Sir John Malcolm, it continued to be well governed, and to prosper under the new administration. The Begum, notwithstanding her youth, being now about nineteen, had been highly educated according to the system of Mohammedan instruction, and proved herself a woman of ability, resolution, and judgment. 1819.

The greatest gainers by the change of affairs in central India should have been the princes of Rajputana, and they did not fail to reap important benefits from the revolution, although their own wretched management frustrated, in some degree, the natural tendency of events. They were comprehended under two classes, secondary and principal, including under the first head the petty chiefs of Banswara, Dungerpur, Pertabgerh, Sirohi, Krishnagerh, Kerauli, Bundi, and Kotah; and under the second, the more powerful and distinguished Rajas of Udaypur, Jaypur, Jodhpur, Jesselmer and Bhikaner. With each of these, formal engagements were contracted, upon the general basis of subordinate cooperation, and acknowledged supremacy.

The Rajput princes of the inferior order, who, strong in the formation of their country and their native courage, compelled the Mahratta invaders to substitute tribute for subjugation, are found chiefly in a rugged country, west of the sources of the Chambal, between Malwa and Guzerat, known by the denomination of Bagar and Kanthal. In the former were situated Banswara and Dungerpur, while the Raj of Pertabgerh was considered equivalent to the latter. The Raja of Banswara had negotiated at Baroda for an alliance in 1812, offering to pay three-eighths of his revenue in requital of the protection of his territory and principality. He was referred to Delhi, and an envoy was accredited to the Political Agent, who, when it was resolved to take the Rajputs under the ægis of British power, was instructed to conclude a treaty under the terms proposed.[1] The Raja disavowed his agent, but declared himself to be still desirous of British protection, and a second treaty was framed and ratified, by which, in lieu of a proportion

[1] Treaty, 16th September, 1818, and 25th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, xcix. cvii. Agreement with Bhawani Sing, 11th February, 1823.

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of the revenue, the Raja engaged to pay to the British Government the arrears of tribute due to Dhar, and to continue the payment annually, in a scale of progressive augmentation, until it should rise to the amount that might be required for the military defence of the country—the final tribute not to exceed three-eighths of the revenue.[1] In the event of delay, or failure of payment, a British agent should be appointed to receive the collection. The terms of the engagement formed with the Raja of the neighbouring state of Dungerpur,[2] a kinsman of the Rana of Udaypur, were precisely the same as those with the Nawab of Banswara. The Raja died in July, 1819, and was succeeded by his son, Bhawani Sing, who was placed upon his cushion of sovereignty by the assistant to the Political Agent in Malwa.

The Raja of Pertabgerh was also a scion of the ruling family of Udaypur. He had been tributary to Holkar, but had been released from his dependance on that chief, by a treaty concluded with him in 1804, by Colonel Murray, commanding the Guzerat division. This treaty, and others concluded on the same occasion, with the petty Rajas in this part of India, were never formally ratified by the British Government, and had no other result than that of exposing the chiefs to the vindictive resentment of the Mahrattas. Pertabgerh had experienced its full share of the evil consequences of a precipitate contract, and readily sought relief in a new and better guaranteed agreement. Protection was promised, as was assistance against the mountain tribes of the neighbourhood, and against the Raja's refractory subjects,[3] in return for which the Raja agreed to pay, by instalments, the arrears of tribute due to Holkar, and a gradually increasing annual tribute, until it should reach a stipulated sum,[4] Under these arrange-

[1] The arrears were estimated at 35,000 rupees, which were to be paid in three years. The tribute for three years was fixed at 17,000, 20,000, and 25,000 respectively. In 1827-8, the Banswara tribute amounted to 30,000 rupees, it afterwards declined to 25,000.—Sutherland. In the Commons' Report, App. Pol. p. 188, the tribute of Banswara for 1827-8, is called 130,000 rupees, and that of the two preceding years, severally 50,000 and 40,000.

[2] Treaty with Sri Jeswant Sing, Raja of Dungerpur, 11th December, 1818. Treaties, Marquis of Hastings' Administration, ciii.

[3] Agreement with the Raja of Pertabgerh, 9th December, 1818. Treaties. Hastings' Papers, c.

[4] 72,000 rupees. This again was paid to the Government of Holkar, the British Government, although claiming the allegiance and tribute of Pertabgerh for itself, agreeing to pay to Holkar the same sum as the latter amounted to.

ments, this petty state continued to prosper, notwithstanding the occasional occurrence of domestic dissension. One important benefit realised to these feeble principalities was their extrication from a swarm of military adventurers, chiefly Arabs, Sindhis, and Mekranis, who, called in to engage in their mutual quarrels, had become, to a great extent, masters of the country. The dismissal of these mercenaries formed an article in each of the several engagements, but as it would have been incapable of fulfilment by the princes themselves, the employment of British troops was essential to its accomplishment; and by their aid a burthen that pressed heavily upon the resources of the state was thrown off. Above four thousand mercenaries were expelled, in the course of two years, from the country west of the Chambal. The benefit afforded by the repression of the incursions of the Bhils and Mhers was also of great magnitude, not only to the several states, but to Malwa and Hindustan; the roads to which, from Guzerat and the sea-coast, lay through Dungerpur and Banswara, and being now rendered secure from robbery and murder, were again thrown open to foreign traffic.

The Rajput ruler of Sirohi, a small principality on the south-eastern borders of Jodhpur, early applied to the British Resident at Baroda to be taken under protection. The position of this state in the line of communication between Rajputana and Guzerat recommended the formation of an alliance with the Raja, and the overture was favourably received. The conclusion of any agreement was delayed by the claims preferred by the Raja of Jodhpur, who maintained that Sirohi was included among his tributary dependencies. The claim was denied, although it was admitted that military incursions had been occasionally inflicted on Sirohi by the Raja of Jodhpur, or some of his Thakurs, for the purpose of levying arbitrary contributions.[1] No engagements of allegiance or protection had

[1] The petty and harassing nature of these incursions may be best conceived from examples. The village and lands of Srivara on the frontiers of Sirohi, had been subjected to a contribution levied by a body of Jodhpur troops, about once in three years, of one hundred and eighty rupees (say £18). In 1818-19, a demand was made of 1,400 rupees (£140), which the village being unable to pay, the invaders accepted a promissory note for 800 rupees (not likely ever to be honoured), and a mare valued at 600 rupees, for the balance. The two villages of Raniwara had been made in like manner, to pay 300 rupees; in the same year, they were plundered to the extent of 1,000 rupees, were obliged to

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ever been exchanged. It was therefore determined to extend to Sirohi the connection subsisting with the petty Rajput princes of Bagar and Kanthal, and thus form a continuous series of protected states from the frontiers of Malwa to those of Guzerat, where the chiefs of Pahlanpur, Radhanpur, feudatories of the Gaekwar, under British supervision, completed the chain. The principality of Sirohi, although more extensive than either of the other petty states of this class,[1] was less populous and productive, being situated among the Arivali mountains, and inhabited chiefly by Bhils and Minas, more addicted to plunder than to cultivation. At the time when the connection was first established, the poverty of the country had been enhanced by the oppressive rule of the Raja. He had been deposed by his subjects, and the Government was in the hands of his brother, as Regent, with whom the alliance was contracted. The presence of a Political Agent for some years at Sirohi, enabled the Raja to resume his authority, while it checked his tyranny, and the country was gradually restored to order and comparative prosperity.

Krishnagerh is a small state on the western borders of Jaypur, and immediately north of the British province of Ajmir. The treaty with the Raja provided for his military service when required, to the extent of his means, and promised protection, without interference in the internal management of the country.[2] Accordingly, at a subsequent date, in a dispute between the Raja and his Thakurs or nobles, the parties were allowed to adjust their own quarrel; and the Raja, upon being besieged in his capital by his Thakurs, was obliged to purchase their return to obedience by a confirmation of those privileges of which he had attempted to deprive them. So disgusted was the Raja with the result, that he abdicated his power in favour of his son; and, on condition of an annual pension from the revenue, retired to a private life in the British terri-

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grant a bill for 500 rupees more, and were robbed of four hundred goats and sheep, besides being exposed to the insolence and violence of a lawless soldiery. —M.S. Rec. Treaty with Seo Sing, Regent of Sirohi, 31st October, 1823.

[1] The area of Sirohi is calculated at three thousand square miles. That of Dungerpur, the next in size, at two thousand. Banswara and Pertabgerh at about one thousand four hundred each.

[2] Treaty with the Raja of Krishnagerh, 28th March, 1818. Treaties, Hastings Papers, xciv.

tories. Karauli,[1] a still smaller principality, on the eastern limit of Jaypur, early applied for British protection. The tribute paid by the Raja to the Mahrattas was remitted: and no conditions but those of general allegiance, and military service when required, were stipulated. The advantages of the engagement were entirely on the side of the Raja; and no interference has ever been exercised in his territory. He has, nevertheless, been unable to resist the bias of his natural propensity to embark in hazardous scenes of strife and peril, and was known to have furnished military aid to Bhurtpur, on an occasion which will be hereafter noticed.[2] It was not thought necessary to visit with severity a breach of faith so insignificant in its consequences.

The engagements that were entered into with the states of Haravati, or Bundi and Kota, were of more substantive importance, and were an essential part of the political system adopted by the Governor-General. The treaty with Bundi relieved it of all tribute formerly paid to Holkar, and transferred to the British Government, the collection of that which had been reserved to Sindhia, amounting to eighty thousand rupees. The lands which had been appropriated by Holkar within the limits of Bundi, were also restored to the Raja.[3] The grounds on which this state had deserved the bounty of the British Government,—the assistance afforded to Colonel Monson, on his retreat, have been already adverted to. The Raja died in the middle of 1821, and his son, Ram Sing, a boy of eleven years of age, was placed on the cushion, by the British agent in Rajputana, who conferred upon the youth the 'tika,' or mark of sovereignty, as the representative of the paramount Lord. A council of Regency was appointed of four principal ministers of the Raja; but it was soon after dissolved by the influence of the queen-mother, who assumed the character of Regent, and appointed her own minister. On his death, in the beginning

[1] Treaty with the Raja of Karauli, 9th November, 1817. Ibid. lxxix.

[2] "When the British Government was involved in the Burmese war, and Bhurtpur prepared for defence, under the usurpation of Durjan Sál, there was no doubt that Keraoli sent troops to the aid of the usurper, and assembled troops for its own defence. On the fall of that fortress, Keraoli made strong protestations of attachment, and it was not deemed necessary to take any serious notice of its proceedings."—Sutherland, 113.

[3] Treaty with Bishen Sing Raja of Bundi, 10th February, 1818. Treaties, xci.

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of 1823, the young Raja nominated a successor, without consulting the political agent; but, as it appeared that the choice was judicious, it was confirmed; and the state, under able management, continued prosperous. In the same year, the young Raja, then in his twelfth year, married a princess of Jaypur, who was in her twenty-fifth, the disparity of years being more than compensated by the honour of the alliance. The connexion was productive, at a later date, of disastrous consequences.

The real ruler of Kota, the Raj Rana, Zalim Sing, had, from the first, associated himself with the policy of the British Government, and had at once entered into a treaty of alliance. It was concluded with the sovereign of whom Zalim Sing professed to be the minister, the Maha Rao, Umed Sing. The tributes heretofore paid to the Mahrattas, were made payable, according to a stipulated scale, to the British Government.

The exercise of the supreme authority of Kota, by Zalim Sing, was apparently conformable to the wishes of the Raja Umed Sing, who, being of an unambitious and indolent disposition, rejoiced to be exempted from the cares of government. He was not subjected to any personal restraint; maintained a show of state; and was treated by Zalim Sing with the utmost deference. Still he had been so little heard of, or known in the transactions of central India, for many years past, that the British Government looked only to his representative; and was prepared, at the period of the negotiations with Kota, to have acknowledged Zalim Sing as the head of the principality. That prudent chief's regard for the opinion of Rajputana, which, however indifferent to the appropriation of the authority, would have severely condemned the usurpation of the title of Raja, deterred him from taking advantage of the friendly disposition or ignorance of his allies; and the treaty was designated as having been framed with the Raja, through the administrator of the affairs of Kota. This was considered, however, an insufficient recognition of Zalim Sing's actual power, and a supplementary article was therefore framed, by which, while the succession of the principality was acknowledged to be vested in the son of Umed Sing, it was also provided that the administration should be in like manner heritable, and after being exercised by the Raj Rana Zalim Sing, should

descend to his eldest son and his heirs in regular succession in perpetuity:[1] thus sanctioning the co-existence of a double government, and virtually guaranteeing the perpetual independence of a hereditary minister. The inconveniences of such a guarantee were soon manifested.

The Raja of Kota, Umed Rao, died in December, 1819, and was succeeded by his eldest son Kesari Sing.[2] The young prince submitted, although with impatience, to the control of the aged minister, but cherished an insuperable dislike to the eldest son of Zalim Sing, and insisted on his right to choose his own confidential adviser and eventual minister in the person of Govardhan Das, the younger son of the Raj Rana, and the new sovereign's early associate and friend. In the prosecution of his purpose, the Rao adopted measures which menaced the political authority of Zalim Sing, and the Governor-General, in conformity with the principle of the supplementary article of the treaty, directed the Political Agent in Rajputana, Captain Tod, to interfere and uphold the minister against the Raja, to the extent even, if necessary, of deposing the latter. His dismissal of Govardhan Das was demanded, but the demand was resisted, until troops were employed to surround the fort and prohibit the entrance of supplies, by which the Raja was starved into a temporary acquiescence. Govardhan Das was obliged to withdraw from Kota, and a seeming reconciliation was effected between the veteran minister and the Raja. It was not of long duration: as soon as the Resident had left the city, the quarrel revived with enhanced violence, and broke out into actual hostilities. Kesari Sing became alarmed and fled to Delhi, where he was detained until he promised to relinquish all pretension to interfere in the administration of his government. This promise he also broke, and, returning to Rajputana, had recourse to Bundi and Jaypur for aid. The sense of

[1] Supplementary Article. The contracting parties agree that, after Maha Rao Omed Sing, the principality shall descend to his eldest son and heir apparent, Maharaj Kowar Kishour Sing, and his heirs in regular succession and perpetuity; and that the entire administration of the affairs of the principality shall be vested in Raj Rana Zalim Sing, and after him in his eldest son, Koour Madhu Sing, and heirs in regular succession in perpetuity. Concluded at Delhi, February 20th, 1818. This article is not found in the Collection of the Hastings Papers, nor in any Parliamentary Collection. It is given in a collection of Treaties printed at Bombay, apparently under the sanction of the Government.

[2] Sutherland calls him Krishna Sing, but the public documents have Kishore (for Kesari?) Sing.

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the country was universally in his favour. Notwithstanding Zalim Sing's unquestionable merits, his encroachments on the hereditary rights of the Raja were regarded as a dereliction of his duties as a subject, and as an indefensible and traitorous usurpation. Encouragement was given by the ruling authorities of different states to Kesari Sing to assert his claims, and many of the Rajput chiefs brought their followers to his standard, so that in a short time he had assembled six thousand men. It is questionable if Zalim Sing, left to his own resources, could have maintained himself against his lawful Prince, but the British troops were at hand to uphold his disloyalty. An action was fought at Mangrole, in which Kesari Sing was defeated. Prithvi Sing, his younger brother, and many of the chiefs who had embraced his cause were killed, and the Raja made his escape with no more than three hundred horse: the rest were dispersed. Finding that his attempts to throw off the yoke of his minister, while so powerfully supported, were hopeless, Kesari Sing submitted to the pleasure of the British Government, and was replaced in his titular sovereignty; a fixed stipend was assigned to him for his subsistence, and he was allowed to maintain a small body guard of horse and foot, but his authority was restricted to his own immediate dependants, and the real rule of Kota was once more confirmed to the Raj Rana. Zalim Sing died in little more than two years after the restoration of the Raja, and was succeeded as minister by his son Madhu Sing. The animosity between the servant and the master, and the want of ability and character in both, demanded the continued presence of a Resident at Kota, and imposed upon him the duty of preserving unimpaired the respective rights and privileges of the minister and the Raja.[1]

We have now to review the relations which were formed

[1] It was a subject of regret to the British Government, on the death of Zalim Sing, that a division of territory could not, consistently with the terms of the treaty, be made between the Raja of Kota and Madhu Sing. After many years of hesitation this arrangement was carried into effect, and put an end to the contest between incompatible hereditary successions. In 1838, the parties agreed, at the instance of the British Government, to a partition of the country. The Raj Rana, the son and successor of Madhu Sing, received one-third of the dominions of Kota, thenceforward termed Jhalawar. The remaining two-thirds continued in the occupancy of the Maha Rao Ram Sing, the nephew and adopted son of Kesari Sing.—Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. part ii., p. 127.

with the more eminent Rajput states; and first with the Rana of Udaypur, the anxiety of which prince to be sheltered by British protection from the outrages and insolence of the Mahrattas and Pathans had been signified to the British Resident at Delhi, long before the altered policy of the Government allowed it to gratify his wishes. As soon as the abandonment of the principle of non-interference was known, the Vakils of the Rana presented themselves at Delhi, and a treaty was speedily concluded by which Udaypur became tributary to the British, on account of protection against every other claimant.[1] The tribute was fixed at one-fourth of the revenue for the first five years, and after that, three-eighths in perpetuity.[2] But the more remarkable feature in the treaty was the acknowledgment of the supremacy of the British Government by a state which, amidst all its disasters and distress, had never recognised a superior in either Mohammedan or Mahratta. Nor had Udaypur ever paid regular tribute to the Mahrattas, although heavy contributions had been levied from time to time, and alienations of territory had been enforced as the price of forbearance, or as the requital of subsidiary service. All lands which had been assigned unauthorisedly, or had been seized by the officers of Sindhia and Holkar for no adequate reason,[3] the British Government undertook to recover, confirming those grants which had been voluntarily made. The Resident was also empowered to redeem on behalf of the Rana the domains of the Crown which, in the recent relaxation of all law and authority, had been silently usurped by his most powerful vassals. The Resident was able to effect this object by remonstrance and persuasion, and the Thakurs consented to restore all lands usurped from the Rana or each other since A.D. 1766; to observe faithfully their allegiance, and to discharge the duties under which they held their possessions.[4] They also engaged to abstain from mutual

[1] Treaty with the Raja of Udaypur, 13th January, 1818. Treaties, xc.

[2] Sindhia claimed three-fifths of the revenue, and the Chouth, or fourth, besides, but upon no equitable grounds, and his claims were set aside. For several years no tribute was realized. From 1824-5 to 1826-7, nearly three lakhs were annually exacted, but this was found to press too heavily on the revenues. The last returns are about one lakh and a half (£15,000).

[3] These amounted, according to Captain Tod, to an annual revenue of above thirty lakhs of rupees. Sixteen having been appropriated by Sindhia's captains, fourteen by Holkar's.—MS.

[4] Among them was the attendance for three months alternately at Court in

hostilities, to harbour no banditti, to commit no violence on travellers and traders, and to cherish their peasantry. These obligations were fulfilled with various degrees of fidelity, and the growth of the country in prosperity was progressive, although retarded by the improvidence and extravagance of the Rana, Bhim Sing, by which, after some years, he was plunged into embarrassments little inferior to those from which he had been extricated by the British alliance. His revenue, however, as well as the condition of the country improved. In 1817, the royal lands returned scarcely a yearly sum of three thousand rupees; in 1821, they yielded about eleven lakhs. In the course of four years the inhabited houses of the capital increased from three thousand to ten thousand.[1] Bhilara, a commercial town of importance, and once containing twelve thousand families, but which latterly had not a single inhabitant, recovered, in less than a year, seven hundred families, among whom were many merchants and bankers. Commerce again became active, and travelling comparatively secure; and cultivation transformed the wilderness which had spread over the country, in consequence of its depopulation, to fields of grain, reaped without fear of their being laid waste by bands of mercenary Pathans or predatory Mahrattas.[2]

The renewal of the alliance with Jaypur had been most earnestly solicited by the Raja as early as 1815, but a

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command of a body of their own followers, "in order to give strength and respectability to the executive government." The articles of agreement are given by Mr. Prinsep, ii. 362.

[1] According to the Rana's own statement to Captain Tod, "when Jamshid Khan (the officer left by Amir Khan in charge of the Rana) was here, no respectable man could walk the streets without being seized, and, unless he paid a sum of money, he was stripped. Men's wives and daughters were forcibly torn from their dwellings. Had the British not been here at this moment, the rents of the surrounding fields would have been in requisition, and parties of mercenary troops encamped in the valley. We were obliged to pluck the sour fruit before it was ripe, or it was taken from us."

[2] Bishop Heber passed through Udaypur and the neighbouring Rajput States on the way to Guzerat, in the beginning of 1825, at a time when the country was suffering from the effects of a season of drought, but he frequently notices the abundant crops of wheat, barley, and poppies. He also passed through Bhilwara, and describes it as a large town with a greater appearance of trade, industry, and moderate but widely diffused wealth and comfort, than he had seen since he left Delhi. The streets were full of carts laden with corn and flour, the shops stored with all kinds of woollen, felt, cotton and hardware goods, and the neatness of their workmanship in iron surpassed what he could have expected to see. The people unanimously ascribed the renovation of their town to Captain Tod.—Narrative of a Journey, &c., ii. 46.

compliance with his requisition was the subject of much doubt and discussion, as we have already had occasion to observe. The Governor-General, considering it to be an essential part of his plans for the suppression of predatory warfare, carried the question in the affirmative, and the Resident at Delhi was authorised to enter into a negotiation with the Jaypur envoys. They, however, then held back, in conformity with the policy of their court, which anticipated relief from the exactions of Amir Khan, by the mere rumour of a British alliance, from the formation of which it was deterred by the opposition of the nobles, the advice of Jodhpur, and the menace of Sindhia that he would join Amir Khan if the negotiation proceeded. The expectation was in part realised. Amir Khan suspended operations, and the court of Jaypur, hoping to conclude a treaty with him on advantageous terms, marked their indifference to the British alliance, by suddenly proposing conditions which were inadmissible. The negotiation was declared to be at an end, but fresh applications from the Raja to the Governor-General led to its renewal. It was again broken off, the amount of the subsidy being objected to by the agents, and the Minister of Jaypur declaring in open court that they had never been authorised to accede to any pecuniary payment for a subsidiary force. The envoys, nevertheless, remained at Delhi, confident that the intercourse with Amir Khan would end in disappointment, and that the Raja must eventually throw himself on British protection. They judged rightly, and after three years' vacillation, a treaty was concluded with Jaypur. Protection was promised on the one part, and allegiance on the other; and to defray the expense of the military defence of the Raj, was henceforth the duty of the protected power. Jaypur agreed to pay as a tribute a progressively augmenting subsidy until it amounted to eight lakhs annually — at which sum it should be fixed until the revenue amounted to forty lakhs a-year, when five-sixteenths of the excess were to be added to the sum of eight lakhs.[1] The state was released from

[1] Treaty with Jaypur, 2nd April, 1811. Treaties, xcv. The resources of Jaypur were greatly overrated. In the first six years, the collection fell short by five lakhs of the whole sum stipulated; in the next five by ten lakhs; and, by the last accounts, amounted to no more than thirty-one lakhs. App. Pol. Report, p. 188. Bengal and Agra Gazetteer, ii. 11, 191.

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all other claims. As usual in all the engagements contracted at this season, a clause was inserted, acknowledging the Raja and his successors absolute rulers of their territory and dependants. The treaty was scarcely concluded when interference in the internal government of Jaypur became necessary to preserve it from the horrors of a civil war.

The constitution of the Rajput states assigns a voice in the management of public affairs, to certain of the chief nobles, or Thakurs, of the principality, each of whom fills much the same position as that of a feudal baron in the middle ages; holding his lands by tenure of military service, governing them with independent power, engaged frequently in hostilities with his neighbours, and singly, or in coalition with other chiefs, sometimes taking up arms against his liege lord. Under an active and prudent Raja, the Thakurs might be subjected to control; but Jagat Sing, dissolute and indolent, had aggravated by his defects, the disorders induced by foreign invasion, and had suffered the power of the Raja to fall into insignificance and contempt by the impunity with which he permitted his great vassals to encroach upon the demesne of the crown, or the imprudence with which he alienated his revenues in favour of military or religious persons, on conditions which they wholly disregarded. It became necessary to interfere to protect his power from annihilation; and a minister having been appointed with the sanction and support of Sir David Ochterlony, who united the chief civil and military authority in this part of Rajputana, many of the grants to undeserving individuals were resumed; and it was proposed to the Thakurs to assent to an arrangement, similar to that effected at Udaypur, by which they should consent to relinquish their usurpations. Their assent was not obtained until an example had been made of the most refractory, and the strong-holds of Kusalgerh and Madhurajpur had been captured by British troops. Before, however, any comprehensive arrangement was accomplished, Jagat Sing died. He left no heir. The succession was claimed by Man Sing, son of the late Raja's elder brother; but he was unacceptable to the Thakurs, being born of a woman of inferior rank; and he was set aside in favour of a boy, said

to have been adopted by the Raja in his dying moments. The genuineness of the adoption was questioned, but the opportune birth of a posthumous son, by one of the Ranis, rendered its validity unimportant. A dispute, however, arose for the ministry. The infant Raja's mother was acknowledged regent; but the appointment of her minister was demanded by the majority of the chiefs, who combined to place Bhyri Sal, one of their body, at the head of the state. The Political Agent was again obliged to interpose in order to protect the life of the actual minister, Mohan Ram, whom he had all along supported; but as the party opposed to him was of sufficient influence to nullify all his acts, it was thought prudent to yield to his dismission, and acquiesce in the elevation of Bhyri Sal. This was sufficient to create a new opposition, and a contest for power arose between the new minister and the officers and servants of the interior of the palace, where the two principal widows of Jagat Sing intrigued for the promotion of their creatures, and, according to popular scandal, their paramours. To obviate the mischief thus engendered, and to arrest the misappropriation of the resources of the state, which were lavishly alienated by both parties to secure adherents, it was determined to establish a permanent Resident at Jaypur; and although the measure was equally distasteful to both factions, Major Stewart was sent to Jaypur, in that capacity, in 1821. This interposition was vindicated, not only by a regard for the interests of the minor Raja, but for those of the British Government, as the prodigal dissipation of the revenue was likely to prevent the punctual payment of the tribute. The interposition of the Resident was, in the first instance, restricted to advice, but this was found ineffectual to remedy the evils of a divided administration — the influence of Jhota Ram, the favourite of the Regent Rani, neutralising the authority of Bhyri Sal, and encouraging resistance to his orders. More positive interference was therefore had recourse to, and the Rani mother was threatened with the transfer of the Regency to the other widow of the Raj, who was of superior rank, being the daughter of the Raja of Jodhpur, unless she consented to the removal of her favourite. Jhota Ram was accordingly sent from court, and the sole authority

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vested for a while in Bhyri Sal. The Rani had, however, a strong party among the Thakurs, and the arrangement continued undisturbed only as long as it received the decided and vigorous support of the British Government. These dissensions prevented the principality of Jaypur from deriving the full advantage to have been expected from the expulsion of the predatory hordes by which it had been so long and so mercilessly ravaged.

The Government of Jodhpur early signified its willingness to contract an alliance upon the conditions which had been declined in 1804. A treaty was accordingly concluded on the same terms as those formed with the other Rajput states. Jodhpur received military protection on condition of acknowledging the supremacy of the British power, and affording, when required, a force of fifteen hundred horse, or, in time of need, the whole of its disposable troops. The tribute paid to Sindhia, amounting to one lakh and eight thousand rupees a-year, was thenceforth payable to the British Government. The absolute authority of the Raja and his successors over their own dominions was admitted.[1] The treaty was concluded with Man Sing, as represented by the Prince Regent, Chatur Sing, the Raja, as we have seen, being at this time, or affecting to be, incapable of exercising the administration, and having withdrawn from public affairs. Chatur Sing died before the treaty was ratified; but the time had not yet come for the Raja to throw off the mask, and the state was governed by Salim Sing, the chief of Pokurn, and son of the Sawai Sing, murdered by Amir Khan, and by Akhai Chand, the latter as Dewan, or chief civil and financial minister. These were the leaders of the faction hostile to the Raja, and by whose aid the regency of the Prince had been maintained.

As soon as the cessation of military operations permitted, Sir David Ochterlony visited Jodhpur to ascertain the real state of parties, and early received private intimation from the Raja that he proposed to resume the reins of government.[2] He was encouraged in his resolu-

[1] Treaty with the Raja of Jodhpur, 6th January, 1818. Treaties, lxxxix.

[2] He wrote to the General privately, stating that he had been waiting for assurances of the friendship of the British Government for three years, during which he had never shaved nor changed his apparel. He had now done both.—MS. Records.

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tion; but, although he held out the British alliance as an object of terror to his disobedient nobles, he suffered some time to elapse before he manifested the full extent of his designs. Become a master in the art of dissimulation, he exhibited no resentment towards the usurpers of his power, and permitted them, with such a semblance of confidence as to lull their suspicions, to retain their ministerial functions. They paid the penalty of their imprudence. As soon as the Raja's projects were mature, the city of Jodhpur was startled by the appearance of various dead bodies thrown over the battlements of the citadel. Akhai Chand had been seized and imprisoned, made to disgorge the sums he had appropriated from the royal treasury, and was then put to death. The governor of the fort, and other members of the administration, who were found in the citadel, were treated in the same manner, and their partisans throughout the country were simultaneously arrested, tortured until they yielded up their ill-gotten wealth, and then poisoned. Salim Sing was not in the citadel, but in the town with his friend Sartan Sing of Nimaj. The house of the latter was beset by a large body of armed men, but the Thakur defended himself until most of his followers were killed, when he sallied forth with the survivors and was slain. His defence gave the chief of Pokurn opportunity to escape, but it did not save his estates from the Raja's retaliation. Taking advantage of the consternation excited by the suddenness and ferocity of his vengeance, Man Sin despatched the troops, which the treasures he had recovered enabled him to levy, against the divided and bewildered Thakurs, and compelled them to fly for safety to the surrounding Rajput principalities. Notwithstanding these disorders, the vigour which Man Sing displayed in the conduct of the government and the exclusion of the Pathan plunderers, restored the territories of Jodhpur to tranquillity; and considerable cities, such as those of Merta and Nagore, which had been left in ruins, were repeopled, and prospered.

Although situated beyond the ordinary sphere of predatory aggression, and offering little temptation to the plunderer, the Rajput state of Bhikaner had not wholly escaped, and therefore gladly joined its neighbours in the

general appeal to British guardianship. The terms were, as usual, protection on the one hand, acknowledgment of supremacy on the other; abstinence from political intercourse with other states, and submission of all disputes to the arbitration of the paramount power. The British Government undertook to assist the Raja in reducing the tribes which had revolted from his authority, and he engaged to become responsible for any injury which his subjects, many of whom were notorious robbers, might have inflicted upon the adjacent British territories. The Raja also promised to provide for the safe passage of merchandise in transit through his dominions, from Kabul and Khorasan to India.[1]

The fulfilment of the stipulation, which undertook to reduce to obedience the revolted subjects of Bhikaner, was connected with the necessity of suppressing an insurrection on the frontiers of Hariana, among the Bhattis, who were the subjects of the British Government, and who were assisted in their outrages by the people of Bhikaner in rebellion against their Raja. Upon the occupation of Hariana, the Bhattis who, in the course of their nomadic wanderings, frequented its western boundaries, mostly retired into the desert. Of those who remained, part were made subject to British authority and the rest were placed under that of a chief named Zabita Khan; a district being granted to him in Jagir. Although the pastoral habits of the Bhattis and their migratory life, were not incompatible with predatory practices, and they were dreaded in all the surrounding country as plunderers and robbers, they had hitherto refrained from molesting the British districts; but in the course of 1818, taking advantage of the enfeebled state of the forces usually stationed in the province, the greater part of which were still absent in Malwa, the Bhattis rose in great numbers and captured the frontier town of Fattehabad, which was guarded only by the Sikh contingent of the Naba Raja who fled from the attack. A small detachment was sent from the garrison of Hansi and Hissar[2] to

[1] Treaty with Surat Sing, Raja of Bhikaner, 9th March, 1818.—Treaties, Hastings Papers, xciii.

[2] Two companies of the 17th N. I., a party of the Dromedary corps, a risala of Skinner's Horse, and a brigade of guns under Major Foot.

recover the town, but it was driven back and with difficulty effected its retreat to Hissar in the face of a body of the enemy, estimated at seven thousand strong. Reinforcements were immediately despatched to Hariana, and a force was assembled at Hansi, under Brigadier-General Arnold,[1] for the purpose of putting down the insurrection on the adjoining confines of Bhikaner and Bhatner, and the capture of the forts occupied by the insurgents. Brigadier Arnold marched in the middle of August against the rebels, who fled before him into the desert. He then proceeded against their strongholds, all of which were surrendered without opposition, and most of the chiefs promised submission to their respective liege lords. Zabita Khan was removed from his Jagir, as unable to control his people, and pensioned; and the country was taken under the direct management of the British officers. The places belonging to Bhikaner were restored to the Raja.

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The still more remote and sterile principality of Jesalmer, equally sought the British alliance. Few points required adjustment, but a special clause provided that, if invaded or menaced by any danger of great magnitude, the British government would defend the principality, provided the cause of quarrel were not imputable to the Raja. This clause was dictated by the necessity of preserving Jesalmer from the daily encroachments of more powerful neighbours, particularly of the Amirs of Sindh and the Nawab of Bahawalpur, who, but for this alliance, would have extinguished the Rajput principality.[2] The only power against which it became requisite to act was that of Bhikaner. The Maldotes, a robber tribe of the Bhatti race, made a foray from Jesalmer into Bhikaner, and carried off a number of camels, which had been purchased for the service of the Peshwa, and were on their way to the south. In retaliation, the Raja of Bhikaner sent a force against the robbers which destroyed their villages, and threatened some of the chief towns of

[1] One troop of Horse Artillery, 1st. N. C., two risalas of Skinner's Horse, three battalions and a half of N. I., two battalions of Begum Samru's troops and other auxiliaries, and a small battering train, in all between seven and eight thousand men.

[2] Treaty with Maha Rawal Mul-raj, Raja of Jesalmer, 12th December, 1818.

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Jesalmer. Further mischief was stopped by the intervention of the British authorities. The Raja of Jesalmer died in 1820, and was succeeded by his son Gaj Sing.

Thus was completed the connection formed with the Princes of Rajputana, who all acknowledged the supremacy of the British Government, promised their subordinate co-operation in time of need, and agreed to submit their mutual disputes to its arbitration. The international peace of Hindustan was secured, and neither Rajput nor Mahratta dared henceforth draw his sword against his neighbour. The maintenance of tranquillity within the several states was less effectually cared for. Non-interference in the internal administration of each state was an invariable condition of their allegiance, a forbearance which it was impossible always to observe, and which, when observed, was generally attended with mischievous results to both prince and people. The latter had been too long accustomed to a state of violence and disorder to become at once peaceable and obedient subjects; and the former were, at all times, inclined to abuse their power, and tyrannise over those under their sway. Sources of dissension were inherent in the conflicting pretensions of the sovereign and his Thakurs—his clansmen and barons—high-spirited but turbulent chiefs, too arrogant to acknowledge subjection—too rude and ignorant to make a profitable use of independence—constantly engaged in feuds with each other, or with their prince—disregarding all law except that of the strongest—placing all their notions of honour in personal impunity, and trusting to their swords alone, for the preservation of their rights, and the assertion of their claims—it required nothing less than the strong hand of the British power to restrain them from involving themselves and their countrymen in scenes of strife and bloodshed. That hand has been somewhat capriciously interposed; sometimes held out and sometimes withdrawn. The policy pursued at one period has been departed from at another, and Rajputana has been consequently agitated by storms which a more decided, although at the same time, moderate, application of authority might have dissipated in their birth.

CHAPTER XI.

Miscellaneous Occurrences during and after the Mahratta War. — Affairs of Cutch. — Hostility of the Rao. — His Intemperance and Violence. — Force sent against him. — Bhuj taken. — The Rao surrenders. — Deposed. — His Infant Son raised to the Throne. — A Council of Regency, under the Superintendence of the Resident. — Subsidiary Treaty. — Amirs of Sindh unfriendly. — Causes. — The Kosa Robbers attacked. — Sindh Troops enter Cutch. — Withdrawn and disavowed. — Treaty with the Amirs. — Arrangement with Kolapur. — Outrages by Plunderers from Troops left at Kishme. — Consequences. — Defeat of British Detachment by the Beni-Bu-Ali Arabs. — Second Expedition. — Tribe almost exterminated. — Agency abolished. — Transactions at Mocha. — Town Sawantwari. — A Force sent into the Country. — Treaty with the Regency. — Treaty with the Chief of Kolaba. — Piracies in the Persian Gulph. — Force sent against them. — Ras-al-Khaima again taken. — Treaty with the Arab Tribes. — Political Agent. — Treaty with the Imam of Senna. — Occurrences in the Eastern Archipelago. — Exclusive Policy of the Dutch. — Defeated by Sir T. Stamford Raffles. — Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen. — His Views on Sumatra. — Objected to by the Governor-General. — Offence not to be given. — Treatment by the Dutch of the Sultan of Palembang. — Determination of the Government of Bengal to secure the Straits of Malacca. — Negotiations with Malay Chiefs anticipated. — Settlement effected at Singapore. — Protested against by the Dutch. — Admitted by Treaty with Holland. — Prosperity of the Settlement. — Affairs of Achin. — Treaty with the Sultan. — Mission to Siam and Cochin China. — Relations with the Subsidiary States on the Indian Continent. — With the Gaekwar. — Death of Fateh Sing. — Prince Syaji made Dewan. — Death of Anand Rao. — Syaji succeeds. — Difficulties of Position. — Arrangements. — Tranquillisation of Pahlanpur. — Of Kattiwar. — Relations with Hyderabad. — Mal-Administration of Chandu Lal. — Interference of the Resident. — Dissatisfaction of the Governor-General. —

Question of Interference considered. — Chandu Lal's Financial Embarrassment.— Connection with the Mercantile House of Palmer and Co.—Sanctioned by the Governor-General. — Disapproved of by the Court of Directors. — Dissolved. — Affairs of Oude. — Border Plunderers.—The Nawab Vizir allowed to take the Title of King.

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AFTER the settlement of Central Hindustan had completed the political system of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, no events occurred of sufficient importance to call forth a display of the immense resources that were now at the command of the British Government. A variety of transactions, however, ensued, which, although of minor moment, involved objects of considerable magnitude, arising from the determination to preserve the tranquillity of India undisturbed; from the necessity still existing of shielding maritime commerce from piratical depredations; from the duty of providing for British as well as Indian interests in the Eastern Seas; and from the obligations devolving upon the Supreme Government in the course of its relations with the several powers allied to it by subsidiary engagements. These we shall now proceed to describe.

We have already had occasion to notice the new engagements formed with Rao Bharmalji the ruler of Cutch, by which that prince became an ally of the British Government. The good understanding then established was of brief duration. The Rao, surrounding himself with dissolute and low companions, and falling into habits of gross intemperance to an extent that affected his intellects, disgusted the Jhareja chiefs by his capricious and violent conduct, and gave umbrage to his protectors by intimations of inimical designs. These feelings were strengthened by the murder of the young prince Ladhuba, which was perpetrated by command of the Rao, by a party of his Arab mercenaries; from no motive that could be discovered except his own groundless jealousy and frantic disposition. The widow of Ladhuba, who was pregnant at the time of her husband's assassination, was menaced with a similar fate, and as she resided in the palace, and was consequently in the Rao's power, it is possible that the

threat would not have been in vain, had not the British authorities interposed. It was not deemed expedient to demand charge of the person of the widow, lest the Rao in his indignation should be urged to the commission of the atrocity which it was sought to prevent; but he was warned that any practices against her safety, or that of her infant, would incur the severest displeasure of the British Government. The warning was not fruitless, and although the Rao indulged in menaces of the most brutal description, he refrained from attempting the life of the mother or the child, and she gave birth to a son.

Dissatisfied at the proximity of the British force at Anjar, and irritated by an interference in his family affairs, which he with truth averred was unauthorised by the treaty, the Rao began to collect mercenary troops, and to call for the contingents of his chiefs with the unavowed intention of expelling the British from his country. Knowledge of his purposes defeated their execution, and the timely arrival of an additional battalion placed the station of Anjar in security. The Rao then directed the force he had assembled, about five thousand strong, against Arisir, a fortified town belonging to Kalian Sing, the father of Ladhuba's widow, and one of the Jhareja chieftains, who were under British protection. Of this the Rao was admonished, and he was informed, that unless he desisted from his purpose, he would be considered guilty of an infraction of the treaty, and would be dealt with as an enemy. The whole of the Jharejas alarmed by this attack upon one of the brotherhood, and by an attempt of the Rao to exact from them pecuniary contributions in the place of military service; indignant also at the murder of Ladhuba and the treatment of the Bai, conveyed to the Resident their readiness to support him in any measures he should propose to adopt towards the head of their government. It was inconvenient at the moment to spare troops for carrying into effect the resolution to remove Rao Bharmalji from his throne, and he was suffered to carry on the siege of Arisir without interruption. The courage of the besieged, and the assistance of some of the neighbouring chiefs baffled the efforts of the Rao, and after detaining his troops before the place for several months, during which the garrison was reduced to

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great distress, compelled him to be contented with the occupation of one of the gates of the fort as an acknowledgment of his supremacy. His retreat was accelerated by the approach of British detachments which were soon concentrated at Anjar, and placed under the command of Sir William Keir.[1]

The British division marched upon Bhuj on the 24th of March, 1819. As they approached the town they were charged by large masses of horse and foot, but they repulsed the enemy and drove them under the walls. Demonstrations were then made for an assault upon the town, but at the same time it was determined to attempt the surprise of the fort, and a strong detachment was sent against it before daybreak on the 26th. The party reached the foot of the walls as the day broke; and the ladders were planted and the walls escaladed almost before the garrison were aware of the presence of the assailants. They fled with precipitation, and gained the town not without loss; that of the British was inconsiderable. As the town was completely commanded by the fort, the Rao was sensible of the hopelessness of resistance, and throwing himself upon the mercy of the victors, came into the British camp. His sentence had been pronounced. It was determined, in concert with the Jharejas, to depose him in favour of Rao Desal his infant son; the affairs of the Government being administered by a council of regency, composed of some of the principal Jhareja chiefs under the superintendence of the British Resident, and the guarantee of his Government.[2] The mercenary troops were dismissed, and the defence of the principality was to be committed to a British force, the expense of which was to be defrayed by the government of Cutch.[3] Clauses

[1] The force was composed of the 1st regiment of N. C., a company of European artillery, H.M. 65th regiment, and three battalions of N.I., with guns.

[2] Soon after these events, in the middle of June, a remarkably severe earthquake laid great part of Cutch in ruins. At Bhuj seven thousand houses were overturned, and one thousand one hundred and forty people buried in the rubbish. About fifteen hundred houses were thrown down, and a like number rendered uninhabitable at Anjar. The fort was a pile of ruins. One hundred and sixty-five people were killed, and many more died of their bruises. Many other towns were partially, some wholly, destroyed. Shocks were felt in many other parts of India, as far as Nepal, but they were unattended with injury.—Papers relating to the Earthquake in India, 1819. Tr. Bombay Lit. Soc. iii. 90.

[3] The subsidy was two lakhs of Ahmedabad rupees.

were inserted requiring the Rao and the Jharejas to suppress the practice of infanticide, and the Jhareja chiefs were guaranteed in their possessions. By a subsequent engagement, Anjar was restored to the Government of Cutch, in commutation of an annual payment of eighty-eight thousand rupees. After the novelty of these arrangements had ceased, the Jharejas were generally dissatisfied with the control to which they were subjected, by the influence of British principles in the Regency, and by the efforts which were made with comparatively little good to suppress infanticide. They were not sufficiently united, however, to organize any effectual opposition; and the peace of the province was undisturbed. The deposed Rao was permitted to reside at Bhuj under a guard, but he manifested no inclination to recover his sovereignty.[1] 1820.

The interference exercised in the affairs of Cutch, was regarded with alarm and jealousy by the Amirs of Sindh. They had long entertained designs against the principality, and were deeply mortified to find themselves anticipated, and the country placed beyond their ambition. Other circumstances contributed to aggravate their irritation and to urge them to a course of procedure which would have led to hostilities, but for the forbearance of the British Government.

The confines of Guzerat and Cutch, and the petty states east of the *Ran*, which had been latterly taken under British protection, had been for some time past, infested by marauding tribes, frequenting Parkur and the borders of the desert of Sindh, the principal of whom were termed Khosas. The Amirs of Sindh had been invited to co-operate for the repression of their ravages, and had, in compliance with the invitation, despatched a body of troops against the plunderers; while a detachment under Lieutenant-Colonel Barclay, marched against them from Pahlanpur. Notwithstanding the professions of the Amirs, the commander of the Sindh force appeared to have come with a design of protecting, rather than of expelling the Khosas, a body of whom encamped unmolested near the Sindhian detachment. In this situation, they were attacked at night by a part of Colonel Barclay's division,

[1] Treaty with the Cutch Government, 13th October, 1819. Ditto, 21st May, 1822.—Hastings Papers, Treaties with Native Princes.

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and, becoming confounded with the Sindhians, exposed the latter to a participation in their disgrace and loss. The troops of Sindh retired from the frontier and represented the attack as the result of design. The British troops left to themselves, pursued the Khosas across the boundary, and this also was complained of as a violation of the Sindh territory. In resentment of these injuries and of the occupation of Cutch, an army from Hyderabad entered the latter country, took Loona, a town fifty miles from Bhuj, and laid waste the adjacent district. Lieutenant-Colonel Stanhope with a strong detachment, was sent to repel the aggression. The enemy retired before him. The Bombay Government immediately demanded reparation for the mischief committed, and threatened to order the advance of the division into Sindh, if its demands were not complied with. The outrage was disowned, and envoys from Hyderabad were despatched to Bombay and to Bhuj to deprecate the displeasure of the British. The Supreme Government, also, was averse to any hostile[1] collision with the Amirs, and rested contented with the disavowal of the act, the liberation of the prisoners, and promises to restrain the Khosas and other marauders from any inroads into the British dominions. A treaty was concluded to this effect.[2]

By the treaty of Poona the Peshwa renounced all claims on the petty Mahratta states, among which the sea-coast of the Konkan, between Bombay and Goa, was principally partitioned. Kolapur, Sawantwari, and Kolaba, became in consequence exclusively subject to British supremacy. These states owed their origin in a great degree to piratical practices; and the subjects of Kolapur continuing in 1812 to exercise their old trade, it was found necessary to enter into a treaty with the Raja, by which he engaged to suppress piracy as far as it was in his power so to do,

[1] The sentiments of the Government of Bengal derive an interest from late events. "Few things," they remarked, "would be more impolitic than a war with Sindh, as its successful prosecution would not only be unprofitable, but an evil. The country was not worth possessing, and its occupation would involve us in all the intrigues and wars, and incalculable embarrassments of the countries beyond the Indus. Hostilities might become unavoidable hereafter; but it was wise to defer their occurrence as long as possible."—MS. Rec.

[2] Treaty with the Amirs of Sindh, 9th November, 1820. Hastings Papers, cxxii. The treaty was formed with two of the Amirs, Karim Ali and Murád Ali.

and to make over to the Bombay Government the fortfied harbour of Malwan. After the recent war, new arrangements were made, by which, districts[1] that the Raja had been compelled to relinquish to the Peshwa were restored to him. Although a young man, he did not long enjoy this accession to his resources, being shot as he sat in his court, by a chief, whose Jagir he had sequestrated. His successor was a minor, and the government was vested in the mother of the late Raja, as regent. A similar engagement for the suppression of piracy had been also contracted in 1812, with Sawant-wari, and the port and fortifications of Vingorla had been ceded to the British. Pond Sawant, the Desai, or ruler of Sawant-wari, died soon afterwards, and leaving only an infant son as his successor, this state fell likewise under female administration. The Rani, Durga Bai, held the reins of government with a feeble grasp, and was unable to restrain the license of her chiefs. Some of them gathered armed bands around them, whom they could alone support by plunder; and instigated their followers to commit depredations on the territories of the Bombay Presidency. Repeated remonstrances producing no effect, a force was detached into the principality, under Sir William Grant Keir, part of which crossed the Ghats, and occupied the fort of Niuti, which was quietly surrendered, while another portion proceeded by sea, and being joined by the main division, carried the external defences of a stronger fortress, that of Rairi, by storm. The upper fort was abandoned by the garrison, and surrendered. General Keir thence marched to the capital, where Durga Bai having died, the regency had devolved on two other ladies, the aunts of the Raja. Wholly unable to offer any resistance, the regents were ready to assent to everything that was required, and a treaty was accordingly concluded by which, in the name of Khem Sawant, the young Raja, they agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of the British Government, to deliver to it any of their subjects who should have committed acts of violence or depredations in its territories; and to cede the forts of Rairi and Niuti, with the lands around them, as well as

[1] Chekori and Manouli yielding three lakhs of rupees per annum. They were granted by an engagement or sunnud by Colonel Munro; but the grant was subsequently confirmed by treaty.

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the whole of the remaining sea-coast from the confines of Kolapur to the Portuguese boundary. Part of these cessions were afterwards restored to the Raja; but the forts and line of sea-coast, with some inland villages, were retained. A British officer was attached to the court as a political agent; but his powers were inadequate to protect the country from the disorders consequent upon an inefficient government, and which were eventually remedied only by the active exercise of supreme authority.[1]

Kolaba had been once a place of importance in the history of the Bombay Presidency, having been included among the possessions of the enterprising pirate Kanhoji Angria, by whom the trade of the Company was subjected to repeated insult and plunder during the first thirty years of the eighteenth century. The territory which he transmitted to his descendants had been reduced to insignificance, by the extension of the Peshwa's authority; but, a portion still acknowledged the sway of a member of the dynasty of Angria, subject to the supremacy of the head of the Mahratta state. The conquest of the territories of Baji Rao transferred his rights to the British Government, and a treaty was concluded with the Chief of Kolaba, by which those rights were defined.[2] Protection and allegiance were mutually plighted; the fees levied on the accession of a Chieftain were remitted; but the Government reserved to itself the paramount authority, and the right of conferring investiture on the Chief, on each succession to the Chiefship. The British laws and regulations were not to be introduced; but fugitives from justice were to be given up upon demand. Some exchanges of territory were agreed upon, in order to correct the inconvenient intermixture of contiguous districts.

The dependent condition of the petty states of the Konkan, extinguished all vestiges of the piratical practices for which this part of the coast of India had been infamous, since the days of Roman commerce; but the more daring pirates of the Persian Gulph still remained unsubdued. We have seen them incur severe retribution; but

[1] Treaty with the Regency of Sawant Wari, 17th Feb. 1819; Ditto, 17th February, 1820.

[2] Treaty with Raghoji Angria, of Kolaba, July, 1822.—Collection of Treaties presented to Parliament, 1825.

the effects of the chastisement administered were transient, and the renewal of their depredations demanded a repetition of the only effectual means of arresting their perpetration.

For some time after the destruction of Ras-al-Khaima, the Arab tribes of Oman refrained from infesting the waters of the Gulph, or confined themselves to the country boats, in whose fate no powerful state was interested. As time advanced, their audacity revived, and they quickly obtained greater power than before. Ras-al-Khaima was repaired and fortified, and vessels of a large size were constructed and equipped; the different tribes entered into engagements for their mutual support, and assumed an attitude so menacing, that the Imam of Muscat, already the ally of the Company, applied earnestly for timely succour. The activity of the pirates, and, in particular, of the Joasmis, was suspended by the approach of Ibrahim Pasha, the son of the Pasha of Egypt, who, in obedience to orders from Constantinople, had marched from Egypt to chastise the Wahabis, to which sect the pirate tribes of Oman belonged. In the hope of securing his co-operation, a British officer, Captain Sadler, was despatched to the Pasha. He found Ibrahim, near Medina; but the objects of his campaign were accomplished.[1] Deriah, the capital of Abdulla-bin-Saûd, the Wahabi Chief, had been stormed, and the Chief himself had surrendered, and been despatched prisoner to Cairo, whence he was sent to Constantinople, and there put to death. Considering the Wahabis as annihilated, the Pasha had no intention of proceeding to the Persian Gulph, and the punishment of the pirates was left to the British Government alone. An expedition was accordingly fitted out from Bombay, the land forces under the command of Sir William Keir[2]—the maritime under that of Captain Collier, of his Majesty's ship Liverpool. They left Bombay in September, 1819, and, after touching at Muscat, arrived off Ras-al-

[1] Account of a Journey from Katif on the Persian Gulf to Yamboo on the Red Sea, by Captain C. F. Sadler.—Tr. Lit. S. Bombay, iii. 449.

[2] The troops were composed of one company of European artillery, H.M.'s 47th and 56th regiments, 1st battalion of the 2nd, 2nd battalion of the 4th; and flank companies of the 1st battalion of the 3rd N.I., and the Bombay marine battalion: about one thousand seven hundred Europeans, and two thousand five hundred natives.

1820.

Khaima, in the beginning of the following December. The troops were landed on the south of the town, drove in a body of Arabs stationed in front of them, and effected a lodgment within three hundred yards of the defences. Batteries were erected without delay; a spirited sally was made by the enemy on the sixth, in which the Arabs were for a time the masters of the guns; but they were repulsed, and displayed no further energy. A storm was ordered on the eighth; but, on approaching the walls, it was found that the place was deserted. Little loss had attended the previous operations.[1] The fall of Ras-al-Khaima, and that of Zaya, a strong fort to the north of Ras-al Khaima, against which a detachment, under Major Warren, had been sent, struck terror into the neighbouring tribes, and their Sheikhs, repairing to the British camp, assented to the articles of a treaty proposed by the British Commander, the terms of which they could not have thoroughly understood, and to which it was not to be expected that they would long adhere. The main stipulations were, that they should abstain from plunder and piracy; from killing their prisoners; from quarrelling with one another; and from trafficking in slaves. Their ships were also to carry a flag, indicative of their being friendly to the British, and to be furnished with the papers which are regarded, among European States, as the requisite testimonials of a purely commercial navigation. The flag and the papers must have perplexed the Sheikhs; but they thought it prudent to accede to them, as well as to the more intelligible and important conditions. After reducing and demolishing some minor pirate ports, the squadron returned to India, leaving a Political Agent at Ras-al-Khaima. After a short interval he was directed to demolish the place, and to remove to the Isle of Kishmé, where a small military detachment had been stationed, to secure the adherence of the Arabs to their engagements. This arrangement necessitated a second expedition.

The capture of an Indian trading vessel having been ascribed to the Arab tribe, the Beni-Bu-Ali, of Askara, near Ras-al-Had, a Company's cruizer was sent to inquire into the circumstances. The boats not being able to ap-

[1] Major Molesworth of the 47th and four privates were killed. two officers and forty-nine men were wounded.

proach the land, the pilot, an Arab, swam to the shore to communicate with a number of the tribe who were assembled on the beach. The man was killed, the boats were fired upon, and the cruizer returned to Kishmé, when Captain Thompson, the Political Agent, conceived himself authorised to adopt military proceedings against the tribe in concert with the Imam of Muscat, whose authority the Beni-Bu-Ali had thrown off. Six companies of Sipahis with six guns, were landed at Soor, and being joined by a thousand of the Imam's troops, advanced to a town belonging to the Imam, the Beled-Beni-Bu-Haran, within three miles of the enemy's principal station. The Beni-Bu-Ali were so far intimidated, that they declared themselves willing to give up the murderers of the pilot, but they were required to lay down their arms, with which demand they refused to comply. On the following morning the troops marched against the Arabs, who, although not more than six hundred strong, came resolutely forward to meet them. The Sipahis advanced in column: they were ordered to form line and charge; but the order had been delayed too long, and before the change of formation could be effected, the Arabs were amid the disordered files, striking down the men with long sharp swords: a general confusion and rout ensued: six officers [1] and four hundred Sipahis were killed, and the whole must have perished, but for the exertions of the Imam, who himself received a wound. The fugitives took shelter in the town, and repelled their pursuers from its walls, on which they resumed their retreat, and, with the troops of the Imam, returned to Muscat. Although disapproving of the attack upon the Beni-Bu-Ali, whose share in any piratical depredations was never substantiated, the Government of Bombay judged it necessary to redeem the credit of the British arms, and to maintain unimpaired the influence established in the Persian Gulph: a force was therefore sent against the offending tribe, commanded by Major-General Sir Lionel Smith, which landed at Soor in the end of February. While encamped near Soor, the Arabs made a night attack, in which they occasioned considerable dis-

[1] Lieutenants Lawrie, Perrin, and Walsh, 2nd battalion of the 1st regiment; Price, of the Engineers; Short, of the marine battalion; and Assistant-Surgeon Higham.

order, and inflicted some loss, but the assailants were repulsed, and the troops marched against the town. The Beni-Bu-Ali did not wait for the assault, but met the British troops on a spacious plain; they displayed the same desperate courage which had characterized their former conflicts, and were defeated only after a sanguinary engagement, in which nearly the whole of the tribe were killed or wounded. The town was cannonaded and surrendered—the Sheikh and part of the male survivors were sent prisoners to Bombay; others were made over to the Imam; the women and children, about a thousand in number, were transferred to a hostile tribe, and the Beni-Bu-Ali, who professed to trace their origin to the days of Mohammed, ceased for a while to be numbered among the tribes of Oman.[1] Their extermination might have been a political necessity, but the first attack upon them was an act wholly uncalled for by the British interests, and was a concession to those of the Imam of Muscat unwarranted by the instructions of the Government of Bombay. To obviate the recurrence of such an error, the Imaïm was apprized that it was not the intention of the British authorities to take any future part in disputes between him and the Arab tribes. The office of Political Agent in the Gulph was shortly afterwards abolished, and the station of Kishmé abandoned. Its occupation had given serious umbrage to the Court of Persia, which claimed the sovereignty of the island, and threatened the employment of a force against the detachment, if it were not voluntarily withdrawn.

The opposite side of the Arabian peninsula also witnessed a display of the power of British India. A commercial intercourse had long subsisted between Mocha and the Indian continent, and a British officer resided at the former to superintend the interests of the Company's subjects. In 1817, the Dola, or Governor, of Mocha on behalf of the Imam of Senna, taking offence at the proceedings of the Resident, had him seized, dragged from

[1] After two years' detention at Bombay the prisoners were allowed to return with presents, and with money to rebuild their town. The tribe was thus restored, although in a state much inferior to that which it had enjoyed before the war. They seem, contrary to the wont of their countrymen, to have cherished no vindictive feeling; receiving Lieutenant Welsted, when he visited them at the end of 1835, with the most cordial hospitality.—Travels in Arabia, i. 59.

his dwelling, and cruelly beaten. The factory was pillaged by the townspeople. Redress having been vainly demanded, it was determined to obtain it by arms; but it was not found convenient to carry this resolution into effect earlier than the middle of 1820. His Majesty's ship Eden, Captain Lock, with three of the Company's cruizers and a flotilla of gun boats was then despatched to Mocha, to demand satisfaction for the treatment of the Resident, the punishment of the Dola, and compensation for the property plundered and destroyed. The terms were rejected, and the squadron fired on, which was followed by the bombardment of the town. A truce was then solicited, and granted, until a definitive arrangement should be accomplished, but no disposition being manifested to accede to the terms demanded, the firing was resumed, and the town nearly laid in ashes. Troops and seamen were sent on shore, who stormed the forts by which Mocha was defended, and destroyed them. The Arabs were at length intimidated, and envoys from the Imam brought the offending Dola a prisoner on board the squadron; a satisfactory apology was made, and pecuniary compensation promised. The Dola, after a short detention, was enlarged and pardoned. The opportunity was taken to place the British factory on a more secure and independent footing, and to relieve the trade of some of its burthens. The Resident was allowed to have a military guard, to ride on horseback, and to have access to the Imam whenever he deemed it expedient. A cemetery was allowed for the use of the Christian members of the factory, and all its dependants were to be under the protection of the British flag, anchorage fees were discontinued, and the duties payable on imports and exports were reduced; the engagement to this effect was signed by the Imam of Senna.[1]

The proceedings of the Bengal Government, to which we shall next advert, were directed to a different quarter; and regarded the interests of the British nation in a still greater degree than those of its Indian dependencies. We have already seen, that in ignorance or disregard of the commercial value of Java, or in the excess of their liberality, the British Ministers had restored it uncondi-

[1] Treaty with the Imam of Senna, 15th January, 1821.—Coll. of Treaties. Hastings Papers, cxxii.

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tionally to the Dutch. Some excuse might perhaps be urged in consideration of the claims of an unoffending people, and it might have been regarded as ungenerous to punish Holland for its compulsory connexion with the French Emperor; but the same plea was not available for the omission of any stipulation for an equivalent, and of any provision, either for the commercial objects of Great Britain in the Eastern Seas, or for the permanence of those engagements which had been contracted with the native Princes of the Malay Archipelago by the British functionaries, during the period of their political ascendancy. The consequences were obvious. The Dutch were no sooner repossessed of Java, than they sought to exclude all commercial and political competition from among the neighbouring States, and to regain that supremacy which had enabled them to monopolize both the authority and the trade of the Malay principalities. They would probably have succeeded in shutting out British vessels from all commerce with the islands of the Archipelago, in closing all direct communication between the Indian and China seas, and in subjecting the valuable trade of India and of Great Britain with China to serious interruption and embarrassment, had not the foresight and energy of Sir Thomas Raffles anticipated and defeated their projects; and, in despite of their intrigues, and of the indifference or ignorance of the British Ministry, insured for his countrymen, a commanding position in the very heart of those regions from which they were menaced with exclusion.

After quitting the Government of Java when its restoration to the Dutch was determined, Sir T. S. Raffles was appointed Lieutenant-Governor of Bencoolen, on the island of Sumatra: he assumed charge of his Government in March, 1818, and was immediately involved in discussions with the Government of Batavia.[1] His first object was to establish the predominance of the British throughout Sumatra, and obtain a port on the southern coast which should command one of the two great entrances of the Archipelago, the Straits of Sunda. With this view, he traversed the island, entered into treaties with native

[1] He arrived at Bencoolen on the 22nd of March. On the 7th of April following, he writes, "I am already at issue with the Dutch Government."—Mem. 293.

chiefs, between whom and Europeans no intercourse had ever before existed, and began to form a settlement at Simanka Bay. These arrangements were disapproved of and annulled by the Government of Bengal, which, although not unaware of the unfriendly and exclusive character of the policy of the Dutch,[1] was unwilling to disturb the amicable relations formed between the parent countries, and directed every measure of offence to be carefully avoided, pending the reference of all disputed questions to the authorities in England.

In the convention with Holland of August 1814, by which her settlements in the East were restored to her, no provision was made for the continued observance of those compacts which had been formed by the English while in the occupation of Java, with the independent native States. The Dutch immediately annulled them. Among others, the Sultan of Palembang, who had been raised to his regal dignity by the English, was deposed by them, and the chief restored whom the English had deprived of his authority, chiefly on account of his barbarous treatment of the members of the Dutch factory. An officer whom the Governor of Bencoolen had deputed to protect the Sultan, was seized and carried to Batavia; and an appeal made by the reigning Sultan to those who had raised him to power was unavailing, and he was seized and carried a prisoner to Batavia along with an English officer who had been sent by Sir T. Raffles to protest against the aggression committed by the Government of Java upon an independent Prince and an ally of the British. The remonstrance was disregarded,[2] and the Dutch

[1] Lord Hastings recorded it as his opinion, "that the proceedings of the Netherlands' authorities since the arrival of the Commissioners-general to receive charge of the Dutch colonies, had been actuated by a spirit of ambition, by views of boundless aggrandisement and rapacity, and by a desire to obtain the power of monopolising the commerce of the Eastern Archipelago, and excluding the English from those advantages which they had long enjoyed, and which they only wished to share in common with other nations of the earth."—Mem. of Sir T. S. Raffles, 304.

[2] The Governor-General held that "the Dutch were bound by principles of the clearest equity, as well as by the implied conditions of the transfer, to leave the relations between Palembang and Java as they found them, unless the Sultan violated his engagement. As the case, although well known at home, had not been noticed either by the Court of Directors or his Majesty's Ministers, in the Convention of 1814, the Government of India had no choice but to obey, leaving to the Dutch the odium of disregarding a moral and political obligation." — Mem. of the Governor-General. The desertion of the Sultan was the more indefensible, as it was no longer pos-

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were encouraged to extend their claims of supremacy over all the native princes, whom it was for their interest to controul, an invariable article of the engagements into which they were compelled to enter being the exclusion of the ships of all other European nations from their ports.

Notwithstanding this acquiescence in the pretensions of the Dutch Government of Java, the Government of Bengal considered it necessary "to adopt precautions with a view to arrest the injury and degradation which could not fail to ensue from a listless submission, to its unbounded pretensions," and determined to strengthen and extend its own connexions in the Archipelago, so as to preserve the free passage of the Straits of Malacca, the other great thoroughfare to the China seas. The Governor of Bencoolen, the soundness of whose views was fully acknowledged, although his zeal was considered precipitate, was armed with additional powers for this purpose, and was appointed Agent to the Governor-General, in charge of the British interests to the eastward of the Straits. The northern entrance was already in some degree under British influence, by the possession of the stations of Bencoolen and Penang. Some port, however, being still wanted, more advanced on the line to China, and more centrically situated with respect to the numerous islands of the Archipelago, a negotiation was opened with the Sultan of Rhio for the construction of a factory within his territory; but before the engagement was formally executed, a Dutch ship of war intimidated the Sultan into a refusal to ratify it, and into the formation of a treaty with the Government of Java, by which Rhio was closed to European, or rather to English commerce. The same course was pursued at the other ports in the vicinity, and the chiefs of Lingin, Siak, Johore, and Pahang, were deterred from admitting British vessels into their harbours.

While exulting in having thus baffled the projects of their rivals, the Dutch authorities were confounded by the intelligence that a British settlement had sprung up in a

sible to restore the price which he had paid the English for their services. The island of Banca was exchanged for the factory of Cochin by the treaty of 1814.

more eligible situation than any yet attempted. Sir Thomas Raffles had early contemplated Singapore as possessing the qualifications requisite for the prosperity of the trade with the eastern nations, and had obtained the concurrence of the Supreme Government in its occupation. This was a small island about twenty-five miles in length, and eleven broad, lying off the south-eastern extremity of the Malacca peninsula, and divided from it by a narrow strait. It possessed an excellent harbour situated in the route of all ships passing through the straits; was within six days' sail of China, and in the heart of the Malay states, of which it had once been the capital. It was now covered with wilderness, and inhabited by about a hundred and fifty fishermen. It was a dependancy of Johore, a principality on the peninsula of Malacca, but claiming rule over the islands on either coast—including Lingin and Rhio; and it was by a grant from a Sultan of Johore that Singapore became a British settlement. The Dutch disputed the title of the Raja, who had been living in so much obscurity for many years, that it required the local knowledge, and the interested policy of Sir Thomas Raffles to discover him. His pretensions were, however, indisputable, as the eldest son of the last acknowledged Sultan; but who, in consequence of his absence from Lingin, where his father died, had been supplanted by his younger brother, a supercession not unauthorised by Malay usage, although incompatible with Mohammedan law.[1] It suited the British authorities to substantiate his claim, and that of the Dutch to contest it; but the activity of Sir T. Raffles, in occupying the island with a military detachment, and hoisting the British flag, imposed upon the Dutch Commissioners the necessity of expelling him by force, an extreme measure which they were unprepared to hazard. They were contented, therefore, to complain to the Bengal Government, and to enter a protest against the occupation of Singapore, as contrary to the treaty which they had contracted with the Sultan of Lingin, its lawful sovereign, in which he had engaged never to transfer any portion of his territories to a European power without their approbation.

[1] Political and Statistical account of the British Settlements of the Straits of Malacca, by Lieutenant Newbold, ii. 51. Raffles mentions that neither of the sons was duly acknowledged or regularly installed. Memoirs, 327.

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They were told in reply, that it was the deliberate intention of the British Government to resist their spirit of exclusiveness and aggrandisement, and protect British commerce from their jealousy and injustice; that they had no right to demand the restoration of territories which they had never possessed; to reduce to vassalage the native Princes, who had always been treated by the British, while holding Java, as independent, nor to compel them to enter into engagements, having for their object the exclusion of British vessels from their ports; that the actual occupation of Singapore had anticipated the sanction of the Bengal Government; but that, as it had been effected, the settlement would not be withdrawn upon a simple demand. It was notorious that the Dutch had no connection with Singapore in 1795, when their possessions generally fell into the hands of the English; and, consequently, the present claim was one of recent suggestion, and, finally, that it was useless to discuss the merits of the transaction, as the question had been referred to the authorities in Europe, and must await their decision. Renewed negotiations were, accordingly, set on foot, and a second treaty with Holland established a modification of the existing relations, by which these disputes were terminated. The British settlement on Sumatra was ceded to the Dutch, in exchange for Malacca and the settlements on the continent of India. The British withdrew their objections to the occupation of Billeton by the Dutch, and the latter theirs to the possession of Singapore. Admission to the ports of either nation was regulated by fixed moderate duties, and an unrestricted commercial intercourse was permitted to both with any of the native powers in the Eastern Seas. The Moluccas, or Spice Islands, were alone exempted from free access. The officers of both governments were forbidden to form any new settlements without previous sanction from Europe. The British were precluded from forming settlements on any of the islands south of the Straits of Singapore, or entering into treaties with their princes; and the Dutch engaged to observe a similar forbearance with regard to the peninsula of Malacca.[1] The Dutch were much the best informed as to

[1] see Newbold's Remarks on the Treaty, i. 15; and the Treaty itself, Ibid. App. dated 17th March, 1824. The debate in the Commons, May, 1824,

the respective value of the reciprocal stipulations, and were the greatest gainers by the treaty. Singapore, however, rapidly rose into importance,[1] and the zeal of Sir Thomas Raffles, which was so unpalatable to the British Ministry as at one time to have threatened his removal, was rewarded by the growing prosperity, and the acknowledged value of the settlement which he had founded.[2]

Before leaving this part of the Eastern world, we may notice the attempts that were made, about the same period as the formation of the settlement of Singapore, to extend the influence and relations of the Indian Government in the same direction. The establishment of an intimate connection with Achin on the northern extremity of Sumatra had been long considered desirable for the protection of the commercial interests of the Company, and had been latterly recommended by the policy of anticipating the Dutch, who were expected to take advantage of the distractions of Achin, and by their means acquire a paramount authority in the kingdom. The sultan of Achin was no longer the potentate who could cover the adjacent seas and islands with numerous fleets and armies, threatening the Portuguese colonies with destruction,[3] or with whom the sovereign of England could carry on a correspondence on terms of equality.[4] The principality had

upon the conditions of the treaty, only shows how little the House knew of the subject.

[1] In 1822, the population had risen to ten thousand.—Mem. 525. In 1836-7 it was nearly thirty thousand. In 1822, the value of the exports and imports exceeded eight millions of dollars; in 1835-6, fourteen millions of dollars.—Newbold, i. 291. In 1844-5, their amount was stated in the public returns to be nearly five millions sterling. In addition to its advantageous position, Singapore, which is merely an entrepot where imports are re-exported, owes its prosperity to its having been from the first a free port; no duties being levied.

[2] Shortly before his return to Europe, in November, 1823, Sir T. Raffles writes—"I have heard nothing more of the question with the Dutch, but doubt not it will be agitated on my arrival in England. I rely more upon the support of the mercantile community than upon any liberal views of the Ministry, by whom I have been opposed as much as by the Dutch."—Mem. 561. At an earlier period, Mr. Charles Grant, the distinguished Director, wrote to Sir T. Raffles—"You are probably aware of the obstacles which have been opposed to the adoption of your measures, and even threatened your position in the service"—Mem. 445.

[3] Malacca was repeatedly besieged by the Achinese. In 1615, the King, Paduka Sri, sailed to the attack of that city with a fleet of five hundred sail, carrying a force computed at sixty thousand men. The attack having failed, it was renewed in 1628 with a force of twenty thousand strong, which was defeated with great slaughter. From this reign the power of Achin declined. —Marsden, Hist. of Sumatra, 429.

[4] Sir James Lancaster, in the first voyage on account of the East India Company, in 1600, carried to the King a letter from Queen Elizabeth, "to the

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declined from its extent over nearly half the large island of Sumatra, to a limited tract at its northern termination, over which its sovereign ruled with a feeble and uncertain sway. The reigning prince, Jawahir Alem, had been engaged almost from the beginning of his reign in 1802 in a struggle with some of his principal chiefs, who at length conspired to depose him, and invited Syf-ul-Alem, the son of an opulent merchant of Penang, to assume the regal authority. Syf-ul-Alem supported by his father's wealth,[1] succeeded for a time in holding a divided sway, but finally the hereditary prince recovered his ascendancy and was acknowledged by the Supreme Government of India as the Sultan of Achin, and a treaty was entered into with him, by which the British Government engaged to effect the removal of his rival, Syf-ul-Alem, on condition of the latter being granted a fixed pension by the Sultan; and in return for permission to carry on a free trade with all the ports of his dominions. He also promised to receive a British Resident, to exclude the subjects of any other European power from a permanent habitation in his country, and to enter into no treaty or negotiation with any power, prince, or potentate, unless with the knowledge and consent of the British Government. The subsequent relinquishment of Sumatra to the Dutch cancelled these engagements and put an end to a connexion with Achin,

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great and mightie King of Achem (Achin), our loving brother." Her Majesty alludes particularly to the successful hostilities carried on between Achin and the Portuguese. "It hath appeared unto us, that your Highness and your royall familie, fathers and grandfathers, have, by the grace of God and their valour, sworne not onely to defend your owne kingdomes, but also to give warres unto the Portugals, in the lands which they possesse, as namely in Malaca, in the yeere of the Humane Redemption 1575, under the conduct of your valiant Captaine, Raya-macota, with their great loss, and the perpetuall honour of your Highnesse crowne and kingdome."—Purchas. i. 154. In 1613, Achin was visited by Capt. Best, who brought a letter from King James to Paduka Sri Sultan, by whom the treaty concluded with Lancaster was confirmed.—Ibid. 462.

[1] His interests were also warmly advocated by a party in the Penang Government; but open interference in favour of either of the competitors was prohibited by the Supreme Government of India. Sir T. Stamford Raffles and Captain Combe were sent to Achin as commissioners in 1818, to ascertain the true state of the case; and although at first violently disagreeing, they at last united in recommending the claims of the old Sultan. Syf-ul-Alem was accordingly desired to desist from the contest, and to be content with a pension, payable nominally by the Sultan of Achin, but virtually by the Government of Penang.—Anderson's Achin and Ports of Sumatra. Memoirs of Sir T. S. Raffles, 396. Treaty with the King of Achin, 22nd of April, 1819. Treaties, Hastings' Papers, cxl.

which with various interruptions had subsisted for more than two centuries.

About the same time the attention of the Government of India was directed to the advantages of a commercial intercourse with the countries of Siam and Cochin China, which from having constituted an important branch of the trade of Europe with the East had fallen into neglect, and had finally been discontinued. It appeared advisable to the Governor-General to attempt the revival of the commerce, and Mr. J. Crawfurd was accordingly despatched in the character of agent to the Governor-General on a mission to the two states in question, in the hope that it might be found practicable to establish with them a permanent and mutually advantageous communication. The mission left Bengal in November, 1821, and arrived at Bankok, the capital of Siam, in the following March. The members were admitted to a solitary audience of the King, but were referred to the ministers for the transaction of business. Nothing was transacted: the court of Siam ignorant of its own interests, suspicious of the real views of foreign visitors who came unbidden and unwished for, and affecting a majesty little inferior to divine, manifested no disposition to encourage the advances made by the British Government; and after treating the mission with various marks of indifference and indignity, dismissed it with an unmeaning and evasive treaty of commerce, and an arrogant letter to the Government of Bengal.[1]

In addition to the ordinary motives influencing barbarous states, there was a political transaction which contributed to render the temper of the court of Siam unfavourable to an intimate intercourse—the asylum given to the Ex-Raja of Queda in the settlement of Penang. This was a petty potentate, governing an inconsiderable territory opposite to Penang, which itself had formed part of his possessions and had been ceded by him to the British in consideration of an annual quit-rent. The king of Siam claimed the allegiance of Queda, and in a recent

[1] It was promised that the duties on British commerce should not be increased, and that the Superintendent of the Customs should afford all assistance to the English merchants in buying and selling with the merchants of Siam. In the letter, it is said that his Siamese Majesty was much gratified by the "offerings" (the presents) made by the Governor of Bengal.—Crawfurd's Mission to Siam, i. 266.

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dispute with the Burmans, had called upon him for his military quota. The Queda chief delayed compliance with the demand, and denied the right of Siam to anything more than a complimentary annual acknowledgment of its superior dignity and power. The Siamese troops were, in consequence, directed against Queda, and the Raja, unable to resist them, fled and made his escape to Penang, where he was permitted to reside and was protected against molestation. The Siamese ministers were anxious to obtain possession of the person of the Raja; no formal demand was made, but it was intimated that his seizure and delivery would be considered as a friendly act; and they were evidently disappointed on being told that such a violation of hospitality was incompatible with British principles. The reception given by the British Government to the king of Queda and the refusal to give him up, wounded the vanity of the Siamese court, and exercised a prejudicial influence upen the objects of the mission.

In the middle of July, the mission proceeded to Cochin China, and arrived at the capital in August. Much personal civility was exhibited by the officers of state, but the king declined to receive the letter and presents rom the Governor-General, whom, as exercising a delegated authority only, he refused to recognise as the equal of a king: and on the same account would not condescend to admit the envoy to an audience. Permission was, however, readily granted to English vessels to trade with the principal ports of the kingdom; and it was promised that they should be treated on the same footing as the Chinese. The mission left in October, having gained little in the way of political or commercial advantage, but bringing back much novel and valuable information respecting countries little known in Europe.[1]

Returning to Continental India, we have now to notice the state of the relations between the British Government and its subsidiary allies, as they subsisted after the termination of the Mahratta war. In the west of India, as we have already seen, the Gaekwar had been obliged to accede to a new treaty, stipulating for the augmentation of the forces which he was to maintain by the cession of ad-

[1] Journal of an Embassy to Siam and Cochin China, by J. Crawfurd. Account of a Mission to Siam and Cochin China, by D. Finlayson.

ditional territory. The measure was based upon the necessity of undertaking the whole military defence of Guzerat, and upon the advantages accruing to the Gaekwar from the treaty of Poona. These advantages were considerable; and apparently the finances of the state were in a sufficiently flourishing condition to bear the cost of additional expenditure. The arrangement was not altogether palatable to the court of Baroda, but its execution was unattended by any interruption of the good understanding which had been so long maintained between the two powers.

The conduct of the affairs of Guzerat had been entrusted, as has been mentioned, to Fateh Sing, the brother of the Gaekwar, with the co-operation and assistance of the British Resident. Fateh Sing died in June, 1818. As the combined administration had been attended with beneficial results, the arrangement was continued, and Syaji Rao, the younger brother of the deceased Prince, a youth of nineteen, was raised to the office of Dewan, or Prime Minister of Finance, the duties of which he was to discharge in concert with the Resident. The immature age of the Prince, and the state of parties at Baroda required, indeed, the continuance of British support, notwithstanding the causes in which intimate interference had originated,—the ruinous state of the revenues, and the embarrassments of the Gaekwar, — were supposed to exist no longer. The union of authority was not of long continuance. Towards the end of the following year, died the imbecile Anand Rao, the Gaekwar, whose nominal rule had been prolonged for so many years entirely by the support of the British Government. His death altered the aspect of affairs materially. Syaji Rao succeeded to the throne, and naturally concluded, that if he was fit to govern his country in the capacity of Dewan, he was equally capable of governing it as Raja, and it was no longer possible for the Resident to exercise the real administration, through the machinery of an incompetent minister, and an inefficient monarch.

The pretensions of the Gaekwar to independent authority were generally recognised; but it was considered to be inconsistent with the security of British interests and the prosperity of the country, to withdraw altogether from

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the control over the expenditure which the Resident had hitherto maintained. In order to place the connexion, which was to be continued for the future, on a firm and lasting basis, the Governor of Bombay, the Honourable Mountstuart Elphinstone, deemed it expedient to repair in person to Baroda, and to discuss with Syaji Rao the principles which were hereafter to regulate the intercourse between the two states. The necessity of prolonged interposition in the financial administration of Guzerat proved to be even more urgent than had been expected. Instead of a surplus revenue and an unembarrassed exchequer, it was discovered that the expenses of the two last years had exceeded the receipts, and that a debt, amounting to more than a crore of rupees,[1] still hung heavily upon the resources of the Government. The troops were also largely in arrear, and the tributaries of the Gaekwar in Kattiwar[2] and the Mahi-Kanta had been reduced to severe distress partly by the consequence of unfavourable seasons, but still more by the oppressive exactions of the agents of the native Government. It became necessary to remedy these evils. Loans were raised for the discharge of the existing debts at a reduced rate of interest, upon the security of assignments of the revenues, and, as before, under the guarantee of the British Government for their ultimate repayment. The collections made from the Gaekwar's tributaries were transferred entirely to British agency. Engagements were finally concluded with Syaji particularising the extent to which he was expected to acquiesce in the control of the Resident. All foreign affairs were to remain under the exclusive management of the British Government. The Gaekwar was to administer without restriction the internal government, provided he fulfilled the engagements for which the British Government was guarantee; but the Resident was to be apprised of all proposed financial measures at the commencement of each year, was to have free access to the public accounts whenever he required to

[1] Of this sum 27 lakhs had been borrowed for the pay of the Gaekwar's contingent serving in Malwa, and 25 lakhs more were still owing to the troops.

[2] In 1813, a famine occurred in Kattiwar, which was said to have caused the death of one-third of the population. It was followed by an epidemic disease, of which also great numbers died.—MS. Rec.

inspect them, and was to be consulted before any expense of magnitude was incurred. Whatever guarantees to ministers or other individuals had been granted by the British Government were to be scrupulously observed. The Gaekwar was to choose his own minister in communication with the British Government. In all cases of emergency, that Government was to offer its advice, but it was not to interpose in ordinary details, nor was its native agent to take a share as formerly in the Gaekwar's executive administration. With these arrangements Syaji was compelled to be content; and however they might encroach upon his independence, they provided more fully than an uncontrolled freedom of action was likely to provide, for his own comfort and the security and welfare of his dominions.[1]

During the progress of these transactions, the British troops had been employed on various occasions, in suppressing tumults in different parts of the dependencies of Guzerat. The petty state of Pahlanpur, the most remote of the divisions of the Mahi-Kanta, or country west of the Mahi river tributary to the Gaekwar, had long been in a state of anarchy. The ruling chief was a Mohammedan, the descendant of an Afghan adventurer, who established himself as Nawab, or Dewan, in that part of the frontier. About the year 1800, the mercenary soldiers in the service of Firoz Khan, the Dewan, expelled him, and placed his kinsman Shamshir Khan, the chief of Disa, on the Musnud. They afterwards recalled Firoz Khan, but again mutinying put him to death. It was then thought expedient by the Resident to interfere, and a British force was sent to Pahlanpur in 1802, by which the mercenaries were reduced to order, and Fateh Khan, the son of Firoz Khan, a minor, was made Dewan, under the guardianship and regency of Shamshir Khan. When the young prince was old enough to manage his own affairs, the regent, as usual, was reluctant to relinquish his power; and continuing to act as regent, retained the prince in a state of captivity. Fateh Khan appealed to Baroda, and a division of the subsidiary force, under Colonel Elrington, marched to his succour, supported by a division of the Gaekwar's troops,

[1] Extract from a minute of the Hon. Mountstuart Elphinstone, Governor of Bombay, 3rd May, 1820.—Report Commons Comm. 1832. Political App. 392.

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under Major Miles, who was appointed Political Agent on the frontier. The strongholds in the mountains in the interests of Shamshir Khan were taken, and Disa and Pahlanpur recovered. The Nawab was rescued and re-seated on the Musnud. A Gaekwar detachment was placed in charge of one of the gateways of the capital, a Political Agent was appointed to superintend the affairs of the principality, and hold in check the turbulent border chiefs of the vicinity, as well as the robber tribes of the adjacent desert.

A second expedition against the piratical and plundering tribes of the northern coast of the peninsula of Guzerat became necessary in the beginning of 1820. The Wagars of Okámandal, encouraged by the withdrawal of the British troops for the Mahratta war, rose in insurrection, defeated the Gaekwar's troops, surprised Dwaraka and Bate, and possessed themselves of the whole district. The fort of Viravali, defended by an Englishman in the Gaekwar's service, held out for some time, but was at length abandoned, and the province remained during the following months in the hands of the insurgents. As soon as the season admitted, an expedition, commanded by the Honourable Lientenant-Colonel Stanhope, was sent by sea against the sacred city of Dwaraka,[1] the chief seat of the rebels: the troops were landed on the 24th of November, and, after a short bombardment, the town was carried by escalade, when the garrison, composed of Arabs and Sindhis, retreated to the great temple, within whose lofty and solid walls they considered themselves secure from all ordinary attacks. An entrance was, however, effected from the roof of an adjacent house; and after a severe struggle the defenders were driven out. In endeavouring to escape, they were encountered by different detachments, posted to intercept their flight to the thickets surrounding the town, and were nearly all destroyed; of five hundred not more than one hundred escaped. This success was followed by the surrender of the chiefs who had taken up strong positions in the adjacent thickets, and by the unconditional surrender of the Rana of Bate, who was at

[1] The force was composed of H. M.'s 65th regiment, two battalions of Bombay infantry, 2nd battalion 3rd, and 1st batt. 5th, details of artillery, and the 1st regiment Native cavalry. The Nautilus cruiser convoyed the transports.

the head of the insurrection. The garrison of Bate also surrendered, on condition of being transported to the opposite coast of Cutch, and the district of Okamandal was restored once more to tranquillity and obedience.

In the centre of the peninsula of Guzerat, a similar cause, the absence of regular troops, was followed by like disturbances. A family feud arrayed one branch of a Katti tribe, the Koman Kattis, in arms against another; and as both parties assembled mercenary troops which they had not adequate means of maintaining, they added to their resources by plundering the neighbouring districts of Junagerh and Bhaonagar. The suppression of disorder in Okamandal permitted the employment of a portion of the division in a different quarter; and Colonel Stanhope marched with a detachment of European and a battalion of Native Infantry, against the Kattis. They were easily reduced to submission, their principal fort of Mitiala was taken with little difficulty, the mercenaries were compelled to quit the country, and the chiefs obliged to submit their quarrel to the decision of the court of Baroda. Although the subordination which had been now established for some years in the centre and south of Kattiwar had somewhat impaired the martial spirit of its population, yet these occurrences sufficiently proved that tranquillity could be preserved solely by the continued presence of a British military force.

A similar state of disorder prevailed in the territories of the Nizam, and obedience to the Government was alone maintained by frequent recourse to military coercion. It was inflicted, however, chiefly by the reformed brigades of the Nizam, who, under the command of British officers, and receiving their pay with a greater degree of punctuality than the other troops of the state, were little less effective than the subsidiary force. They had been fully organized during the late war, and amounted at this time to five regiments of cavalry, eight of infantry, three small corps of artillery, and a corps of engineers. With the termination of hostilities their field-services had ceased, but they were not suffered to remain idle in a country where extortionate exaction on one side and refractory turbulence on the other furnished repeated occasion for their employment. Among the duties of this nature which

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devolved upon them was the reduction of the strong fort of Nowa, held by a garrison of Arabs in the pay of some Hindu Zemindars, who had risen in insurrection and plundered the neighbouring districts. A detachment of the Nizam's reformed troops, under Major Pitman, marched against this place, situated above 24 miles north of Nandain, on the Godaveri. On the 7th January 1819, approaches were regularly effected, and the garrison having refused to surrender unconditionally, the fort was carried by storm after the destruction of part of its defences by the successful explosion of a mine on the 31st of the month. Many of the garrison fell in the storm, the rest endeavouring to escape, were intercepted by the horse, and were almost all put to death.

Notwithstanding the severity of the examples thus made from time to time, it was found impossible to preserve tranquillity as long as the vicious system of the administration was unreformed. The Nizam continued sullenly estranged from public affairs, and when importuned for an opinion upon any subject of Government, replied that he had no interest in the matter, and that it would be settled by Chandu Lal and the Resident. Chandu Lal, although a minister of unquestioned ability and diligence, and the only individual about the court capable of discharging the functions of his office, was profusely prodigal in his expenditure of the public revenue, and as rapaciously insatiable in his exactions. The prodigality by which he was characterised, originated in a great degree in his apprehensions. Strong as he might have felt himself in the support of the British Government, he knew that he was disliked by the Nizam and odious to the Courtiers, and that projects were constantly agitated for his removal and disgrace. To appease this enmity, and to neutralize its inveteracy, he distributed money without limit to the extravagant and profligate nobles, bribes to all their retainers and connexions,[1] and large sums to the private hoards of the Nizam himself. He maintained also

[1] In a conversation with the Resident, Munir-ul-Mulk, the nominal minister, and uncle of one of the Begums, he affirmed that the whole of the Nizam's family was bribed, that every one of his own servants was in Chandu Lal's pay, and that even his own mother-in-law sent to the minister a daily report of the occurrences of the inmost recesses of his house.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 184.

an expensive and useless body of mercenary troops, and had, in addition to these wasteful and mischievous sources of outlay, to provide for the charge of the reformed troops, which, however serviceable to him and to his allies, constituted a heavy burthen upon the resources of the state. To raise the sums required for these disbursements, the minister contracted debts to the bankers and capitalists of Hyderabad, bearing an interest proportionate to his necessities and to his want of credit, and let out the revenues of the country to the highest bidder. The contractor, regarding nothing but the realization of a profit, and armed with powers to enforce payment of his demands, however excessive, levied whatever he could extort from the cultivators by every method of violence and oppression. The consequences were obvious; cultivation fell off, the necessaries of life rose almost to famine prices, the people became robbers for the sake of subsistence, or emigrated to other states, and the country was rapidly becoming depopulated. Justice was no longer administered, and the Government was threatened with annihilation. The earnest remonstrances of the Resident had little effect upon the improvident recklessness of the minister, but his representations to the Government of Bengal procured for him authority to exercise a more decided interposition. He was instructed to employ his advice and influence for the establishment of the prosperity of the Nizam's dominions and the happiness of his subjects, and with this view to direct his attention to the following topics :—A salutary control over the internal administration of the country; accurate accounts of all establishments, receipts, and expenditure; the correction of abuses a proper distribution of justice; the reduction of expense; the amelioration of the revenue system, including the customs and duties levied on commerce; the improvement of resources; the extinction of debt; the efficiency of the troops retained and the discharge of such as were useless. In order to reconcile the Nizam to this interposition, his sons, who had been hitherto detained in Golconda, were allowed to return to Hyderabad, and he was informed that he was at liberty, if he pleased, to assume the title of royalty.[1]

[1] Letter from the Secretary to the Government of Bengal to H. Russell, Esq. Resident at Hyderabad, 22nd Jan. 1820.—Hyderabad Papers, p. 98.

1821.

The authority thus granted to the Resident, Mr. Russell, was but sparingly applied, and few changes of any importance were effected in the administration before his departure for Europe. His successor, Sir Charles Metcalfe, finding the principality still in a condition of utter disorganization, and considering it to be upon the brink of dissolution,[1] engaged more strenuously in the task of reform, and compelled the assent of the Minister to various unpalatable measures. The chief of these was the abolition of the farming system and the settlement of the revenue for a definite term of years with the village communities, without any intermediate agency. The collections were left in the hands of the fiscal functionaries of the state, but the assessments were made by British officers attached to the Residency, or to the reformed troops;—they were further directed to receive all complaints against any irregularity or extortion on the part of the collectors, and where redress was not procurable from the local authorities to report the proceedings to the Resident. They were also empowered to seize upon all robbers and plunderers, and violators of the public peace. The sphere of this arrangement was limited to the northern division of Hyderabad. Chandu Lal, professing a desire to co-operate in the work, undertook to conduct the settlement of the southern districts. In the latter, the reform was accordingly defeated, the collectors becoming contractors for the amount to be levied; in the former, the beneficial results of the measure were soon apparent in the return of the peasantry to their villages, the revival of cultivation, the suppression of tumult and plunder, and the progressive increase and prosperity of the population.

[1] "The system of administering the revenue was that of farming. Large tracts of country were made over to whomsoever could best afford to pay for them. Portions of these tracts were again sublet to other farmers. Large advances were taken from all in anticipation of the collections, and the tenure was so insecure, that it was a common saying in the country that these farmers proceeded from the capital to their districts, looking over their shoulders to see if other farmers were not following on their heels. These farmers were supreme in the districts which they farmed: they had even the power of life and death in their own hands, and there was no appeal from them or their tax-gatherers to the Government or the laws."—Sutherland's Sketches of Relations with Native Powers, p. 55. Captain Sutherland was seven years in Hyderabad, and was "a witness of the afflictions in which the reign of Chandu Lal in the Hyderabad provinces, and of his brother, Govind Baksh, in those of Berar, involved this unhappy country."

Although consenting with seeming cheerfulness to these measures of reform, they were by no means acceptable to the Minister, whose power they curtailed and whose rapacity they disappointed. After the settlements were concluded, therefore, he urged the withdrawal of the British officers, as their presence was no longer necessary to secure the Ryots from oppression, and as it was contrary to established practice and the conditions of the treaty; and when he found that no attention was paid to his representations, he addressed the Governor-General privately, complaining of the unfriendly disposition of the Resident, and of the interference which he had set on foot.[1] The Minister's objections to the principle of interference were not unfounded, and the Governor-General expressed his opinion that it had been disregarded to an extent unwarranted by the character of the alliance which subsisted with the Nizam, and by the tenor of the original treaty. Unwilling, however, to occasion embarrassment, by the abrupt cessation of European superintendence, he directed it to be discontinued gradually, when in the estimation of the Resident it could be done without inconvenience. The Court of Directors took the same view of the case, while, on the other hand, the Resident and the Members of the Supreme Council vindicated the necessity of a continued supervision. The arguments on both sides exhibit the contradictions inherent in the relation of a subsidiary alliance.

The objections to interference with the internal administration of the affairs of a native state are of a twofold description, as affecting the party interfered with and the party interfering. It is an undeniable encroachment upon the independence of the Indian Potentate to wrest from his hands the power of appointing his own ministers, and to insist upon his modelling the practice of his government according to the principles of a policy to which he is a stranger, and the soundness of which, as it regards his own interests at least, he is disposed to dispute. On the other hand, the interference imposes upon the party interfering the irksome task of reforming evils, the origin and nature of which are liable to be misapprehended, and

[1] Letter from Raja Chandu Lal to his Excellency the Governor-General, Aug. 1822, with Enclosures.—Hyderabad Papers, 173.

of which the correction must be attempted with imperfect and restricted means, when it has to encounter the open or secret opposition of the Prince, and depends upon the instrumentality of agents ill affected to reforms of any description, and more inclined to thwart than to promote them. The remedies must consequently be of partial and temporary efficacy, and their effects will cease as soon as their application is suspended. To interpose for a season is nugatory;—to interpose for perpetuity is, in reality, to assume the internal administration of the country. The real question then is—Is the Prince independent? Has he the right to govern or misgovern his own subjects at his own pleasure?

The degree of independence enjoyed by a prince connected with the British Indian Government by a subsidiary alliance depends, theoretically at least, upon the manner in which it is recognised by the terms of the compact into which he has entered. In the case of the Nizam, the language of the treaty is explicit: it declares that the Honourable Company's Government have no manner of concern with any of the Nizam's children, relations, subjects, or servants, with respect to whom his Highness is absolute;[1]—a declaration utterly incompatible with the reforms introduced into his administration without his sanction, and with the avowed purpose of protecting his subjects against his servants—of withdrawing his peasantry from the authority of the agents of his chief minister and acknowledged representative.

In opposition to the general arguments against interference with the internal administration of a native prince, whose political existence is maintained by a subsidiary force, it is argued that the connection involves the duty of protecting the people against his tyranny. We have taken from them, it is urged, the ability to protect themselves. The great check upon despotism in the East is assumed to be popular insurrection. If left to his own resources, the prince would be unable to put down extensive discontent by force, and would, therefore, either be cautious how he provoked dissatisfaction, or would readily retract the measures which had created it; but, with a large body of disciplined troops at his command, whose

[1] Treaty with the Nizam, 1800, ch. xv.—Collections of Treaties, 193.

strength renders resistence hopeless. he has nothing to fear from the resentment of his people, and may exercise with impunity any degree of oppression of which his nature is suggestive. It is, therefore, the right of the power which gives him all his strength to require that he shall use it wisely and mercifully, and if he be regardless of the obligation, to throw its shield over those who would otherwise be the victims of a confederacy formed to protect the Prince against foreign enemies and domestic treason, to secure his personal safety, and the integrity of his dominions, but not to screen him from the just indignation of his subjects. But a right to support the people against the will of the sovereign is obviously incompatible with the recognition of his independence, and is further objectionable, inasmuch as it provides a convenient pretext for depriving him of his sovereign character — of virtually accomplishing his deposal. Such an usurpation, however it may be palliated by an undeniable necessity, can scarcely be vindicated as a right, and the necessity must be undeniable before the interposition to this extent can admit of extenuation. It may be doubted also, if the grounds upon which such interference is supposed to be justifiable can be substantiated. There is no record in Indian history of the despotism of its princes having been curbed by popular insurrection. Deposal and death have not unfrequently been the fate of Indian monarchs, but they have been the work of treacherous ministers or of competitors for the throne, in whose selfish policy the people felt little concern. The dread of such an event based upon experience of the past, is not likely to operate as a check upon misgovernment, and its non-occurrence is in no wise attributable to awe of a subsidiary force. Local tumults may not be uncommon, but they arise out of resistance to the exactions of the Collector or farmer of the revenue, not to the authority of the sovereign, and are as often ascribable to the refractory spirit of the military landholder, the Rajput Zemindar, who mounts guns upon the bastions of his fort, as to the extortion of the public functionary. No obligation exists to interfere in such a quarrel; the services of the subsidiary troops are not intended for such purposes, and, if withheld, it cannot then be maintained that the Prince is able to

tyrannise over his subjects only through British assistance. Revenue disputes between the farmer of the revenue and the Zemindar, cannot be regarded as justifying the appropriation of the sovereign authority; and it is only when universal disorder is to be apprehended, or when the conditions and objects of the alliance are imperilled, that the authoritative interposition of the more powerful of the contracting parties can admit of justification.

Such indeed, it might be said, was the origin of the interference in the case of Hyderabad. The political interests of British India were considered to be endangered by the conduct of the Nizam, and it became necessary for their security to establish a commanding influence in his councils, by disallowing the right of the Prince to nominate his own minister, and compelling him to intrust the office to a person selected by his allies. Chandu Lal had been placed and was retained in his position by the power of the British Government. That power was consequently responsible for the manner in which he discharged his functions, and was bound to correct or cancel whatever arrangements he should make which might be pernicious to the welfare of the state, and to the interests of both prince and people. The interposition of the Resident at Hyderabad was, therefore, authorised by the conduct of preceding governments, in establishing the form of administration which now prevailed, and which, however anomalous, could scarcely be altered with advantage, as, notwithstanding his defects, Chandu Lal was the only person about the Court who was fitted by his talents, industry, and character, to hold the reins of government. The arrangements were, therefore, undisturbed until deference to the sentiments expressed by the Court of Directors, and the adoption of other views by succeeding Governors and Residents, imposed a check upon the employment of British functionaries in the civil administration of the Nizam's territories, and suffered them to relapse into a worse condition even than that from which their extrication had been attempted.

Among the sources of difficulty and embarrassment in which the Administration of Chandu Lal was entangled, and in which the credit of the Government of India became implicated, was his financial connection with a house

of business established at Hyderabad, with the sanction and countenance of the British Government. Mr. William Palmer, who had been engaged for several years in the military service of the Nizam, quitted it for the business of a banker and merchant, in Hyderabad. He was joined at an early period by some of the officers of the Residency, and received the general countenance of the Resident, at whose suggestion an application made to him in 1814, by the house of W. Palmer and Co., for permission to set up a commercial establishment at the capital of the Nizam, was favourably received by the Government of Bengal: he was, consequently, instructed to show the firm every proper degree of encouragement consistent with the provisions of the treaty, and to recommend them to the Nizam's Government. The permission had been obviously anticipated, and the house had already been constituted; but it being formally sanctioned gave additional activity to the business of the firm, and the members became intimately associated with Chandu Lal in raising pecuniary supplies for his financial necessities.

In the year 1816, the house of W. Palmer and Co. professed to entertain doubts whether their pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's Government might not subject them to the penalties of the Act of Parliament,[1] which interdicted loans to native princes by British subjects, and prayed to be exempted from the operation of the law. Impressed with the belief, that the interests of the Nizam and of the Company were promoted by the success and security of the commercial and pecuniary transactions of the firm, the exemption was granted by the Governor-General in council, under the dispensing power which he inferred that he possessed according to the terms of the Act,[2] with this reservation alone, that it should be at the discretion of the Resident to satisfy himself at any time, of the nature and objects of the transactions in which Messrs. Palmer and Co. might engage in consequence of

[1] Act 37th George III., cap. 142, sec. 28. See extract.—Hyderabad Papers, 8.

[2] The act prohibits the pecuniary transactions, &c., "unless consented to, and approved of, by the Governor-General in Council in writing."—Hyd. Papers, p. 8. The legality of the sanction was confirmed by the opinion of the Advocate-General, by whom the instrument conveying the licence solicited was drawn up. Ibid. p. 5.

the permission then granted. With this sanction, the house was allowed to carry on extensive negotiations with the Minister, and, among other pecuniary transactions, was employed, with the cognizance and consent of the Government of Bengal, to provide the pay of the reformed troops in Berar and Aurungabad; none of the native bankers, it being asserted, being willing to advance the funds at the same rate of interest, or on the security of assignments of revenue, and the regular payment of the troops being indispensable to their efficiency at a season when their services were most important:[1] the sanction involving, according to the expressed admission of the firm, no further pledge of support than the general countenance afforded to their establishment, which was indispensable for their existence in a country where there were no regular courts of judicature.

This arrangement had scarcely been completed (May, 1820), when one of a still more comprehensive character was proposed by Chandu Lal, for the Resident's sanction — the negotiation of a loan of sixty lakhs of rupees (600,000*l.*) from the house of Palmer and Co.; the amount being absolutely necessary, according to the Minister's statement, to enable him to discharge the arrears due to the public establishments, which he was anxious to reduce to the extent of twenty-five lakhs a year — to pay off heavy incumbrances due by the Nizam's Government to native bankers and others, and to make advances to the Ryots, in order to restore to them the means of cultivating the lands which had fallen into neglect. As the objects contemplated by the Minister were of undeniable benefit to the Nizam's country, and as, according to the Resident's showing, they were not attainable through any other agency on equally advantageous terms, this loan also was sanctioned — the sanction being understood to be of a general nature, involving no pecuniary responsibility.[2]

[1] Political Letter from Bengal, 20th Oct. 1820. — Hyd. Papers, p. 8.

[2] Letter from W. Palmer and Co., 19th May, 1820, to the Resident: — "We have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of yesterday's date. By the security which we require from the Resident, we do not mean to imply any security by which the British Government should be responsible for the money we should lend to the Minister; all we require is the certainty that the Resident will use his influence to prevent our being defrauded, or any misappropriation made of the revenues of the Talooks on which we are to have

Shortly after, authority was granted to this last loan, respecting which much difference of opinion prevailed in the Council of Bengal, communications were received from the Court of Directors, expressing in strong terms their disapproval of the whole of the transactions. Reasoning from experience of the past abuses which had disgraced the pecuniary dealings of British subjects with native princes, they anticipated a like result from the present, and positively enjoined the annulment of the exemption which had been granted to Messrs. W. Palmer and Co., from the penalties imposed by the Legislature. They also directed, that the countenance shown by the Government to the house, should be strictly confined to those objects of a commercial nature which the partners originally professed to have in view; and that if any discussion should arise between the Nizam's Government and the firm, in respect to their pecuniary transactions, the British Government should abstain from interposing in favour of their claims. These orders were communicated to the mercantile house, and their future pecuniary dealings with the Minister were interdicted.[1]

Soon after the appointment of Sir Charles Metcalfe, it was discovered that no progress had been made in the reduction of the expenditure of the state, and that the financial difficulties of the Minister were such as to threaten public insolvency, while the system of exaction was as unrelentingly practised as before. The measures adopted to check the latter have been adverted to, the former pressed equally upon the Resident's attention. Among the chief of the Minister's embarrassments, were the engagements he had contracted with the house of Palmer and Co., and the debts due to the firm, amounting now to nearly a million sterling, bearing an interest of twenty-four per cent. Little improvement could be expected until an adjustment of these claims should be accomplished; and the accounts of the house were subjected to a scrutiny, by which it appeared that the deal-

assignments. We shall never require that influence to be exerted beyond the point to which the Resident can go without making it a discussion between our Government and the Nizam's. We are, &c."—Hyd. Papers, p. 42.

[1] Letter to Bengal, 24th May, 1820.—Hyd. Papers, p. 6. Letter to the Resident, 16th December, 1820, p. 70.

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ings formed no exception to the character which applied to such former pecuniary transactions as the Legislature had intended to prohibit. Besides the high amount of interest—which, although less than the rate usually charged by native bankers lending money to the Minister, without the collateral security of the influence of the Resident, and in addition to large pensions and gratuities settled upon the members of the firm and their connections and dependants—it appeared that the loan of sixty lakhs was an arrangement, which had mainly in view the consolidation of the debts due to the house, and left all other demands, all arrears of the establishment, unprovided for, notwithstanding the Minister's assertion, that it had enabled him to pay off and discharge a considerable portion of the superfluous servants of the government. Such being the conclusion drawn by the supreme authority from an examination of the accounts, the countenance of the Government was finally withdrawn from the house, and Chandu Lal was required to close his account with the firm, to enable him to do which, the Government of India undertook to supply the funds.[1] A peshkash, or tribute of seven lakhs of rupees a year had hitherto been paid to the Nizam by the Company for the northern Circars, and the consent of the Minister was obtained to the redemption of this tribute for ever, by the immediate payment of little more than a crore of rupees, by which he was enabled to extricate himself from the embarrassments in which his improvidence and the cupidity of others had involved his administration.

The favour which had been shown to the house of Palmer and Co. by the Governor-General was contem-

[1] It appears, that when application was made for the sanction of the British Government to a loan of sixty lakhs, that sum was about the amount of the balances existing against the Nizam's Government in the books of Messrs. Wm. Palmer and Co.

On Hyderabad account	Rps. 26,82,402
Ahmedabad ditto	13,18,669
Berar Suwar ditto	20,57,219
	Rps. 60,58,290

Letter from the Resident, 14th June, 1825. Hyd. Papers, 554.—This loan of sixty lakhs was contracted for on a reduced interest of 18 per cent. per annum, but of the total, eight lakhs were a bonus. The sum transferred was fifty-two lakhs, whilst interest on sixty was charged.—Ibid. According, however, to a statement made at a subsequent date by Mr. Russell, considerable pecuniary advances were made by the house on the Hyderabad account.—Debate E. I. House, 18th February, 1825.

plated with distrust by the Authorities in England; and it was attributed rather to personal motives, than those which had been assigned — the advantages accruing to the Government of the Nizam from the pecuniary assistance derived from such a source.[1] The question gave rise to long and acrimonious discussions in the Court of Proprietors, which ended in the complete vindication of the integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, but exercised an unpropitious influence upon his fortunes. These proceedings took place at a date subsequent to the period under review; but it will be convenient to notice them in this place, in order to dispose of the subject at once.

On the 3rd of March, 1824, a motion was introduced into the Court of Proprietors, by the Honourable Douglas Kinnaird, recommending to the Court of Directors to consider and report the means and measure of such a pecuniary grant to the Marquis of Hastings as should be worthy of the gratitude of the Company, and of the eminent services of the Governor-General. The motion was met by an amendment, calling for the papers and documents necessary to illustrate the transactions at Hyderabad; and this was altered to a motion for the printing of all the correspondence and other documents upon the public records which regarded the administration of the Marquis of Hastings as Governor-General of India, and which might enable the Court to judge of the propriety of entertaining the question of a further pecuniary reward to the late Governor-General. The motion in this shape received the concurrence of the Court.

The printing of the voluminous documents thus called for, which had the collateral effect of placing within the reach of the public a mass of most valuable and interesting information, necessarily occupied a long interval, and nearly twelve months elapsed before any proceedings

[1] The Marquis of Hastings avowed an interest in the prosperity of the house, in consequence of a gentleman of his family, Sir William Rumbold, (Papers, 44) being one of the partners, but his support was based upon a belief that the house rendered important public services both to the British Government and that of the Nizam; and he was not aware of the unavowed advantages enjoyed by the partners, or the real character of their dealings with the Nizam. As soon as he learned, or had reason to suspect the truth, he expressed his strong sense of their impropriety.—Letter to Sir Charles Metcalfe from the Secretary to the Government, 13th September, 1822.—Hyd. Papers, 186.

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founded upon them could be held. On the 11th of February, 1825, the papers relating to the loans made to the Nizam were taken into consideration, upon a motion made by Mr. Kinnaird, that there was nothing contained in those documents which tended to affect in the slightest degree the personal character or integrity of the late Governor-General. The proposition was subjected to an amendment by Mr. Astell, the chairman, but acting in his capacity of proprietor only, by which the Court was called upon, while admitting that the papers furnished no ground for imputing corrupt motives to the Marquis of Hastings, to approve of certain despatches sent by the Court to the Bengal Government — despatches which censured in strong terms the encouragement given to the pecuniary transactions between the house of Palmer and Co., and the Government of the Nizam. A debate arose upon these propositions, which extended through seven days, and was conducted with great heat and virulence on either side, and diverged into much irrelevant and personal matter. The amendment was finally carried by ballot.[1]

In the first of these despatches, approbation of which was thus voted, the Court denied the necessity and questioned the legality of the dispensation which had released Messrs. Palmer and Co. from the operation of the Act of Parliament, prohibiting loans by Europeans to Native Princes, and peremptorily ordered, that, upon the receipt of the letter, the license should be immediately cancelled and revoked, and positively forbidding, should any discussions arise between the house and the Nizam's Government, respecting any pecuniary transactions between them, the interposition, in any way whatever, of the name, authority, influence, or good offices of the British Government, for the furtherance of their demands. The tone of the letter was evidently inspired by a suspicion of the motives of the Governor-General, and undervalued the considerations by which the indulgence was capable of extenuation, — a belief in its legality, founded upon the

[1] 18th March, 1825.

For the Amendment . . .	575
Against	363
Majority	212

Full reports of the previous debates will be found in the Monthly Asiatic Journals, for 1824 and 1825.

opinion of the first legal authority in India, the Company's Advocate-General, by whom the license itself was drawn up, — reliance on the judgment of the Resident, who had acquired, by long experience, a thorough knowledge of the condition of the Nizam's affairs, and who recommended the measure, — and a conviction that much benefit had already accrued from the commercial operations of the House. The sanction granted was, therefore, no intended violation of the law, nor was any sacrifice of public to private interests imagined to be involved in the permission.[1]

The second of the inculpatory letters, 28th November, 1821, first referred to a special transaction, in which the Government had sanctioned, prior to the receipt of the preceding despatch, the undertaking of the house to issue pay to the Nizam's reformed troops at Aurungabad, at the rate of two lakhs of rupees per month, on the receipt of assignments for thirty lakhs a-year, being equivalent to an interest of 25 per cent. Confirmation of this arrangement had been strongly urged upon the Government by the Resident, but it was not granted without hesitation and inquiry; the Resident was required to furnish further explanations, and the house was desired to submit its accounts to the Council. This was at first objected to, but the condition was eventually complied with; when the Governor-General declined the examination, and, upon the explanations submitted by the Resident, sanctioned the arrangement. The Court complained that the explanations were not satisfactory, — that the advances had, in fact, been commenced without waiting for the sanction applied for, — that the maintenance of regularly organised troops by Native Princes was a measure of doubtful expedience, — and that, allowing the necessity of providing for their pay, it did not appear to have been necessary to have recourse to the agency of European capitalists, as

[1] Mr. Edmonstone, who at the date of the licence, was a member of the Government, and was present in the debate of 1825, as a Director, while he subscribed to the opinion of the legal authorities in England of the illegality of the licence, and admitted that the grant of it was indiscreet, as made with imperfect information as to the extent of the dealings which it authorised, maintained that with the legal opinions furnished, and acting under the information possessed, the Government was not to blame in acceding to the application of Palmer and Company. Report, Debate of 3rd March, 1825, A. J. vol. 19, p. 575.

the money might have been raised from the bankers of Hyderabad, at a much lower rate of interest, or the Nizam might have been induced to advance it. This last supposition was hazarded upon a total forgetfulness of the passion of all Native Princes for hoarding treasure, and that such a propensity was peculiarly characteristic of the head of the Government of Hyderabad. The possibility of raising loans on easier terms from the native bankers was contingent upon the grant to them of the like support which the European house had been led to expect. Assured of the promised interposition of the Resident, the native bankers might have been induced to provide the funds at a similar rate on the same securities; but without it the Resident was fully warranted in asserting, that they would not have given any pecuniary aid to the Minister upon assignments, the realisation of which was notoriously uncertain. The policy of maintaining the reformed troops was a different question; but while they were maintained, it was necessary to keep them orderly and effective, and this was only to be done by securing them their regular pay. It appeared also from the answers of the Resident, that the collection of the revenue was effected without any undue interference with the native functionaries. Whatever required to be cleared up, was placed in the hands of the Government by the house by the final submission of their accounts; and the only point in which the Government exposed itself to the charge of insufficient investigation and precaution, was the determination not to examine the documents. The reason assigned for such forbearance was was ill-calculated to recommend it to the Authorities at home, as it implied their incapacity to form an accurate judgment of statements which, if recorded on the proceedings of the Council, must come under their examination. The excuse was untenable, and the omission to inspect the accounts was unseasonable and injudicious, although it scarcely warranted the inference drawn from it by the Court, — that it evinced a determination in the Bengal Government to disavow all responsibility; to throw off the check of the Authorities in England; to do whatever it chose to do; and to communicate to the Court no more than it thought fit. Neither did it justify the accusation contained in the same letter, that the

Government of Bengal had in substance, if not in form, lent the Company's credit in the late pecuniary transactions at Hyderabad, not for the benefit of the Nizam's government, but for the sole benefit of Messrs. William Palmer and Company. Although not indifferent to the advantages of the house, the permission to embark in pecuniary dealings with the Nizam's minister, had been throughout based upon the representations of the Resident, that they were indispensably necessary for the solvency of the Hyderabad State, and that they had produced, and were producing the most beneficial consequences. The information might have been erroneous, the decision might have been, as it was, ill-judged; but there was no room to impute any intention to benefit individuals solely by injury to an ally.

The same letter adverted to the negotiations for the sixty lakhs, to which also sanction had been granted before the arrival of the inhibitory despatch. At this date, the Court was not apprised of the character given to this transaction by subsequent inquiry; nor was it suspected by the Government, when its sanction was conceded. The only grounds of disapprobation here taken, therefore, were the imperfect information possessed by the Government, and the possibility that the money might have been borrowed on better terms from the native bankers; the latter was a gratuitous supposition; the former a substantial objection, to an extent of which the Court was not itself aware. The same despatch inferred, that from the time the licence was cancelled, the authorised engagement for the payment of the Berar troops, must have ceased; and directed that if such was not the case, the house should be commanded to bring it forthwith to a termination.

The third of the documents approved of by the Court, was a letter of the 9th of April, 1823, inclosing the opinions of his Majesty's Attorney and Solicitor-General, and of the Company's standing counsel, that loans by British subjects to native Princes were illegal, whether made in their territories or those of the Company; and that in either territory it was also unlawful for British subjects to lend money at a rate exceeding twelve per cent. This view of the law was, however, declared to be erroneous by Chief

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Justice Best, in expressing the unanimous sense of the Judges to the House of Lords, in favour of a declaratory Bill to that effect, brought in by the Marquis of Hastings.[1] According to this high authority, Acts of the British Parliament could not regulate the practice of foreign States; and penal statutes could not be applicable to dominions in which British Courts had no jurisdiction.

The last letter for which the Directors claimed the approval of the Proprietors, was of a later date, 21st January, 1824, and reviewed the whole of the proceedings of the Government of Bengal in regard to the transactions at Hyderabad. In this they complained that their instructions had been imperfectly and tardily obeyed, in regard to the Aurungabad contract, which, although ordered to be put a stop to in 1820, had been suffered to proceed until the middle of 1822, and that in consequence, the house claimed arrears from the Nizam's government. This was partly, however, the consequence of their own injunctions in a former letter, in which they expressed their desire to avoid any precipitate measures which might tend to impair the credit of the firm.

The letter also analyses the pecuniary transactions of the house with the Nizam, and justly condemns the total absence of that scrutiny which it was the duty of the Resident to have exercised as a condition of the licence. A variety of transactions are pointed out, regarding which it does not seem that any information whatever was ever furnished to the Government, and which were engaged in without such reference, under what was considered to be a general licence, a construction warranted, perhaps, by the literal tenor of the authority granted to the house, but evidently incompatible with the provision that the Resident should be aware of all the proceedings of the house of such a description. The Sixty-lakh Loan is also designated as, in great part, a mere transfer of old debts to a new account, by which the sanction of the Government was obtained to a debt, the existence of which was not known when the sanction was given. The whole amount of debt claimed by the house is stated to be ninety-six lakhs, in December 1822. Undoubtedly the Court had good reason to question the character of this

[1] Proceedings in the House of Lords, June, 1825. Asiatic Journal.

Loan, the accounts of which are clouded by great obscurity, and the real nature of which was not distinctly appreciated by the Government of Bengal as it ought to have been before their sanction to it was granted.

A considerable portion of the despatch is dedicated to the reprobation of the undue influence of the house in the councils of the Nizam, and their instigation of the Minister to prefer complaints privately against the new Resident, and the Governor-General. It cannot be denied that the Court was justified in condemning the readiness of the Governor-General to entertain, in opposition to all the members of his council, a belief that Sir Charles Metcalfe was induced by personal pique and jealousy, rather than by a dispassionate regard for the credit of his own Government, and the interests of the Nizam, to picture the dealings of the house in exaggerated and undeserved colours; and they were not unwarranted in inferring that the measure of indulgence shown towards Messrs. Palmer and Co., could be ascribed only to a strong personal bias in behalf of some, at least, of the individuals concerned.

The relief of the Minister's financial embarrassments by the reformation of his revenue system, through the agency of European officers, is objected to by the Court as strongly as by the Governor-General; but blame is imputed to the Government that its reprehension was not earlier pronounced, a consideration of secondary importance, as, after all, the arrangement was not disturbed. So in regard to the advance of money from the Company's treasury to the Minister, to pay off his debts, inasmuch as the measure was finally approved of, the Court's censure of the delay which occurred between the first rejection of the plan in 1820, and its ultimate adoption in 1822, seems to have been uncalled for, especially as they admit that they participated in the doubts entertained by the Governor-General of the legality of such interference, upon which ground he had originally opposed the proposition. His final acquiescence was based upon the implied approbation of such an arrangement deduced from general expressions in the Court's letter of November 1821, of the preferableness of a loan by the Company, to one by a mercantile house. They deny the justice of

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the inference, and, perhaps, with reason; but the best defence of the inconsistency will be found in the altered feelings with which the Governor-General now regarded the proceedings of Palmer and Co. In 1820, he had not received the Court's orders to cancel the licence, and conscientiously believed that the proceedings were legal and that they were to benefit the Nizam. In 1822, he was not only in possession of the sentiments of the Court, but had discovered that the operations of the house were calculated to embarrass, not to relieve, the difficulties of the Nizam's Government, and that it had become necessary to adopt some other mode of supplying the requisite funds.

Upon a review of these transactions, it must be admitted, that the objections which were taken by the Court, and, in fact, confirmed by the Board of Control, with whose concurrence the despatches in question were forwarded, were substantially just. Some of the arguments may be regarded as captious, and inapplicable to local circumstances, and they show an unfair disposition to identify the Governor-General with Messrs. Palmer and Co. Although it is not expressed, and, perhaps, not intended, there runs, also, throughout the correspondence an indication of a suspicion of unworthy motives, and the language is frequently unsuited to the high station and character, both of those from whom it proceeds, and the noble individual to whom it is addressed. Yet it is not to be denied, that the personal interest taken in the successful operations of the house, the ready acquiescence with which their applications and representations were received, and the reluctance to admit anything in their disfavour until it could no longer be disputed that they had taken undue advantage of the confidence which had been shown them, were incompatible with the duties of the Governor-General, were an injudicious departure from the caution which experience of the past had suggested in regard to pecuniary transactions between Europeans and Natives of rank, were detrimental to the ally whom it was intended to serve, and subjected the Company to serious embarrassment and loss. The justice of these conclusions enabled the Court to triumph over an opposition which was conducted with remarkable ability and energy, and which

derived a powerful support from the unimpeached integrity of the Marquis of Hastings, and the unquestionable merits of his general administration.

1823.

We have now to direct our attention to the principality of Oude, where, in the estimation of the Governor-General, abstinence from interposition had been attended by the happiest consequences. It had not, however, wholly obviated the necessity of calling out regular troops against refractory Zemindars, and in the beginning of 1822 above seventy of their forts, in the vicinity of Sultanpur, were occupied and dismantled by a British detachment. Nor were the unassisted means of the Oude Government able to suppress the bands of armed robbers who haunted the jungles on the frontier, and made frequent and desperate inroads into the British territories. Their lurking-places were occasionally penetrated, and their villages destroyed; but the connivance of the Oude police and the secret encouragement of the neighbouring Zemindars sheltered them from any very severe retaliation.[1]

Little advantage to the principality was to be expected from a change which took place at this season in the designation of its sovereign, who, with the consent of the Governor-General, assumed the title and the style of King. He was designated Abu Muzaffar, Moiz-ud-din, Shah-i-Zaman, Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah, Padshah-i-Awadh: the Victorious — the Upholder of the Faith — the King of the Age — Ghazi-ud-din Hyder Shah — King of Oude. The assumption of Shah Zaman was at first objected to,

[1] Between 1815 and 1820 there had been forty gang-robberies on the frontier adjacent to Oude, in which forty persons were killed, one hundred and seventy wounded, and property carried off to the extent of 1,14,000. The Oude bands did not confine themselves to the frontier. In 1820, a party of four hundred, the pretended suite of a Hindu Raja, proceeding, as asserted, on a pilgrimage, and travelling deliberately with the usual accompaniments of a persou of rank, elephants, horses, palankins, &c, traversed the British territory for more than 300 miles from the Oude frontier, and near Mongir plundered the boats of a merchant of Calcutta carrying bullion, to the extent of a lakh and a half of rupees, of the despatch of which the leader had been apprised by his agents in Calcutta. The party retreated with their booty in safety. In the following year they were less fortunate. The same leader, with one hundred and forty-three men and forty women, was apprehended by the exertions of the magistrates in South Bĕhar. The men were practised gang-robbers. The chief was hanged; the most notorious were transported for life; the rest sentenced to hard labour for various periods. These people were chiefly of the tribe termed Shigal-khors, Jackall-eaters, from their lax habits in regard to food, and principally tenanted the thickets near Secrora, in Oude. Their parties were joined, however, by similar gangs who haunted the British side of the Ganges.—Jud. Proceedings, MS.

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as implying an equality with the King of Delhi; but it was allowed to remain, upon its being limited by the phrase Padshah-i-Awadh, instead of Padshah, King, only, as proposed by his Majesty himself. He had prepared the way for this elevation a year before, by striking coin in his own name, instead of that of the King of Delhi — an invasion of the privileges of the Mogul which had not yet been committed even by the East India Company. This elevation was received with extreme indignation at Delhi, and was by no means acceptable to the Mohammedans, who saw in it an ungracious encroachment upon the rights of the representative of Timur by one who was bound by his office in an especial manner, as well as by the ties of gratitude, to protect them. The assumption of the royal title by the Vizir originated in the suggestion of the Governor-General, who had witnessed an act of humiliation imposed upon him by his nominal subordination to the throne of Delhi, and regarded it as inconsistent with his actual dignity and power. Two brothers of the King of Delhi resided at Lucknow, supported by allowances granted partly by the Company, partly by the Vizir. Notwithstanding their partial dependence upon the latter, etiquette assigned to them so decided a precedence, that when the Nawab encountered them in the street, the elephant on which he rode was made to kneel in token of homage as they passed. The Nawab was told that it rested with himself to throw off all such forms of servility to the Mogul; and upon his intimating a wish to adopt an equal title, his purpose was encouraged, provided it made no difference in the relations which connected him with the British Government. It was, in the opinion of the Marquis of Hastings, a provident policy to sow dissension in this manner between the rival sovereigns of Delhi and Lucknow, in order to prevent the cooperation of the latter, through the bond of his allegiance to the former, in any hostile combination against the British interests, of which the King of Delhi should be the real or nominal head.[1] It may be doubted, should such a remote contingency arise, whether identity of religion and community of interest will not outweigh

[1] Summary by the Marquis of Hastings of the operations in India, and their results. Printed for the Proprietors, June, 1824.

all other considerations, and whether the King of Oude will not be as willing as the Nawab Vizir to place his resources at the foot of the imperial throne. On the other hand, a material difference has been made in the political relations between the head of the government of Oude and his allies. He now holds his dominions in independent sovereignty, — as Nawab, he exercised only a delegated sway, which the British government, as representing that of Delhi, had the right to resume at its own discretion. Names are sometimes as real as things, and the King of Oude is not for any purpose the same potentate as the Nawab Vizir.

CHAPTER XII.

Internal Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.— Progressive Legislation. — I. *Civil Judicature.* — *Inefficiency of the Courts.— Injunctions of the Home Authorities to revert to Native Institutions.— Measures adopted in Bengal — at Madras and Bombay.—Result.*— II. *Criminal Justice and Police.* — *Reforms at the Presidencies.* — *Union of the Powers of Magistrate and Collector.* — *Extended Police Powers of the Revenue and Village Officers at Madras, and at Bombay.*— III. *Revenues.— Land Revenue.— Principles of Ryotwar Settlement to be universally adopted.* — *Perpetual Settlement prohibited.* — *Enactments in Bengal.* — *Village and District Native Accountants re-established.* — *Rules for Sale of Lands modified.—Settlement of Ceded and Conquered Provinces.* —*System of Village Settlement preferred.* — *Necessity of previous Inquiry.* — *Abuses to be remedied.— Fraudulent Transfers of Property extensive.— Discontent of the People.* — *Special Commission appointed.* — *Wrongs redressed.* — *Question of Perpetual Settlement of the Western Provinces re-considered.* — *Deferred Periodical Settlements continued.* — *Nature of Inquiries to be instituted.* — *As regarding the Land.* — *As regarding its Occupants.* — *Regulation to give effect to the Arrangements.* — *Revenue Surveys commenced.— Great Delay anticipated.* — *Still greater experienced.* — *Merit of the Government.— Ma-*

dras Village Settlements closed. — Ryotwar resumed.— With Modifications.—Lands for Sale in the permanently settled Districts bought on Public Account. — Bombay Revenue Arrangements.— Based on Native Institutions.— Inquiry found necessary.— Revenue Commission.— Revenue Survey of Broach.— Its Objects.— Similar Surveys in Guzerat.— Village Accountants made Public Servants. — Opposition of Heads of Villages.— Objections to the Arrangement.— Gradually relinquished.— Settlements of the Dekhin.— Combination of Village and Ryotwar Systems.— Survey commenced.— Other Branches of Revenue. — Opium.— Difficulties respecting Malwa Opium.— Measures adopted. — Salt. — Customs. — Duties on British Goods remitted.— Finance.— Augmentation of Revenues. — Of Charges. — Surplus of Local Receipts. — Home Charges and Commercial Advantages insufficiently provided for. — Loans raised. — Public Debt increased.— Separation of Territorial and Commercial Accounts.— Debt contracted to the East India Company's Commerce. — Sufficiency of Indian Revenues for Disbursements in Time of Peace.— Prospect of Financial Prosperity.— Changes of Social Condition. — Calcutta an Episcopal See. — Bishop Middleton.— Difficulties of his Position.— His Proceedings.—Foundation of Bishop's College.—His Death.— Establishment of Scottish Church.— Activity of Missionary Societies. — Increased Numbers of Missionaries.— Attention turned to Native Education.— Defects of Native System.— Schools established.— Partly by Missionary Bodies. — Partly by Individuals for General Education; the latter assisted by the Government.—Censorship of the Press abolished. — Immediate Results.— Close of the Administration of the Marquis of Hastings.

BOOK II. CHAP. XII. 1814-23.

THE many and important political events which signalised the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, were not permitted to divert the attention of the Indian Governments from the progressive duties of domestic regulation, and the amelioration of the condition of the people subject to their sway. The investigations which had preceded the last renewal of the Company's Charter, had exposed defects in the established Judicial and Revenue systems, of which the existence had been little sus-

pected, and for which it was obviously imperative to provide early and adequate remedies. It was, however, as usual, more easy to discover imperfections, than to devise unexceptionable methods of correcting them; and the measures which were proposed for that purpose, partook of the faults in which much that was defective had originated,— a more accurate conception of the ends than of the means, impatience to construct a complete system of law and justice, without waiting for its spontaneous growth and gradual development, and the want of due consideration not only for the past, but for the present condition of society, for the anomalous amalgamation of its indigenous and exotic, its Indian and European, elements. Although, therefore, very great pains were taken to reform practices which were evidently amiss, and to substitute principles of a different tenor from those which had hitherto been received as unimpeachable; and although upon the whole an important advance was made in the business of progressive legislation, yet the system continued to be only progressive, and was far from reaching that maturity which the authorities, both at home and in India, earnestly desired to see it attain.

The continual accumulation of arrears in the decisions of the Courts of Civil Judicature, and the prolonged periods to which complainants had to look for redress, amounting to a virtual withholding of justice, were, as we have had occasion to notice, the prominent defects of that branch of the judicial system;[1] nor did the injury arising from the delay affect only those cases which were brought before the courts, as a still greater number of suits were kept back by the uncertainty whether they would ever be adjudicated; and persons aggrieved preferred submission to present wrong to the tedious process and remote chance

[1] Between 1810 and 1815, the whole number of depending suits considerably decreased; those at the end of the former year being 135,553; and of the latter 108,286. There was an increase, however, in the Superior Courts, the arrears being respectively of the Sudder Adawlat 198 and 467, and of the Provincial Courts 2903 and 3705. In the Judges' Courts there was a decrease, the depending suits being severally 20,341 and 16,898. Taking the numbers of the latter period, the term required for clearing off the causes in arrear, according to the average duration of the proceedings of the Courts, was in the Sudder twelve years; in the Provincial Courts six years; and in those of the Zilla and City Judges five and a half. Tables showing the extent and operations of the Judicial systems of the three Presidencies. — Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial. Table xvi. p. 504.

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of obtaining a sentence in their favour.[1] Part of this delay arose from the novel and unsuitable forms which had been introduced to secure method and precision in the proceedings of the Courts; part was ascribable also to the extreme and often needless jealousy with which the Government regarded the judicial functionaries, the restricted powers with which they were entrusted, and the numerous checks to which the exercise of those powers was subjected; but very much was owing to unavoidable causes — to the increase of population, the advance of the people in wealth and prosperity, to the valuable interests which peace and security multiplied, and to the frequency with which the people resorted to the tribunals of the state. Whatever their imperfections, the natives saw that justice was administered in the English courts upon fixed principles, that as little as possible was left to the caprice or passions of the judge, and that, with occasional exceptions, his decisions were upright and just. They had not been accustomed to courts so constituted, to functionaries so impartial and honest; and notwithstanding the defects with which the Company's Courts were chargeable, it was clear from the very fact of their being overwhelmed with business, that they enjoyed to a considerable extent, the respect and confidence of the people: it was only necessary, in order to render them completely effective, to proportion their number and powers to the mass of duty with which they were overtasked. To increase the number of those presided over by European functionaries, a class of officers who, from the peculiarities of their situation were more than ordinarily costly, was impracticable from the expense which it entailed, and the necessity of the case imposed upon the Government the delegation of judicial functions to Native Officers to a greater extent than had hitherto been thought advisable. No doubts were entertained of their competency, but experience warranted a distrust of their integrity. It was hoped, however, that by investing them with greater consideration, by granting them more adequate compensation, and by maintaining a vigilant control over their conduct, they would be less disposed to abuse the authority en-

[1] Judicial Minute of the Earl of Moira. Commons Report, 1832. App. Judicial.

trusted to them, and would take that place in the distribution of justice among their countrymen, which it was natural and desirable that they should occupy. Consistently with these views, the main object of the measures proposed at this period for the improvement of civil judicature, regarded the extension, as far as might be requisite to meet the wants and necessities of the people of India, of the instrumentality of Native Officers in the administration of civil justice.

The employment of Native Judges under the denomination of Munsifs and Amins, or of Native Commissioners, was no novelty at either of the Presidencies.[1] Their appointment had constituted an element in the reformed system of 1793, and had been subsequently extended.[2] But their utility was neutralized, by radical counter agency. Extreme jealousy and manifest distrust embarrassed their acts and circumscribed their powers, and the niggardly spirit with which their services were requited generated the evils which were apprehended, and forced them to be corrupt to secure a livelihood. Little care was taken to ascertain the character of the officers appointed, and it rarely happened that persons of respectability would accept of situations which offered them neither consideration nor emolument. It was not to be wondered

[1] Judicial Letter from the Court of Directors to the Government of Bengal, 9th November, 1814, printed among the Papers on Judicial Proceedings, printed by order of the House of Commons, 1st July, 1819, p. 33. In reporting their sentiments on the measures enjoined in the Court's Letter, the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat observe, in respect to this topic, "that the general administration of Civil Justice among the inhabitants of the populous and extensive provinces subject to our empire cannot be effected without the agency and assistance of the natives themselves, or without investing them with judicial powers, as well as those of arbitration is, we think incontestable; on this point we entirely concur in the sentiments of the Honourable Court." "The sentiments of the Sudder Court," it is added, "upon the utility and necessity of employing native Commissioners in the administration of Civil Justice, have been repeatedly submitted to Government, and were particularly stated in a report from the senior and second Judges on the 30th June, 1814. Letter from the Sudder Adawlat to the Government of Bengal, 9th March, 1818.—Papers on the Judicial System, Calcutta printed.

[2] By Regulation XL. of 1793, native Commissioners were appointed to act in the threefold capacity of Arbitrators, (Amins) Referees, (to decide suits referred to them by the Judges) and Munsifs or Judges in petty cases, affecting personal property of a value not exceeding fifty rupees (5*l.*). Munsifs were originally appointed, especially to facilitate the recovery of rents due to the Zemindars by the Ryots, but this being otherwise provided for, a different class of persons with the same designation, was appointed by Regulation XIX. 1803, for more general duties, but with the like limitation of value. The same Regulation provided for the employment of Sudder Amin or Head Commissioner, with a jurisdiction in actions for real as well as personal property, not exceeding one hundred rupees (10*l.*).

at, therefore, if the subordinate native Judges were ignorant, inefficient, or corrupt; or if, as they were paid by the fees levied on the institution of suits in their courts, they stimulated and encouraged litigation. Notwithstanding these defects, however, which were inherent in the principles of their constitution, and for which the Government was responsible, they were found to be highly serviceable. They disposed of a vast number of causes, which, although for petty values, were of not the less importance to the poorer classes of the population; and as the appeals from their decisions to the European Judge of the district to whom they were appealable, were comparatively few, it might fairly be inferred, that the people were generally contented with the measure of justice secured to them by this channel.[1]

From the results thus ascertained, and the confident representations of some of the Company's most distinguished servants, especially Colonel Munro, who was an enthusiastic advocate of the advantages to be realised from the extensive use of native agency, an unqualified opinion was adopted by the Home authorities, and particularly by the Board of Control, that the judicial system

[1] Mr. Stuart, Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes: "I cannot disguise from myself that it continues to be the studious policy of the Government, to reduce all their native officers to the lowest point of emolument and credit." Minute, November, 1815.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. Sudder Amins and Munsifs were paid at first from the fees imposed on the institution of suits; the former realised about 70 rupees (7*l.*) a month; subsequently they were paid a fixed salary of one hundred rupees (10*l.*) per mensem, Regulation XIII., 1824: the pay of the Munsifs was much less, and complaints of their corruption were so numerous that it was thought to counterbalance their utility, and many of the Judges proposed their abolition. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 10th November, 1814. Papers printed by order of the House of Commons, July, 1819, p. 117. There is, however, high authority in favour of their usefulness even at an early period. Mr. Harrington, a Chief Judge of the Sudder, observes, "all powers entrusted to the natives, especially without fixed and liberal allowances are liable to abuse, and it cannot be doubted that the Native Commissioners have, in some instances, perverted to purposes of self-interest, exaction, and oppression, the authority delegated to them for the more speedy and efficient administration of justice, but as far as an opinion can be formed from the proportion of appeals against their decisions, to the total number of causes decided by them in past years, their appointment appears to have been of considerable public advantage." The causes decided or adjusted by them, are computed by Mr. Harrington at an annual average of 300,000; a number for which it would be impossible to provide by any other agency. Analysis of the Regulations I. 98, note. At a much later date, this defect in the constitution of the Munsifs was still uncorrected; the Government of Bengal write in 1827, "it cannot be matter of surprise that instances of corruption and abuse should but too frequently occur in a body of public officers, whose fair emoluments are so disproportioned to the responsibility and powers which are vested in them."—Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827.—Commons Report, 1832.—Jud. App. p. 78.

of 1793, was an unwise departure from the established usages of the country; that its insufficiency and unsuitableness had been proved by the experience of twenty years, and that the only remedy for the deplorable condition of the Judicial administration was to be found in a recurrence to native institutions.[1] Little regard was had to the change which the interval had wrought in the circumstances of Indian society, and in contemplating the evils of the existing system the good which it had accomplished was overlooked. The records of the past, both under Native and British rule, furnished ample testimony, that although justice was tardy and crime was still perpetrated, yet that property and person enjoyed a greater degree of security than was known when native institutions were in their full vigour, except when they were directed and controlled with more than ordinary ability and energy by the arbitrary authority of a powerful Zemindar, or officer of the State. It was no doubt true, that the native institutions had been too entirely set aside in the plan which had been devised for the distribution of justice; but the altered condition of society rendered it also doubtful, whether, in the state in which they survived, they could be reasonably expected to be as available for the objects of the government, as they might have been under different circumstances. Entertaining, however, sanguine expectations of the great benefit to be derived from giving fresh vitality to the institutions of the country, the Home authorities earnestly recommended to the Indian Governments the immediate adoption of measures for that object; and the fullest possible employment of the head-men of the villages, and of village courts, or Panchayats, in the adjudicature of civil suits occurring among the inhabitants of their respective jurisdictions. With these instructions, the Government of Bengal declared it to be impossible to comply. The extent of the territory subject to the Presidency, and the immense number of villages among which it was divided, would render it necessary to vest judicial powers in an infinitude of individuals of questionable character and pretensions, over whom it would be impracticable to exercise an adequate superintendence. It was also affirmed,

[1] Letter from the Court, 9th November, 1814, as above.

that in the districts where the permanent settlement had been formed, the village institutions had been destroyed, and that the persons occupying the stations of the ancient head-men, were usually the Gomashtas, or agents of the Zemindar, whom it was obviously inexpedient to arm with powers, which they would infallibly employ for the benefit of their principals and the further oppression of the Ryots. In the provinces, where the settlement had not been concluded, too little was known of the state of the prevailing institutions to render it advisable to recognise any set of individuals as public functionaries by virtue of their connection with the communities of which they were members.[1] The Bengal government, therefore, until the exact nature of that connection should be accurately understood, suspended compliance with the orders from home, and hesitated to intrust the supposed heads of villages with public duties, or to recognise village Panchayats in any other capacity than that in which they had always been acknowledged,—local juries of arbitration, spontaneously formed at the wish and by the consent of the litigant parties. At the same time, the necessity of augmenting native agency was unreservedly admitted, as well as of simplifying the processes of the Courts, and modifying their constitution, and various regulations for these purposes were enacted.

The limit of value to which the decisions of Sudder-Amins were restricted (fifty rupees) was extended, first to one hundred and fifty, and subsequently to five hundred; while that of the sums adjudicable by Munsifs was raised from fifty, first to sixty-four, and secondly to one hundred and fifty. The pay of both was improved, and that of the Amins was fixed independently of fees; and the judges of the District Courts were authorised to add to the number of the subordinate grade of native officers as circumstances might require.[2] Additional powers were also conferred upon the junior European officers, or regis-

[1] Letters from the Judges of the Court of Sudder Adawlat of the 4th December, 1816, and 9th March, 1818, with the replies of the Provincial and City Judges from various parts of the country, to the Directors of the Court, in answer to the injunctions of the Court of 1814.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed. On the information thus accumulated is based the Letter from the Bengal Government of the 22nd February, 1827, cited above.

[2] Bengal Regulations XXIII. of 1814, and II. III. of 1821, and XIII. of 1824.

trars. Suits below or above five thousand rupees, which had been restricted severally to the courts of the district and the provincial courts, were allowed to be carried into either at the will of the parties; and the number of judges was raised from three to four, in each of the provincial courts.[1] The collectors of the revenue were also empowered to hear and determine summary suits for the rent and occupancy of land,[2]—disputes forming a great proportion of the business of civil judicature. These enactments necessarily alleviated the labours of the judges;[3] but they were far from accomplishing the object of their promulgation; and further arrangements were soon found to be indispensable.[4]

Instructions of the purport of those addressed to Bengal, had been previously communicated to the Government of Madras,[5] and their execution was insured by the appointment of a commission, of which Colonel Munro, who was

[1] Bengal Regulations XXIV. XXV. 1814 and XIX. of 1817.

[2] Bengal Regulation VII. of 1822.

[3] The Regulations of 1814, as far as affected the Munsifs, seemed to have diminished the causes brought before them. In 1814, the number was 125,491; in 1816, but 52,550; they then increased, and in 1820, were 108,000. On the other hand, the suits instituted before the Sudder Amins, steadily increased from 23,000 in 1814 to 46,000 in 1820. In 1814, Munsifs were allowed to try causes only which had originated within a twelvemonth from their institution. In 1817, Regulation XIX. extended the period to three years. The Court attributed the falling off to this limitation, but in the beginning of 1814, Stamps in Judicial Proceedings were substituted for fees on the institution of suits, and the amount due to the Munsifs in place of the fee was paid by the Zilla Judge. This innovation had probably some effect in reducing the number of suits brought before the subordinate Native Judges. Selections from Judicial Records, printed by order of the Court of Directors, vol. iv. p. 33. The arrears of Civil Causes rapidly declined. In 1813, they amounted to 142,000; in 1817 to 92,000, showing a diminution in four years of 50,000 suits. The Sudder estimates the average annual decisions at 150,000.—Letter from the Judges of the Sudder, March 1818.—Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.

[4] In reply to a letter from Bengal in 1823, requiring considerable additions to the European establishment, the Court observes, "the Regulations passed by you in 1821 have our cordial approbation, and we were greatly pleased with the valuable memorandum which was then submitted to you by your Chief Secretary, Mr. Bayley, explanatory of the policy which had influenced the framing of those Regulations." "But though under the provisions there made, the powers of the Munsifs and Sudder Amins were increased, and their number may be increased indefinitely, we apprehend, from the large arrear of undecided causes, the number and powers of those functionaries are still inadequate. We are satisfied that to secure a prompt administration of justice to the natives of India, in civil cases, native functionaries must be multiplied so as to enable them to take cognizance, in the first instance *of all suits of that description*, and, as appears to us, *without regard to the amount at stake*, the decisions being of course liable to revision under appeal."—Judicial Letter to Bengal, 23rd July, 1824. Selections from the Records, iv. 29. It is but just to the Home Authorities to give them credit for originating principles scarcely yet fully carried into practice.

[5] Judicial Letter to Madras, 29th of April, 1814.—Selections from the Records II. 236.

BOOK II. CHAP. XII. 1814–23.

at the time on the eve of returning from England to Madras, was the head.[1] Although the native village functionaries existed in a much less mutilated state in the territories subject to the Madras Presidency, than in those of Bengal; yet the principal judicial and revenue officers at the former were, for the most part, opposed to the plan of employing them extensively in the administration of civil justice. As the Patels, or head-men of the villages, and the village Panchayats were not to receive any remuneration for the performance of the duties to be assigned to them, it was anticipated that they would either decline the obligation, or fulfil it with reluctance and indifference, and that little effective aid would be received from their unwilling exertions: connected also as they must be with the parties concerned in the cases before them, it was scarcely to be expected that they would perform their duties free from bias or partiality; and as it was part of the plan, that their sentences should not be subject to appeal, there was no security against their committing gross injustice. As also they were necessarily ignorant of the laws and regulations, their judgments could not be governed by any determinate principles, and their decisions could not fail to be capricious and contradictory.[2] The arguments of the Commissioners, backed by the positive injunctions of the Home Authorities, silenced all opposition; and a series of Regulations was enacted and promulgated in the course of 1816, based upon the principles which the orders from home had laid down.[3] By the first of these it was provided, that the Heads of villages should be Munsifs in their respective villages; and that they should have authority to hear and determine, without appeal, all suits preferred before them for personal property, not exceeding in value ten Arcot rupees, unless the parties entered into a bond to abide by the Patel's decision, when the limit might be extended to one hundred rupees. Registers of the suits decided were to be kept by the village accountant; and periodical reports of cases adjudicated and pending were to be regularly transmitted to the native judicial

[1] Judicial Letter to Madras, 4th of May, 1814.—Selections II. 257.
[2] Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 353.
[3] Madras Regulations, IV. V. VI. VII. VIII. IX. 1816.

officer next in rank, or the District Munsif. The Village Munsifs were authorised, by the next regulation, to assemble Panchayats, or from five to eleven of the most respectable inhabitants of the village community to hear and try, with the consent of the parties themselves, suits for personal property, to an unlimited amount. Provisions were made for regulating the constitution of the Panchayats and their mode of proceeding. Their decisions admitted of no appeal, unless a charge against them of partiality and corruption could be substantiated. Reports of their proceedings were to be transmitted to the District Munsifs, whose appointment formed the subject of another regulation. These officers were substituted for the native Commissioners formerly employed; but their number was augmented, and powers enlarged. They were authorized to decide causes for real as well as personal property, to the extent of two hundred rupees; and within certain limits their decrees were final. They were also empowered to assemble District Panchayats, whose proceedings and constitution were analogous to those of the village Panchayats. Another measure, having the same object in contemplation, was the extension of the powers of Sudder Amins, the Law Officers of the District and Provincial Courts, to the trial of suits for real and personal property, not exceeding the value of three hundred rupees. When it is recollected that, by far the largest proportion of the causes brought before the courts, are for values of a limited amount, it will be seen that the principal share in the administration of civil justice was thus transferred to native functionaries. Still further to expedite the despatch of civil justice, alterations were made in the laws affecting the processes of the Courts, and the course of pleading; and limitations were affixed to the privilege of appeal.[1] At a shortly subsequent date, the jurisdiction of the Sudder Amins and District Munsifs was severally extended to suits for the value of seven hundred and fifty and five hundred rupees,[2] and the Collector was instructed to hear and decide disputes relating to the rents and possession of land, which had previously been cognizable by the civil judge alone.[3]

[1] Madras Regulations, XIV. XV. 1816.
[2] Ibid. II. 1821.
[3] Ibid. V. 1822.

The effects of the various regulations thus promulgated, very soon operated to lighten the duties of the judges, and to facilitate the determination of civil suits. Some of their results were, however, unexpected, and afforded an unanswerable proof that the sentiments of the natives of India are as liable as those of other nations to vary with change of time and circumstances. The benefits so confidently anticipated from the public recognition of the Panchayat were not realised: the supposed boon granted to the people was rejected: they would make little use of an institution interwoven, it had been imagined, inseparably with their habits and affections. The Panchayats, it appeared, had been highly prized, only as long as nothing better was to be had. In the absence of all other tribunals the people were constrained to establish one for themselves, and willingly admitted its adjudication of disputes which there was no other authority to settle; while, on the other hand, the most respectable members of the community, especially interested in maintaining property and peace inviolate, and being subject to no authoritative interference or protection, willingly discharged, without any other consideration than the influence which they derived from their discharge of such functions, the duties of arbitrators and judges. But a court, the members of which acknowledged no responsibility, and performed their functions only for such a term, or at such times, as suited their own convenience; who were guided by no light except their own good sense; who, even if uncorrupt, could scarcely be impartial; who had no power to carry their own decrees into effect; and whose sentences were liable to no revision: such a court must have been a very inadequate substitute for any tribunal, the proceedings of which were regulated by fixed rules, and which was presided over by a qualified officer, removed from personal influence, and subject to vigilant supervision. Whatever defects might still adhere to the administration of justice through individual judges, native or European, appointed by the Government, their courts continued to be crowded, while the Panchayats were deserted, their unpopularity being partly ascribable to their inherent imperfections, and partly to the indifference or dislike of the persons of whom they were ordinarily composed, who, from the

moment that the Government attempted to regulate their proceedings, found themselves deprived of independence, and subjected to a gratuitous and irksome responsibility. The same causes brought the village Munsifs into disrepute: they were made amenable for partiality or corruption to superior authorities: and they reaped neither profit nor consideration from their unrequited labour. It was not to be expected that, under these circumstances, the Patels would become active and zealous magistrates, or that they would fail to take every safe occasion of remunerating themselves. They were mostly also ignorant and illiterate men, unable to read or write, and little qualified by superiority of knowledge or talent, to command respect for their decisions. Recourse was consequently rarely had to their judgments; and the chief increase of labour fell upon the Sudder Amins and district Munsifs, officers appointed by the State for the distribution of justice among the people, and owing all their influence and authority to their public and functional character.[1]

The circumscribed extent of the territories, subject to the Presidency of Bombay, anteriorly to the Mahratta cessions and conquests, had required the services of a comparatively limited establishment which was modelled upon those of the other Presidencies, with the exception that the court of final appeal continued, until 1820, to con-

[1] In 1817, the year following the enactment of the New Regulations, the number of civil suits decided rose from 46,909 to 71,051, of which 66,302 were adjudicated by Native Courts; of this great number no more than 112 were decided by district Panchayats, and 250 by village Panchayats. In 1818, the number of cases decided by these courts were respectively but 75 and 197, and in 1819, 33 and 99. On the 1st January, 1820, the suits on the files of the Native Courts were 21,058, of which no more than 35 were before the district Panchayats, and only 9 before those of the villages. The village Head-men as Munsifs, had cognizance of but 299, and the rest, exceeding 20,000, were all before the district Munsifs. "who to all intents and purposes were servants of the Government, stipendiary Native Judges, a new description of person, unknown under the Native Government, not the native gentry of the country, nor having by their appointment any connection with the gratuitous labour formerly required by ancient municipal arrangements."—Minute of Mr. Fullerton, 7th June, 1820.—Selections iv. 46. See also Report of Sudder Adawlat, 21st September, 1818. Selections, ii. 610. The manner in which the work was done by the Munsifs was satisfactory. From 1816 to 1820, their decisions amounted to 183,530, the appeals from them to 3,057. or about 1½ per cent.—Ibid. iv. 67. The Commissioners were obliged to admit the partial failure of this part of their scheme, "several causes have contributed to retard the progress of the system under the village Munsifs; the forms and length of the Regulation, the pains and penalties, and prosecutions which it announces, their fears of the European Courts, and their consequent reluctance to engage in anything likely in the most remote degree to bring them before those tribunals."—Report of Commissioners, October, 1818. Ibid. II. 629.

sist of the Governor and members of council. The establishments were for some time found competent to their duty; but the growth of population and property multiplied litigation, and in 1815 complaints of delay began to be heard. To provide for the augmented demand, various arrangements were adopted, extending the powers of the subordinate European judicial functionaries, and adding to their number; and a supreme court for the final adjudication of both civil and criminal cases, or a Sudder and Foujdari Adawlat was constituted in place of the hitherto objectionable assignment of judicial functions to the executive and legislative Government.[1] The operation of the Regulations was extended to the first cessions from the Gaekwar and the Peshwa, and to those districts conquered from the latter, which were contiguous to the Bombay territory; but, as has been noticed, the greater portion of the conquered country was placed under the management of Commissioners, and under them of Collectors, who were charged with the administration of civil and criminal justice, and the superintendence of the police, as well as with the realization of the revenue. The principle which guided their proceedings was the preservation of the native institutions, as far as was compatible with the ends of good government, and the paucity of European functionaries, together with the extent of their several jurisdictions, rendered them dependent upon native assistance. The means of obtaining it were more ample and perfect in the Mahratta territories than elsewhere, as the original institutions had not yet been interfered with, and were the only channels through which justice had hitherto been dispensed, and public tranquillity maintained. They were subjected to the superintendence and control of the superior European authority, but the Patel and the Panchayat continued to be for some time the chief instruments in the adjudication of civil suits.[2]

[1] Bombay Regulations, V. 1815. V. VI. and VII. 1820, and I. 1821.

[2] Mr. Elphinstone's Report on the Mahratta territories, 25th October, 1819. —Selections from the Records, iv. 198.—See also the Reports of his successor, Mr. Chaplin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822.—Ibid. 309, 453. In the latter he remarks, "It will be seen from my last report, that in civil causes the Panchayat is still held to be the main instrument for dispensing justice, 490. Yet several of the officers under him speak doubtfully of its operations. Captain Briggs, the collector of Kandesh, observes, that although upon the

The state of criminal justice and of the police had been pronounced by the investigations of the Parliamentary Committee of 1812 to be as unsatisfactory as that of the civil branch, and still more imperatively to demand reform. Instructions to that effect were accordingly addressed at the same time, to the Indian Governments, promulgated by the same authority which had especially biassed the opinions of the Board of Control, and founded upon the experience of Colonel Munro. The ruling principle of the proposed reform was an entire departure from that which had influenced Lord Cornwallis in his reformation of the existing system, and re-united what he had so carefully kept apart, the powers of the magistrate with those of the Collector, and the charge of the police with the collection of the revenue. Arguing, that the duties of the Criminal Judge prevented the same officer from duly attending to civil justice; that those of a judge were incompatible with the more active functions of a magistrate; that the establishment of Darogas and Thanas, while it was unfamiliar and obnoxious to the natives, was ineffective; and that the Collector in person, or through his revenue officers, was brought more than any other functionary into approximation with the people, the Home Authorities directed that the Thanadari system should be abolished; that the Collector should be vested with magisterial as well as fiscal powers, and the same should be exercised under him by revenue officers, or Tehsildars, and the heads of villages: that where the Zemindari settlements prevailed, the Zemindars should be restored to a portion of their former authority over the police; and that measures should be adopted for the re-organization of the village watch on a footing of efficiency.

The same objections which had been urged in Bengal to the employment of the heads of villages in the duties of civil justice, were repeated at that Presidency, in respect to their forming part of the new police system — namely, the disappearance of heads of villages, properly so considered, and their replacement by the servants of

whole popular, the parties would prefer the decision of a European; that the members dislike the duty, that their proceedings are very slow, that they are not free from corruption, and that the whole system requires revision. Selections iv. 246,829.

the Zemindar, who would be likely to abuse such powers in his favour to the injury of the people. It was admitted that no system of police could be effective without the support and co-operation of the Zemindars; yet it was considered unadvisable to entrust them with an authority, the notorious misemployment of which had originally occasioned their being deprived of it; and it was evidently impracticable to combine the interference of the Zemindars in the police, with the existing arrangements of Thanas and Darogas. The association of magisterial and revenue functions was also strongly objected to, not only upon the principles already laid down, but upon the ground that the Collectors were already fully occupied, and would not be able to undertake the labours of the magistracy without neglecting their peculiar duties. It was also urged, that although the Collectors might not be guilty of any abuse of their magisterial powers, yet it might be reasonably doubted whether the Tehsildars, and other native officers acting under them, would not pervert the authority vested in them for public purposes, to the means of promoting a private end, or at least to the facilitating of the collection of rents and revenues by other modes of coercion than those sanctioned by the Regulations. It was further asserted, that the proposed innovations were unnecessary, as the existing Thanadari system under the established magistrates was as effectual as any that had been devised, falling little short of the best organized systems in Europe, in regard to the detection of crime and the apprehension of criminals, when under the direction of an able and active magistrate. Its imperfection as a preventive police was not so much imputable to any inherent defect, as to the absence of public spirit in the influential members of native society, who generally, although not universally, resenting the diminution of an authority of which they had shown themselves to be unworthy depositaries, were backward in fulfilling the obligations of their station, and rather afforded protection to crime, than aided in its prevention or punishment. As long as this was the case, it was unfair to expect the full development of the efficiency of the police. The village watch, on the other hand, was an essential part of the existing system; and although its organiza-

tion might have been occasionally impaired, yet it was not only susceptible of revival, but had been the main engine of the success which had attended that system in putting down great crimes, and preserving the general peace and security of the country. Very much had been already accomplished; and all that remained to be done was, to induce individuals of wealth and influence in society to give that assistance which they were in a position to render, not only by imposing penalties for their neglect, but by recompensing their exertions with merited notice and distinction.[1]

Although dissenting from the detailed injunctions of the Home Authorities, the Government of Bengal recognized the necessity of making additional provisions for the more prompt and effective administration of criminal justice, and of the duties of the police. During the period of which we treat, repeated regulations for these objects were promulgated. Crimes of inferior magnitude, of which the cognizance had been restricted to the Courts of Circuit, were subjected to the decision of the City and Zilla Judges, or, at their discretion, to the judgment and sentence of their native law officers and Sudder Amins;[2] —and in like manner the Circuit Courts were permitted to hear and determine cases which had heretofore been reserved for the Sudder Adawlat. These limitations of jurisdiction, however indicative of a jealous care for the protection of person, had occasioned a degree of uncertainty and delay wholly destructive of the benefit which results from the prompt infliction of punishment, and often subjected those who were accused and not convicted of crime, to indefinite and unjust imprisonment. Records of the period during which prisoners had been detained, were, therefore, to be regularly furnished at every jail delivery, and the Circuit Judge was authorised to require immediate decision upon every case of protracted deten-

[1] The same documents as those which regard the state of Civil Judicature, are the authorities for the measures enjoined and adopted, or objected to in Bengal, in regard to criminal justice and police; viz., the Letter of the Court to Bengal, of 9th November, 1814.—Parliamentary Papers, printed July, 1819, p. 33, Letter from the Judges of the Sudder Adawlat, 9th March, 1818, Judicial Papers, Calcutta, printed.—Judicial Minute of Lord Moira, October, 1815, Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 139. Judicial Letter from Bengal, 22nd February, 1827, Commons' Report, 1832, App. Judicial.

[2] Bengal Regulations, XVII. of 1817, XII. of 1818, and III. of 1821.

tion. The same functionaries were empowered, without reference to the Nizamat, or Supreme Criminal Court, to admit to bail offences not usually bailable, when the accused had been long in confinement, and where competent security was tendered.[1] The enactments for the police were consolidated into one comprehensive Regulation,[2] which had especially in view the objects of giving energy and activity to the officers of the police, while guarding against any abuse of their powers. They were prohibited from inflicting fine or punishment of any kind, from extorting confession by any mode of torture, and from detaining any person apprehended above forty-eight hours without forwarding him to the magistrate, with a full report of the charge against him. The village watchmen of every class were declared to be subject to the authority of the Thanadar; and Zemindars, their agents, heads of villages, and all persons entrusted with authority, judicial or revenue, were required to give immediate information of heinous offences, and of all loss of life, whether from accident or violence, within their knowledge, under penalty of fine and imprisonment. Although, as a general principle, the union of the magistracy with the collection of the revenues was resisted, yet it was allowed in special localities; and the Governor-General was empowered to employ a Collector as magistrate where he might think it advisable.[3] The power which had been entrusted to the Collector of deciding summary suits for rent, and disputes regarding occupancy, was expected to relieve the Criminal Judge of a very laborious part of his duties, by the prevention of affrays arising out of contested boundaries, which were always of a sanguinary description, usually attended with loss of life, and which, from the great number of persons concerned, demanded tedious and laborious investigation.[4] These enactments

[1] Bengal Regulations. VI. and VIII. of 1817. [2] Ibid. X X. of 1817.

[3] The Collectors in Ramgerh and the Jangal Mahals, and the Sub-collectors at Khurda, Balasore, and Pilibhit, and other officers at Moradabad, Etawa, Aligerh and Meerut, and in Bundelkhand, had been already made joint magistrates. The Commissioners at Delhi, Ajmir, in the Sagar and Nagpur territories, in Cuttack, Ramgerh and Rungpur, united Revenue and Judicial powers.—Letter from Bengal, February, 1827. Commons' Report.—Judicial Appendix, p. 109. The discretional power of appointing Collectors to act as magistrates was provided by Regulation VII. 1822, ch. xx.

[4] The Superintendent of Police in the Western provinces, reported that in last six months of 1811, many affrays had taken place in the Benares district, in

afforded some additional facility and precision in the attainment of the ends proposed; but they involved no material departure from the system in force, and adhered, with but partial exceptions, to the principle of distinction between the judicial and revenue departments.

The orders addressed from England to the Government of Fort St. George, were of a more peremptory tenor.[1] It was declared, that any plan of criminal Judicature and Police, not based upon the ancient village system, was radically defective, and inadequate to the accomplishment of its intended purposes; and that experience had shown, that the feeble operation of a few Darogas and Peons, spread through a wide extent of country, and having no hold upon the respect or attachment of the people, was wholly insufficient for the preservation of social order and tranquillity. The immediate abolition of the Thanadari system was therefore enjoined; and it was directed, that the whole of the magisterial functions should be entrusted to the Collector, as well as the superintendence of the Police, his duties to be discharged through the agency of his subordinate European and native Collectors, the heads of villages, and the village watch. The circumstances of the Madras Presidency, and the greater completeness with which the village institutions in many parts of the country had survived political revolutions, were favourable to the introduction of the proposed arrangements; and it was further facilitated by the general impression that the Thanadari system was unsuited to the condition of the people, and was unable to check the progress of crime.[2]

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which 5,700 persons were concerned, of whom thirty were killed on the spot, and sixty-nine wounded. At Zemania, opposite to Ghazipur, an affray took place notwithstanding the presence and prohibition of the Police, and the Zemindar, whose crop it was the object of one party to seize, was murdered, although he had taken refuge with the Police officers. The stronger party always found an advantage from his success, as owing to the delays of the Courts he was sure of remaining in possession for a prolonged period.—Letter to Bengal. Parl. Papers, July, 1819, p. 37.

[1] The Letter above referred to, 29th April, 1814.—Selections, ii. 250.

[2] "The inexpediency of the system of Police under Darogas and Thanadars at Madras, appeared manifest at a very early period. A Committee was appointed in 1805, to consider a general system of Police, and their report contained an express recommendation to continue the ancient system under the head inhabitants, and to place the superintendence of the Police under the Collectors. The same sentiments in regard to the village establishments have been expressed by the Second Committee. The decision of the Supreme Government against the transfer of the Police to the Collector, precluded the discussion of that measure by the Second Committee. The stipendiary Police

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The leading authorities, therefore, acquiesced in the general expediency of entrusting the duties of the Police to the officers of the revenue, the Collector, the Tehsildars, and, under them, the heads of villages, and the village watchmen. Objections were stated to the combination of Magistrate and Collector,[1] but they were held to be invalid by the Special Commission; and the Government acting in conformity to their opinions, it was resolved that the Collector should be charged with all the duties of the magistrate, except the visitation of the jails and personal attendance at the circuits. Accordingly, regulations were enacted, constituting the Collectors of the several Zillas, magistrates also of their respective Zillas, and their assistants, assistants to the Magistrates, in which capacity they were empowered to apprehend persons charged with offences against person and property; to commit them for trial, when satisfied that there were grounds for their committal; and, in the case of minor offences, to hear and pronounce sentence, comprehending corporal punishment, imprisonment and fine, within prescribed limits. The judges of the Zilla were appointed criminal judges for the trial of the cases sent to them by the Magistrates, under certain limitations, beyond which they were referable to the Court of Circuit, at the usual periodical sessions. The appointment of Daroga was abolished, and the functions were transferred to the head-men of the villages, assisted by the Karnams, or village accountants, and the Taliaris, or other class of village watchmen, by Tehsildars, or native collectors, by Zemindars, Amins, and Kotwals. Their duties were principally the prevention of crime by seasonable interposition, or prompt information to superior authority, the apprehension of criminals, and their transmission to the proper officer within twenty-four hours of their arrest; and the adjudication of petty disputes and thefts, with power to impose a trivial fine, and to award a brief detention in the village choltri, or the stocks. The village guards were declared to be hereditary, and entitled to an assignment from the Government of land,

Peons have, indeed, shown themselves incapable of acting but by the aid of the village police, and they have moreover proved a great annoyance to the inhabitants."—Mr. Fullerton's Minute, 1st January, 1816.—Selections II. 305.

[1] Report of Board of Revenue, Madras, 18th December, 1816.—Selection II. 403.—Mr. Fullerton's Minute. Ibid. 369.

grain, or money, as might be convenient. In default of heirs, they were appointed by the Collector. Tehsildars were, *ex officio*, heads of Police in their respective districts, and, in addition to the subsidiary duties of investigation and committal, were authorised to hear and determine, and inflict punishment according to definite limitations. The Magistrate was permitted to appoint, at his discretion, any Zemindar who should be desirous of the office, head of the Police within his own Zemindari; Amins of Police were also nominated for towns. Abuse of authority by any of these persons, was punishable by fine and imprisonment.[1] The powers of the subordinate functionaries[2] were subsequently extended, and various regulations were passed to facilitate and expedite the decisions of the criminal courts.[3] As Colonel Munro, the main author of these innovations, was appointed Governor of Madras in 1820, he was enabled to superintend the full development of a system virtually abrogating that which had, a few years earlier, been pressed upon the Government of Fort St. George by the Government of Bengal, as affording the only solid basis on which the advance of the people in happiness and prosperity, the permanent preservation of private security and public tranquillity, could be established.[4]

The arrangements adopted at Madras for the union of the superintendence of Police and the functions of the Magistrate, with the duties of the Collector, were implicitly followed at Bombay, being recommended by the similar vitality of the native institutions. In the recently ceded and conquered territories especially they were in full vigour,

[1] Madras Regulations, IX. X. XI. XII, of 1816. [2] Ibid. IV., 1821.
[3] Regulations, III. 1817, and I. II. VI. of 1822.
[4] In a Letter from the Government of Bengal to the Government of Fort St. George, during the administration of the Marquis Wellesley, and bearing his signature, it is asserted, that "the system in force under the native governments, however well conducted, must necessarily produce oppression and abuse, as it provides no restraint upon the exercise of power sufficient to ensure the uniform, impartial, and general operation of the laws, and to inspire the people with a sense of confidence and security in the ordinary conduct of private transactions, and in the undisturbed exercise of private rights;" and his Lordship reprimands the Government for their tardiness in giving effect to the new system of instituting regular Courts "adequate to secure the prompt and impartial administration of the established laws, the revenue officers, being disqualified by their revenue duties for the discharge of judicial functions." The whole letter is a summary of the principles of 1793, which, at Madras at least, had in little more than twenty years become obsolete, and were regarded as mistaken and mischievous. Selections iv. 924.

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and the agents of the police, and officers of criminal justice were the same as those to whom the collection of the revenue had been intrusted.[1] The principle was carefully preserved, but the practice was modified by provisions calculated to limit the powers and control the proceedings of the native officers; and by the ample discretion necessarily vested in the European Collectors of the districts into which the new territory was distributed. Offences of a heinous nature were reserved for the decision of the Collectors; and in cases of capital punishment for the confirmation of the Commissioner.

The views entertained by the authorities, emanating chiefly from the Board of Control, adverse to the principle of the permanent settlement of the revenue, have been already adverted to.[2] The soundness of the principle was not professedly contravened, but the seasonableness of the practice was denied until a patient and laborious scrutiny of individual rights, a careful investigation of local peculiarities, and a minute and detailed survey of the extent, cultivation, and productiveness of the territory should have been instituted. An annual settlement with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was also considered to be more consistent with individual rights, as well as more profitable to the public revenue; and the introduction of such an arrangement was strenuously enjoined upon the Government of Bengal, in all cases where it might be practicable.[3]

The local Governments of Bengal and Madras, on the other hand, as tenaciously adhered to the principle of permanency, and maintained that the interests of the Government and the expectations of the people, justified by previous promises and regulations, required that a settlement in perpetuity should be made, either immediately or after a brief interval. They were, however, positively prohibited from carrying the measure into effect, without the previous sanction of the Court; and in obedience to these orders the arrangement was indefinitely deferred.

In Bengal, the existing settlement of the lower provinces

[1] Bombay Regulations I. II. of 1818.
[2] Vol. VII. p. 452.
[3] Revenue Letters from the Court of Directors, 1st February, 1811. Selections i. ii. 15th January, 1812. Ibid i. 61. 29th January, 1813. Ibid. p. 75.

precluded the consideration of the question of perpetuity, and the measures of the Government were restricted to the enactment of regulations intended to correct previous errors, or to provide for circumstances which had arisen out of the altered conditions of the agricultural interests. In order to preserve a record of the changes constantly taking place in the distribution of the soil, the office of Kanungo in each Pergana, or district, was revived, whose duty it was to keep registers of all transfers of landed property, of the alteration of boundaries, of the prices of produce and rates of rent, and of a variety of subjects regarding the statistics of the cultivation and occupancy of the country; furnishing the particulars periodically to the Collector. To enable the Kanungo to collect and compile this information, the injunction which originally made it incumbent on the Zemindars to keep up the Patwaris, or village accountants, who were to supply the Kanungo with half-yearly details was reiterated. These latter officers had been maintained in various degrees of efficiency for the service of the Zemindar;[1] but the Kanungo had been abolished in the lower provinces, shortly after the conclusion of the perpetual settlement; and in Bengal, his services were missed as soon as inquiry was directed to those particulars, on which alone equitable assessments could be formed.[2] The institution had survived in the western provinces, and was there found of service, but it was not in the power of a mere enactment to reorganize a machinery elsewhere, which had been suffered to fall into utter decay, and the renovation of which demanded time, opportunity, and diligent supervision.

Regulations were likewise promulgated for the levying of revenue from lands which were held rent-free, and which had not been so specified at the formation of the

[1] Regulations II. 1816, II. XIII. 1817, and I. 1818, and XII. 1817. Zemindars had been ordered to maintain Patwaris in every village by Reg. VIII. 1793, ch. lxii.

[2] The office of Kanungo, which was universal under the Mogul Government, was abolished in 1802 by Lord Cornwallis, under a belief that all the particulars regarding the relative claims of Government and of individuals, had been recorded, and that the rights of landholders and cultivators of the soil, whether founded on ancient custom, or on regulations which had originated with the British Government, had been reduced to writing, a belief which was wholly erroneous. Mem. by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. Revenue Selections, iii. p. 41. See Correspondence on the appointment of Kanungos—the same volume, i. 52.

perpetual settlement, or included in the recognised limits of the extant Zemindaris; also for the assessment of waste lands, not comprised within the same limits, and since brought under cultivation: a special regulation[1] gave validity to a new species of tenure which had grown up under the prevailing system, derived from leases in perpetuity, granted by Zemindars, of portions of their estates, and of sub-leases again granted by the tenants,[2] defining also the nature of the property, and the mode of recovering arrears of rent. Enactments were likewise passed for the better regulation of sales of land for arrears of revenue, the objects of which were to render them more deliberate and public; to secure the validity of the transfer, and define the nature and extent of the rights transferred; to protect all parties concerned from the consequences of error, irregularity, or fraud in the proceedings, and to enable the Board of Revenue to cancel a sale when it might seem to be a measure of excessive severity. This regulation, which applied to the Ceded and Conquered provinces, as well as to Bengal, contained one important clause which altered materially the relative positions of the actual cultivator and the Zemindar. Unto this date, all under-tenures were annihilated by the sale of the Zemindari, and the purchaser was empowered to make what new engagements he pleased, and to dispossess any class of occupants. It was now enacted, that tenants holding the land in hereditary and transferable property, or cultivators having a hereditary and prescriptive right of occupancy, should not be dispossessed as long as they paid the rents previously settled, and that those rents should not be augmented, except under specified circumstances. This was a most essential advance in the protection of the rights of the peasantry, which, by the permanent settlement, had been left in Bengal entirely at the mercy of the Zemindar.[3]

The principal Revenue measures of the Government of Bengal, however, regarded the more recently acquired ter-

[1] Regulations XXIII. 1817, II. 1819.

[2] Regulation VIII. of 1819. The tenants in the first degree were known as Patnidars, leaseholders; in the second, Durpatni-dars, sub-leaseholders; in the third, Seh-patni-dars, or third leaseholders; the leases were at a fixed rent in perpetuity.

[3] Regulations XVIII. 1814, and XI. 1822. See also Revenue Letters from Bengal, 20th of July, 1823. Com. Rep., 1832. Revenue App. p. 194.

ritories, and as no final assessment of the revenue of the Western provinces had yet been effected; the question that called for determination was the principle to be adopted in respect to those provinces. Permanency had been positively prohibited by the Court, and the practice of temporary assessments, which had hitherto prevailed, was therefore still to be pursued; but it remained to be considered, with whom the settlements were to be made, and upon what conditions.

The settlement of the Western provinces early engaged the attention of the Earl of Moira. Although disposed to acknowledge the desirableness of a permanent limitation of the Government demands, the new Governor-General had brought with him different notions from those which had hitherto predominated in the Supreme Council, and early expressed his conviction, that the measure must necessarily be preceded by the most thorough investigation; and on his journey to the upper provinces in 1814, he called upon the several Collectors to meet him, and bring with them full reports on the state of their respective districts. The information then received, although presenting a progressive improvement in the revenue, exhibited a marked inequality in the rate of assessment,[1] and led to the conclusion, that those who were most heavily assessed, could bear the burthen only because they were in possession of lands which had been withheld from all assessment whatever: it followed, therefore, that the statements upon which the calculations were founded were erroneous; that no dependence could be placed on the returns of the native revenue officers; and that the only safe criterion by which the Government claim could be accurately adjusted, was the actual measurement and survey of the ground, and a careful estimate of its average produce. The settlement of the revenue with the actual cultivators on the Ryotwari system, was declared to be

[1] The total land revenue, of the Ceded and Conquered provinces amounted to more than two crores and eighty lakhs (2,800,000*l.*) which was collected at a charge of about 6 per cent., and with a balance of about 3 per cent., the whole levied upon 3,57,40,598, recorded Bigas of cultivated land. In Shahjehanpur and Bareilly, the rate per Biga was seven and eight anas; in Moradabad, one rupee, twelve anas; between three and four times the rate of the preceding, although like them situated in the same province, Rohilkhand, and distinguished by no material difference in the fertility of the soil. Revenue Minute of the Governor-General, 21st Sept., 1815. Commons Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 91.

inapplicable to Upper India, as involving a minuteness of inspection which was impracticable with the present European establishment, and which would necessitate the employment of an infinite number of native agents who, from the impossibility of an efficient control, would be likely to inflict unbounded extortion and oppression. It became necessary, therefore, to form engagements with middle-men of some class or other; and the Board of Commissioners appointed to the Upper Provinces sought to introduce the system of village settlements; contracting engagements with one or more of the members of the actual cultivating body, as the representative of each village community for the whole of the Government demand, and leaving the adjustment of the share of each individual cultivator to be settled among themselves, with an appeal to the arbitration of the civil courts. The principle of this arrangement generally was conformable to the existing institutions, and was satisfactory to the people.

Before, however, the settlement of the ceded and conquered provinces upon the principle proposed could be attempted, it became necessary to remedy the abuses which had followed upon the settlements previously made, by which a vast number of the cultivators and proprietors of the soil had been violently or fraudulently deprived of their hereditary possessions. During the first seven or eight years after the acquisition of the new territories, the native officers of Government, their relations, connections, and dependants, taking advantage of the novelty of the British rule, of the weakness and ignorance of the people, and, in some cases, of the culpable supineness and misconduct of the European functionaries, contrived to acquire very extensive estates by the injury and ruin of the legal possessors. This wrong was perpetrated chiefly through collusive and fraudulent sales for arrears of revenue, either where no arrears were due,[1] or where they

[1] "I have known a case wherein the defendant has not only had his estate sold for alleged arrears of revenue, but been prosecuted separately for further balance, and when by his own acts, acknowledgments, and pleadings, he must have been cast; yet when all his own and his pleader's ingenuity has failed, it has been found that the full revenue and more was collected, and the estate purchased by a portion of that which had been withheld."—Letter from Mr. Fortescue, Judge and Magistrate of Allahabad. Com. Rep. 1832. Revenue App. p. 229.

were purposely incurred by individuals who had been admitted to contract for the public revenue without having any claim or title to the lands, and who created a title either for themselves, or the Government officers in league with them, by the fact of a public sale. Private sales were also effected by the same pretended proprietors of estates, in which they had no fixed property, in favour of the officers of Government, their relations, or dependants. The persons thus injured—the village Zemindars—were for the most part ignorant and poor, and unacquainted with the forms of the British Courts or the principles of the Regulations, while those who defrauded them of their patrimony were generally men of wealth and rank, familiar with the British system, and enjoying considerable influence with the European functionaries.[1] Redress through the instrumentality of the judicial establishments was scarcely possible, and general discontent, often manifesting itself in affrays and bloodshed, pervaded the population of the Western provinces.[2]

Satisfied of the correctness of these statements, the Government resolved to adopt measures for securing redress to those whose rights had been invaded, by means more immediately accessible than the ordinary course of justice; and a Regulation was enacted appointing a Mofussil, or Provincial Commission, for the following purposes:—Investigation of disputed claims on account of public or private transfers of land prior to 1810, within such limits as the Government should direct; annulling sales effected by fraudulent influence, or by mal-administration, and restoring the estates to their rightful owners; upholding all genuine and valid sales, and making adequate compensation in the case of those cancelled, where the purchasers were not implicated in, or privy to, any dis-

[1] In the Allahabad district, the principal purchasers were the Raja of Benares, a wealthy banker from the same place, and a former Amil, or Government manager, of Kota; these three, in the first few years after the cession, acquired by chicanery and collusion, estates yielding an annual revenue of 5,87,000 rupees (or 58,700*l.*), being one-fifth of the revenue of the whole district.—Memorandum by Mr. Secretary Mackenzie. Ibid. 232. So Mr. Fortescue also writes. "Immediately after the cession in 1801, two very distinguished characters made their appearance from the contiguous province of Benares, in this district."—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 228.

[2] Preamble to Regulation I. 1821, which enters fully into the nature of the frauds committed.—See also Minute of Mr. J. Stuart. Ibid. Revenue App. 224.

honesty or deception. In communication with the Mofussil Commission, a Sudder Commission was established at Calcutta, to receive the reports of the Provincial Commissioners, to confirm or annul their decisions, and to receive appeals from their judgments.[1] The appointment of the Special Mofussil Commission was vehemently opposed by the Judges of the Sudder, on the ground of its supercession of the regular Courts, which were open to all injured parties, and of its liability to add a new set of wrongs to those complained of, by dispossessing many persons of rights originally acquired by fair and honest purchase, and undisturbed through a prolonged interval. The resolution of the Government was, however, persisted in, and the two Commissions continued to prosecute their investigation through a number of years, in which a great amount of hardship and injury was redressed, and a favourable impression was made upon the minds of the people;—a considerable mass of information was also accumulated, regarding the tenures by which the lands in the Upper Provinces were held, an earlier acquaintance with which would have prevented the occurrence of that mischief which it was the work of many years entirely to repair.[2]

As the temporary arrangements made with the occupants of the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces were to expire in 1822, it became necessary to reconsider the question of a final assessment, and its being settled for perpetuity was again brought under discussion, notwithstanding the opposition of the Home Authorities. A permanent settlement was strongly recommended by the Board of Commissioners, not only upon the advantages of the measure in a fiscal point of view, but because they considered that the faith of the Government had been distinctly pledged to its adoption, and that the mass of the population had long and anxiously expected it: it could no longer, therefore, in their opinion, be withheld without the greatest injury to the interests of the British

[1] Regulations I. 1821, and I. 1823, IV. 1826.

[2] Notes on the Proceedings of the Government of Bengal respecting the enactment of Regulation I. 1821, bringing down the proceedings to 1826; and Revenue Letter to Bengal, January, 1829.—Comm. Report, 1832. Revenue App. p. 269. The Mofussil Commission was abolished upon the appointment of Commissioners of Revenue and Circuit, to whom its duties were transferred.

Government in that quarter.[1] The same sentiments were expressed by the members of the Government;[2] and the result of their deliberations was the communication of their unanimous opinion, that the system of a permanent settlement of the land revenue, either upon the principle of a fixed total payment, or of an assignment determinable by a fixed and invariable rate, ought to be extended to the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, as soon as it should be practicable fully to ascertain and record the value and capabilities of the land, and the rights and privileges of the various classes having an interest in the land. They were almost unanimous, however, in concluding that the extension of a permanent settlement to the provinces in question, without a minute investigation of the nature specified, would involve the risk of a considerable sacrifice of revenue, and the still more serious evil of placing in jeopardy the rights and property of a large body of the population.[3] These sentiments called for a reiteration of the injunctions of the Court to abstain, not only from making any permanent settlement, but from taking any measures which might raise the expectation that a settlement in perpetuity would hereafter be formed.[4] The Home Authorities now apparently abandoned the principle altogether—a relinquishment immaterial, as has been argued, to the interests, and indifferent to the people, as long as an enhancement of the calls upon them is not vexatiously repeated, and they entertain a firm trust in the durability, if not in the perpetuity, of moderate assessments.

[1] Report of Board of Commissioners for the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, 27th October, 1818.—Selections iii. 143.

[2] See Minutes of Mr. Dowdeswell, Sir Edward Colebrooke, Mr. Stuart, and Mr. Adam. Sir E. Colebrooke maintained that the condition attached to Regulation IX. 1805, had been fulfilled, that the Western Provinces had attained in all lands liable to assessment the maximum of cultivation, and that the revenue was more likely to decline than to improve. He also in a second minute asserted, that it was unnecessary to await the verification of tenures, as it would be sufficient to close permanently with the several villages, and to leave disputed claims to be adjudicated by the Courts. The expedience of immediate settlement for perpetuity was, however, questioned by his colleagues, who confined themselves to the view thus expressed by Mr. Adam. "It is agreed on all hands, in this country at least, and will not, I apprehend, be denied by the Honourable Court, that the Government is pledged to impose sooner or later, a limitation to the public demand from the land in the Ceded and Conquered Provinces."—Minutes of the Members of Government, 1819-20. Selections as above.

[3] Revenue Letter from Bengal, 16th September, 1820.—Selections iii. 141.

[4] Revenue Letter to Bengal. Selections iii. 213.

Leaving this point for future consideration, the Government of Bengal determined to adopt active means for procuring the requisite materials for the formation of a definite settlement for a protracted period, and pending the duration of the periodical settlements for shorter terms, the revenue officers in the western provinces were ordered to institute minute inquiries, village by village, into the extent and produce of the lands, the manner in which the produce was collected and realised, the mode in which it was distributed, and the rights, privileges, perquisites, and tenures, of all parties deriving support or benefit from the soil; the inquiry resolving itself into two heads, as affecting the land itself, and the persons interested in the land.

No materials entitled to credit were in existence respecting the extent and productiveness of the lands in cultivation, or the proportion still uncultivated. Such statements as were on record depended chiefly upon the personal information of subordinate officers, always vague and inaccurate, and not unfrequently interested and untrue; or upon accounts and specifications imperfectly and irregularly kept, and not uncommonly garbled and falsified. The extent to which the rights of individuals had been overlooked or violated, has been already explained by the circumstances which gave origin to the enactment of a regulation for their redress; but equal dishonesty on the one part, and ignorance and carelessness on the other, had in like manner vitiated much of the information that had been collected with regard to the distribution of the lands, and the demands to which they were justly liable. Under these considerations, the revenue authorities were instructed to ascertain, by the best available means, the extent of every village within the district, the state of its cultivation, the proportion of uncultivated or waste land, the different qualities of the lands, their situation and relative degrees of productiveness, the various kinds of crops, the mode of estimating or realising their value, and the disposal of their out-turn, the charges of cultivation and the expenses incurred on account of the village community, with a variety of subordinate details, exhibiting in a clear and authentic manner, the agricultural resources of the country in relation to the amount of the public

revenue. With regard to the people by whom that revenue was raised and paid, the Collectors were directed to determine the grounds upon which any individual assumed the character of a contractor for the Government revenue; how far he was to be treated as a proprietor of the land, or as an intermediate agent for the realisation of the public demand; in what mode the assessment of the less prominent factors was adjusted, and under what tenure they held,—whether as sole or joint proprietors, holding hereditary and transferable rights, and in what proportions, whether tenants either perpetual, having hereditary right of occupancy, or temporary and liable to removal at the will of other classes or individuals, and whether mere labourers and servants of individuals or the community; in short, every kind and description of tenure was to be investigated and determined, and all advantages, obligations, and duties, connected with each, to be definitively ascertained and recorded. The investigation was to be conducted, not with the object of increasing the public revenue, but in order to obtain an accurate knowledge of the real condition of the agricultural population, and the resources of the country, with a view to secure the prosperity of the people, as much as the equitable claims of the State. Personal inquiry on the spot, accessibility to all classes of persons, and a sedulous scrutiny of all information received, through the native officers, were impressed on the European functionaries, and a long and laborious course of investigation was anticipated.[1] Actual surveys of several of the provinces were set on foot, but the revenue officers were instructed not to await their completion, and to conclude the settlement of the districts upon other grounds, if satisfactory.[2] A formal regulation was promulgated to give effect to those arrangements, and to arm the Collectors with additional powers for the adjudication of disputed claims and titles to the

[1] The objects to be kept in view in framing a settlement of the Ceded and Conquered Provinces, are specified in copious and instructive detail in the Resolution of the Bengal Government, 22nd December, 1820.—Selections iii. p. 229.

[2] Upon a comparison with the Revenue Survey of Baroch, made by order of the Government of Bombay, and which in a district containing but one hundred and sixty-two villages required more than two years, it was estimated by the Surveyor-General of Bengal, and a similar survey of Furruckabad, one of the Zillas of the Western Provinces, would occupy nearly thirty-two years, at a cost of nearly five lakhs of rupees.—Selections iii.

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lands.[1] A great and wise measure was thus commenced: its execution was retarded by unforeseen embarrassments; by the inability of the revenue officers to perform the duties assigned to them, partly from want of leisure, partly from want of activity and knowledge; by the frequent interruptions of the surveys; and by the intricacy of the subject, involving a complicated texture of rights and tenures, which almost defied unravelling. The principle, however, was sound. There may have been errors in the execution, as there were unavoidable delays in the accomplishment of the object proposed; but the Government was entitled to credit for wise and benevolent intentions, and for having acted, however late, upon the principle that knowledge should precede legislation.[2]

The measures which had been adopted at Madras, as preliminary to the formation of a permanent settlement have been already adverted to, and it has been mentioned, that in those districts in which the Ryotwar settlement had been introduced, it had been abandoned in favour of village settlements for a period first of three, and then of ten years, at the close of which a permanent arrangement was to be established, based upon the experience of the preceding interval. The measure was absolutely condemned by the Authorities at home, and recurrence to the

[1] Regulation VII. of 1822. It is printed in the Selections iii. 369, as well as in the usual Collection of the Regulations.

[2] Mr. Shore, whose opinions are entitled to the utmost deference, both from his experience, and from the rectitude of his feelings in behalf of the people of India, severely condemns the measures described in the text as being impracticable, and as tending to introduce a system virtually Ryotwar. It was impossible, he argues, that a Collector, a young man and a foreigner, without any knowledge of the value of lands, or the peculiarities of Indian tenures, should be able to ascertain and determine the extent and produce of the lands of at least three thousand villages, the average number of a district, or the rights and claims of an average population of nearly a million of individuals holding property under the most varied and complicated tenures; and could the plan succeed, the result would be to get rid of the principal farmers, and transfer their profits to the Government; leaving no opening for the accumulation of capital, and its consequent application to the improvement of the land. Such he declares to have been the result of the Regulation VII. of 1822. In those districts where it had been enforced, society, he asserts, is becoming rapidly impoverished and disorganised; there is no one to take the lead, or direct the people in anything which may tend either to benefit them or the Government.—Notes on Indian affairs by the Honourable F. J. Shore, vol. i. Letter xviii. on the Revenue System. At the time at which those letters were written, 1832-3, some of the settlements for extended periods were actually perfected, and the value of the lands and tenures of individuals correctly ascertained. There is reason to think that Mr. Shore's pictures, however faithful in the main, are occasionally somewhat too highly coloured.

Ryotwar settlement commanded; but, in the mean time, engagements for a definite term had been entered into in the greater number of instances, and it was not until about 1820, that the village leases finally expired. The plan of adjusting the Government claim with the individual cultivators was then resumed with the advantage of being carried into operation under the eye of its great advocate, Sir Thomas Munro. Some important modifications were, however, introduced.

All compulsion or restraint upon the free labour of the Ryots was prohibited. The existence of various rights in the property of the land was recognised, and the investigation and ascertainment of all existing tenures was to precede the apportionment of the Government demand; the rates of the former assessment were considerably lowered; and the provision which had been formerly made for rendering the industrious and fortunate cultivator liable to be amerced for any default in the payments of a less successful, or less diligent Ryot, was cancelled.[1] Enactments were promulgated for the protection of the Ryots, both against the oppression of superior renters and the extortions of the Government native officers; and the Collectors were empowered to investigate and adjudge all cases of claims for rent, and all disputes respecting boundaries and crops.[2] The effect of these measures was favourable to the prosperity of those provinces of the Madras Presidency to which the Government settlement had not extended. In those also it was proposed to substitute gradually the Ryotwar system by purchasing, on the part of Government, the lands becoming saleable for arrears, and then settling directly with the cultivators of the soil.

The same limited extent of territory which rendered it unnecessary to construct at an early date, a complicated machinery for the administration of justice in the Bombay Presidency, retarded the full development of any system for the collection of the revenue. One advantage arising from this delay was the exemption of the Presidency from

[1] Paper on the Land Revenue of India, by A. D. Campbell, Esquire. Madras Civil Service. Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue Appendix, p. 50. Minute of the Board of Revenue, 5th January, 1818. Ibid. p. 578.

[2] Regulations Fort St. George, IV. V. and IX. of 1822.

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a precipitate imitation of the enactments of 1793; and the previous knowledge of the discussions to which they gave origin in regard to Bengal and Madras, prevented the subject of a permanent Zemindari settlement being prematurely proposed at Bombay.[1] The arrangements there in force were, from the beginning, based upon the practice that had prevailed under the native governments; and for many years the revenue was collected from the villages through the agency of the Patels, according to annual assessments made by the native revenue officers subordinate to the Collector.[2] In the course of time, however, it was suspected that the Government was defrauded of its due, and that individuals were deprived of their property and rights by the malpractices both of the heads of villages and the native Collectors; and that justice to the Ryots, as well as the security of the public revenue, required that a more accurate knowledge than had yet been obtained, should be possessed, of the actual condition of the agricultural classes, whether paying revenue to the State, or holding lands exempted from the public demand. A revenue Commission was accordingly early appointed to inquire into the existing tenures, and to form settlements in the territories first annexed, in consequence of cession or conquest from the Mahratta Princes, to the Bombay Presidency, lying principally in Guzerat, or on its borders.[3] Among the recommendations of the Committee was the institution of a detailed and scientific survey of the district of Broach, by which its boundaries, extent and divisions, and the extent of every village in it, and of every field in every village, were determined by actual admeasurement;—a like account was taken of the lands cultivated or waste, and of those paying revenue to Government as well as of those which were rent-free. The qualities of the soil, the kind of its produce, the mode of apportioning and of valuing the latter, and of realising

[1] Except on the Island of Salsette, where in 1801, the Government offered to the cultivators to convey to them an absolute proprietary right, on their agreeing to a fixed permanent rate of payment. Few of the occupants availed themselves of the offer.—See Bombay Reg. I. 1801, containing a review of the past revenue arrangements on this Island.

[2] A Collector charged with the realisation of the revenue, which had been formerly collected under the Nabobs of Surat, was first appointed in 1800. His duties were defined by Regulation XIII. of 1802.

[3] Comm. Com. 1832. Revenue App. 507.

the respective shares of the cultivator of the State, were also defined, and a census of the population was taken with a verification of their individual claims, rights, and obligations.[1]

The survey was commenced in 1811, and was finished in rather more than two years, when the obvious value of the information which it brought to light induced the Government to sanction its extension to the other divisions of the Collectorate, and eventually to the other three Collectorates in Guzerat, Surat, Kaira, and Ahmedabad.[2]

Another arrangement, having for its object the ascertainment of the resources of the districts, and the record of private as well as public rights, was an alteration in the character of the native village accountants, who were made the servants of the Government. They had hitherto been paid by the village communities, but their duties had been indefinitely fixed, and irregularly discharged, and in many places they had ceased to exist. Arrangements were made to complete their number and define their duties, and they were placed under the immediate orders of the Collector, and were paid by him at a rated per centage on the amount of the collections. Unimportant as these changes might appear to be, they tended in reality to effect a complete revolution in the village system. The authority and influence of the Accountant supplanted those of the Patel, and of the district Collector, and brought each cultivating Ryot into immediate connection with the European Collector, constituting the characteristic feature of the Ryotwar system. Many of the Patels had the sagacity to foresee this result, and opposed the introduction of the innovation, but their opposition only accelerated the evil they sought to prevent, by compelling the European officer to dispense with their agency altogether, and conclude his assessments through his own assistants, with the individual cultivators.

[1] The Collectorate of Broach comprised six Perganas—Broach, Akhilesar, Hanskut, Jambusir, Ahmud, and Dehej; the first conquered from Sindhia in 1803; the others ceded by the Peshwa; comprising about 1,520 square miles, a population of 224,000, and yielding a revenue of rupees 19,57,000. Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Com. Committee, 1832. App. Revenue, 778.

[2] Report of Lieut.-Colonel Monier Williams, on the Survey of the Broach Collectorate, ibid. 783.

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The Patels then relaxed their opposition and were allowed to resume their intermediate position, as it was the great object of the Bombay Government to maintain the village institutions of the country in entireness and efficacy. In proportion as the revenue surveys were completed, and accurate records of the possessions of each cultivator were obtained, the agency of the native village Accountants became less requisite, and the allowances granted them being fixed upon a less liberal scale, they ceased, in a great measure, to interfere with the integrity of the village system.[1]

As soon as a moderate degree of tranquillity was re-established in the conquered territories, arrangements were adopted for discovering the grounds on which equitable assessments could alone be formed, — the nature of the lands, and the rights of their occupants. In most places, the village institutions were found in a greater or lesser degree of perfection,[2] and the settlements which were formed partook in various proportions of the nature of the Ryotwar. It was the object of the Government to combine the Ryotwar and the village systems, employing the Patel to collect the Government demand from the individual Ryots, while as the several property of each Ryot, or his share of the common property, with the liabilities attaching to it, were readily verifiable, any complaint of inequality or injustice could at once be inquired

[1] Regulations I. 1814, and II. 1816. "The greatest change with the least appearance, was wrought by the appointment of new Talatis. These officers are, all over India, hereditary functionaries of the village, subordinate to the Patel, to whom they serve as clerk and assistant. When on their best footing, they are generally in league with the villagers, and their accounts are often falsified to serve the purpose of the Patel. The new Talati is an officer direct from Government, and looked up to by the village as its agent. He examines every man's condition and his tenure, and he is now employed to make the collections, and in a great measure to supersede the Patel in all his acts as an agent of the Government. There can be no doubt of the excellence of this regulation, as promoting the advantage of Government and the Ryots; but it must not be overlooked, that it has a tendency to extinguish the authority of the Patel, already much weakened by other parts of our management, and care should be taken when the necessary information has been acquired to bring the Talati's power within its natural bounds, and to withdraw it from all interference with the immediate duties of the Patel."—Minute of Mr. Elphinstone. Selections iii. 685.

[2] Except in the Southern Konkan, where tracts that had been originally farmed, had remained in the hands of the contractor's descendants, and had grown into a hereditary property, like the Zemindaris of Bengal on a smaller scale. These hereditary farmers had neglected, or destroyed the village settlements and overturned the ancient institutions. Their right by inheritance was, however, so clear, that it could not be disputed.—Answer of Mr. Elphinstone to Circular. Comm. Committee, 1832. Papers subjoined to Evidence, vol. viii.

into, and any misconduct of the Patel corrected and punished. To obtain the means of such a check, however, a similar survey to those instituted in the Guzerat districts was indispensable; and a survey of the Dekhin was accordingly strongly urged by the Commissioner of the Mahratta territories and the Government of Bombay, and received the sanction of the Home Authorities.[1]

Although no material modifications of the other main sources of public revenue, the monopolies of Salt and Opium, or Foreign customs, took place, yet the progressive movements which occurred in the condition of society, and in the external relations of the British Government, rendered it necessary to revise the provisions by which they were severally regulated. The enactments regarding the cultivation of opium, prohibiting it absolutely in the Provinces of Behar and Benares, except under special permission, and providing securities against illicit production and sale, were condensed in one general regulation:[2] but the more important arrangements arose out of the political changes in Central India, and the danger accruing to the Company's exclusive commerce from the opium cultivation in territories newly acquired, or subject to native princes. The cultivation of the poppy had been long carried to a considerable extent in Malwa, and opium of a very good quality largely manufactured — partly for domestic consumption, and partly for export to Rajputana and Guzerat. The disorders which had been so fatal to agriculture and commerce had hitherto set limits to the production and checked the export, and little or none of the manufactured drug had found its way to the sea-side for exportation to the chief seats of the consumption of India opium,—the Eastern Islands and China, the markets of which had hitherto been exclusively supplied by the gardens of Benares and Bahar.

[1] Reports of Mr. Chaplin, Commissioner of the Dekhin, 5th November, 1821, and 20th August, 1822, with enclosures from the Collectors of Poona, Kandesh, Ahmadnagar, and Darwar. Selections from the Records, vol. iv. pp. 309, 453. "Being persuaded that the advantages of a Revenue Survey in the Deccan will much outweigh the inconvenience, and that the time is arrived when our Collectors may commence upon it without the dangers to which, at an earlier period, they would have been exposed, the Commissioner has been authorised to direct a gradual assessment and survey of the whole of the conquered territory."—Letter from Bombay, 5th November, 1823. Selections iii. 813. See also Mr. Chaplin's Circular Instructions, wite rules for the Survey, 13th August, 1824. Ibid. 830.

[2] Regulation, XIII. 1816.

The establishment of tranquillity opened to the inhabitants of Malwa a prospect of participating in the profits of this trade, and the native merchants soon began to export opium, not only to various places on the continent, but to ports on the western coast for shipment to the eastward. The interests of the British Government were thus placed in collision with the equitable claims of its allies, and even with the industry of its own subjects; and it became necessary, for the preservation of its monopoly, to limit, and, if possible, suppress, the growing traffic. This, however, was no easy task. Prohibitory duties were imposed at all the Presidencies upon all opium not made within the boundaries of the Presidency of Bengal imported into any of their dependancies, having in view especially the territories intervening between Malwa and Bombay. It was admitted, however, that the measures affecting the produce of Central India were attended in their operation with the most serious hardships to the moneyed, agricultural and commercial classes, producing the ruin of many, and causing general dissatisfaction and distress, and that, at the same time, they were but partially successful, as, from the multitude of interests opposed to their execution, and the many and circuitous channels by which they might be evaded,[1] it was impracticable to prevent the augmentation of the illicit traffic. It was also evidently impossible to prevent the conveyance of the contraband article through the territories of the native princes; and it was scarcely to be expected that they would sacrifice without reluctance the industry of their people and their own emoluments to the commercial avarice of the British. They were, however, prevailed upon to make the required concession, and to prohibit the cultivation of the poppy and the sale and transit of opium through their states, upon receiving a pecuniary compensation for the loss of profits and duties derivable from the cultivation or the transit. The injury done to the merchants and cultivators, was overlooked for a time, but it was finally forced upon their attention, and it became necessary to revise the engagements into which

[1] One principal route was by Marwar and Jessalmar, across the desert to Karachi in Sindh, whence the Opium was shipped to the Portuguese Settlements, Diu and Daman, in the gulph of Cambay, and thence exported to China in country or Portuguese vessels.

they had entered. Arrangements were formed for the exclusive purchase of the Malwa opium by the Company's agents in the province, but they were not brought into full operation, nor were their consequences correctly appreciated, until a subsequent period.[1]

The rules prescribed for the exclusive manufacture and sale of Salt on the part of the Government, were consolidated and brought into one enactment,[2] into which provisions were introduced, prohibiting, in the most rigorous manner, the compulsory labour of the salt-manufacturers: no other measure affecting this branch of the revenue was instituted, and it continued to constitute an important article in the resources of the State.[3] The Customs had somewhat declined, but this arose from a measure adopted shortly after the renewal of the charter by which, in consequence of orders from home, the duties were generally lowered, and a variety of articles, the produce or manufacture of Great Britain, wholly exempted from any charge upon their being imported into India. As similar immunities were not granted to the manufactures or products of India in the ports of the United Kingdom, this was a piece of selfish legislation in which the interests of the dominant country were alone consulted, and those of the subordinate dependency deliberately injured, the latter being not only deprived of a legitimate source of revenue, but being further exposed to an unequal competition under which native industry was already rapidly decaying.[4] Some compensation was made to the country by the augmentation of its commerce.[5]

[1] Abstract of Correspondence relating to Malwa Opium. Comm. Committee, 1831. Third Report, Appendix iv. p. 927. The Opium sales in 1823-4, produced 1,380,000*l.*

[2] Regulation VII. 1829.

[3] The amount of the sales of Salt in 1823-24, was 2,400,000.

[4] Commercial Letter to Bengal, 29th July, 1814.—Comm. Com. 1831. Third Report. First App. No. 19. Regulation Bengal IV. 1815.

[5] It might be argued, that India benefited by the reduced price of the commodities imported from Great Britian, in proportion to the amount of the duty remitted. But this was disadvantageous in another respect, as it rendered the articles of domestic production still less able to compete with foreign articles in the market, and further discouraged native industry. The competition was unfair. India was young in the processes of manufacture, and was never likely to improve, if her manufactures were to be crushed in their infancy. Could time have been allowed for the acquisition of experience, and the introduction of machinery, her cotton fabrics and her metals would probably have been saleable in her own markets for a less cost than those of Europe. A native sovereign would undoubtedly have given India a chance by the imposition of protective duties.

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Besides the stimulus given to the mercantile enterprise of the United Kingdom by the abolition of the exclusive privileges of the Company, the return of tranquillity in Europe re-opened the Eastern seas to the traffic of the Continent; and the merchants of the European States,[1] of France especially, actively engaged in the interchange of their national fabrics with the valuable products of art and nature in Hindustan.

From these and other improved resources, the financial circumstances of the Indian empire had followed a progressive scale of improvement, and the amount of the public revenues at the close of the administration of the Marquis of Hastings, exceeded, by nearly six millions sterling, the amount realizable at the commencement of his government.[2]

A large portion of the increase arose from augmentations of a fluctuating character;[3] but the remainder was derived from the land revenue of the old provinces, and of those newly acquired, and constituted a permanent source of public wealth. The charges had likewise augmented, but not in a like proportion, so that the receipts presented a clear excess over the disbursements of more than five millions, and of three, after providing for the interest of the public debt.[4] Nor was this a solitary occurrence. Every year of the administration of Lord Hastings had presented, after defraying the interest of the debt, an excess of the local receipts over the local disbursements,[5] although, during so many years, the exigen-

[1] In 1811-12, the trade between India and Foreign Europe was a blank. In 1822-3, it presents a value of little less than a crore of rupees. Nor was this at the expense of Great Britain, as the trade with the United Kingdom increased from 3,560,000*l.* to 6,419,000*l.*, or nearly double. Lords' Report, 1830. App. C. The total trade in 1813-14 amounted to nearly fourteen millions sterling; in 1822-3 it exceeded nineteen millions.

[2]

Revenues of 1822-23	£23,120,000
Ditto 1813-14	17,228,000
Increase	£ 5,892,000

Lords' Report, 1830, App. C. No. 1.

[3] See Appendix 7, A.

[4]

Receipts of 1822-23	£23,120,000
Charges of ,,	18,082,000
Surplus Receipt	5,038,000
Deduct Interest	1,694,000
Net Surplus	£ 3,344,000

Ibid.

[5] The military charges for the five years, from 1809-10 to 1813-14 inclusive averaged annually 7,344,000*l.* In the two years, 1815-16, 1816-17, years of

cies of war imposed large additions to the ordinary expenditure of the military establishments, the cost of which could not be extinguished simultaneously with the cessation of their cause. It wss also necessary to provide investments of goods or bullion to England, and to furnish supplies to the trade of the Company with China, the amount of which was intended to replace the charges incurred in England on behalf of the territorial expenses of the East India Company. The surplus of the local revenue was inadequate to meet these calls, and it became unavoidably necessary to have recourse to loans from the capitalists in India. An addition of rather more than two millions was, consequently,[1] made to the public debt, but by judicious financial arrangements, the demand for interest was not suffered to be materially enhanced; and some of the still remaining embarrassing conditions of former loans were further counteracted by the transfer of all outstanding loans, of which the principal and interest were demandable in England at the option of the holder, into one general loan, declared irredeemable during the continuance of the charter, after which payment of the principal might be demanded at home, the interest in the meantlme being payable there also, only in the case of creditors residing in Europe.[2] The blended character of

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the Nepal war, the average annual amount was 8,840,000*l.*, or 1,496,000*l.* in excess of the former average. In the five years following, the season of the Mahratta war and its consequences, the average rose nearly a million more, being 9,770,000*l.* In 1822-23, they were reduced by 1,365,000*l.*, having fallen to 8,405,000*l.* Lords' Report. Appendix C. No. 2.

[1] Debt bearing interest 1813-14 £27,002,000 "
Ditto do. 1822-3 29,382,000

Increase 2,380,000

The floating debt of the former date was 4,103,000*l.*, of the latter 7,457,000*l.*, shewing a further augmentation of 3,354,000*l.*; but at the earlier date the cash balances of the public treasuries were extremely low. At the latter there was in hand, in cash and bills, an available sum exceeding twelve millions; there were also quantities of Salt and Opium undisposed of to the extent of 1,898,000*l.*, and above six millions in debts due to the Government, making a total bona fide amount of assets exceeding twenty millions.—Lords' Report, 1830. Appendix C. No. 4.

[2] The annual interest on the debt was, in 1813-14, 1,636,000*l.* In 1822-3, it was 1,762,000*l.* or only 126,000*l.* more. By the loan opened in February, 1822, creditors were entitled at the close of the charter to payment of the principal in England, at the exchange of 2s. 6d. the rupee, at twelve months' date. Actual residents in Europe were allowed bills for the interest at 2s. 1d. Of the old remittable loans, amounting to Sicca Rupees 11,54,63,000, the whole was transferred, except 2,65,83,000, arrangements for the payment of which at home were made, and the amount was discharged in the course of 1823-4.—Financial Letters from Bengal, 18th February, and 20th June, 1822. Papers, Financial, printed for the Proprietors of East India Stock, 3rd March, 1826.

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the Company, as sovereigns of territory and as merchants, had tended to perplex the character of their financial transactions, and to confound their territorial with their commercial tranactions; the territorial revenues of India being applicable to the maintenance of commercial establishments, and to the purchase of investments for shipment to Europe; while, on the other hand, the profits realised from the sales of merchandise from India or from China constituted a fund whence the charges in England for territorial purposes, such as the purchase of military stores, the pay and pensions of officers on leave of absence or retired, the passage of troops to India, and other similar charges, besides the amount of bills drawn for the principal or interest of the Indian loans, were defrayed. Upon the renewal of the charter it was enacted, that the charges on territorial and on commercial transactions should be kept entirely distinct; and this practice was observed subsequently to 1814. The Indian governments looked with some apprehension to the consequences of a separation which threatened to deprive them of a valuable resource in times of pecuniary difficulty, and intimated their apprehension that events might arise calling for an expenditure for which the territorial resources would be inadequate to provide, in which case it would not be possible to make any advances for commercial investments. In ordinary seasons, however, they expressed their confident hope that the revenues of India would fulfil the expectations of the Legislature, and be found to answer all the disbursements of the Indian Government, both in England and in India, without any assistance from Great Britain.[1]

[1] Financial Letters to Bengal, 6th September, 1813, and 23rd Sept. 1817. In the latter the Court observes, "We must explicitly apprise you, that it is to India only, that we look for the supplies necessary to enable us to defray the home territorial charges, by the punctual repayment to the Commercial branch of all sums advanced by that branch for territorial purposes in England;" and again, "we cannot contemplate without alarm the possibility of the case assuumed by you, however hypothetically, that eventually it would be your duty to shew, that however valuable India would still remain to England, even in a pecuniary point of view, as the course of lucrative commerce and as paying a vast tribute in the returns of private fortunes; yet she demanded in return some aid from England to enable her revenues to bear the expenses necessary to preserve her." Divested of all circumlocution, this is an assumption that the people of this country should be taxed for the sake of supporting Indian commerce, and of enabling private individuals in India to acquire fortunes, an assumption which we are confident this country would utterly reject.—Financial Papers, p. 121.

The question of the adequacy of the territorial resources of India to provide for all her legitimate territorial charges, was more fully discussed at a subsequent period, with the advantage of more mature experience; and we need not therefore pause upon it here. It is sufficient to state that, during the period under review, the disbursements in England exceeded by a million and a half the remittances from India,[1] and were discharged by the surplus profits of the India and China trade; a sum of a million and a half from those profits was also remitted to India in 1818-19, to be applied, conformably to the enactments of the Legislation, to pay off a portion of the outstanding debts. There were also in India means of contributing to the same end to a very considerable amount, and no appeal to the national resources of Great Britain became necessary; on the contrary, the Government of India overcame all its temporary financial difficulties, and upon the restoration of peace was provided with ample means to meet every demand. At no previous period in the history of the country was the credit of the British Government more firmly established, or was the prospect of financial prosperity more promising than at the commencement of the year 1823, when the Marquis of Hastings retired from the guidance of the pecuniary interests of India.

The same spirit of activity that had animated the civil and military transactions of the period, extended beyond the sphere of official administration, and was busily employed in introducing and developing innovations, the effects of which, although not without immediate influence, were, in a still greater degree, prospective, and constituted the germs of future and more important change. Among these may be reckoned the alterations which the last charter had sanctioned with regard to the advancement of the Church and the propagation of Christianity.

The persevering efforts of a powerful party wrung from

[1] The balance due to Commerce on account of territorial charges, on 30th April, 1823, is stated at 1,564,000*l*. There was also an excess of payments on account of Interest Bills of above 700,000*l*., making the debt due to Commerce in the beginning of 1823, 2,264,000*l*.—Comm. Com. 1832. App. Finance. Territorial Branch in account with Commercial Branch, No. iii. Article 7.

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the Ministers, and the Court of Directors, a reluctant assent to the improved organization of the Clergy in the service of the Company, by placing them under Episcopal supervision. The plan originally proposed and strenuously advocated was the formation of four dioceses, and the appointment of as many Bishops to Calcutta, Madras, Bombay, and Ceylon;[1] a plan eventually, but subsequently, carried into operation.

At the renewal of the Charter, it was thought sufficient to form one Diocese of the whole of India, under the designation of the See of Calcutta, over which a Bishop was to preside, with the aid of an Archdeacon at each of the Presidencies. Dr. Middleton, a clergyman of distinguished piety and learning, was accordingly consecrated the first Bishop, and assumed charge of his diocese towards the end of November, 1814. The extent of his jurisdiction and the general nature of his powers were defined in Letters Patent from the Crown, authorizing him to perform all functions peculiar and appropriate to a Bishop, within the limits of the See of Calcutta; to exercise jurisdiction, spiritual and ecclesiastical, according to the Ecclesiastical laws of England; to grant licenses to officiate to all Ministers and Chrplains in India; to investigate their conduct and doctrine, and to punish and correct them according to their demerits.[2] On commencing, however, the discharge of his grave and solemn duties, Bishop Middleton soon found that the provisions under which he was to act were too vague, and too inappropriate to the circumstances of India, to furnish a clear and safe light for his guidance. He was in fact a Bishop with a See corresponding in name alone to a similar definition of Episcopal authority in the parent country. The whole of his clergy, amounting to no more than thirty-two, were scattered over a vast extent of territory, and fixed at a few very large stations many hundred miles apart.[3] Most

[1] Buchanan on the Expediency of an Ecclesiastical Establishment for British India, ix. The same scheme was also put forth by Dr. Buchanan in a Memoir on Colonial Ecclesiastical Establishments, which was printed in 1812 by the Church Missionary Society.—Hough's Christianity in India iv. 190.

[2] See Letters Patent for the Bishopric of Calcutta, 2nd May, 1814.—Thornton's law of India.

[3] There were, on the arrival of the Bishop, fifteen chaplains in Bengal, twelve at Madras, and five at Bombay, but many were absent on the plea of sickness or on furlough. At Bombay there was but one chaplain present.—life of Bishop Middleton, by the Rev. C. Le Bas, i. 82.

of them were without churches or consecrated places of worship: the congregations were connected with the pastor by nothing approaching to parochial institutions, and were, in truth, wholly unrelated to him in any respect except community of faith and service. The chaplains were mostly military chaplains, subordinate to the authority of the officer commanding the station to which they were attached, and liable to a reprimand, or even to an arrest, for any infringement of military subordination. A few of the chief civil stations were provided with ministers, but these were as much subject to the orders of the civil Government as their brethren at a military station to the commanding officer. The Bishop had, consequently, no voice in their destination or employment, and his licenses gave them no privilege of which they were not already possessed. His only controul over the clergy was of an invidious character, but even that was of little effect; he could reprove or suspend from all clerical function for misconduct; but, at the distance at which he was situated, an accurate knowledge of the conduct of individuals was scarcely attainable, and his personal visitations were necessarily too rare to inspire much fear of his displeasure. His powers as a Bishop were, therefore, exceedingly limited, and his real position was little more exalted than that of the senior minister at the Presidency. The local Government would willingly have added to his consideration, and resigned to him the appointment of the chaplains to their several stations; but the measure was disapproved of in England, and was after a short interval annulled.[1]

Although a man of high intellectual cultivation, and of a kind and amiable nature, Bishop Middleton appears to have wanted the faculty of adapting himself to circumstances, and of yielding as far as might conscientiously have been conceded, to the anomalous position in which he found himself placed. He consequently suffered himself to be annoyed by matters of light consideration, and the expression of his feelings on such occasions somewhat impaired his influence; but the rectitude of his intentions, his disinterested zeal, his high sense of the duties and dignity of the episcopal office, with his unquestioned worth and learning, secured him the personal respect of the

[1] Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 140.

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Christian community, and obtained a ready conformity among the members of the Established Church to the new order of things which it had devolved upon Bishop Middleton to introduce. He laboured diligently and usefully, and, under his auspices, new churches were built in various parts of India; the number of chaplains was augmented, and their duties more regularly defined and discharged; and a character of order and unity was given to the Ecclesiastical Establishment which it had never before presented. This seems to be one main advantage of the Episcopal office in India; it consolidates the body of the clergy, and prescribes unity of action to individuals, who were else detached and unconnected, and incapable of combining for the credit and benefit of their ministry.

Notwithstanding what Bishop Middleton terms his struggles to maintain his ground, he was an active promoter of the interests of the Church, and particularly in connexion with the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, and the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel At his suggestion, the latter of these two powerful bodies, assisted by the former, undertook to found and support a missionary college in Calcutta,[1] the objects of which are thus enumerated by its proposer, — to instruct native and other Christian youths in the doctrines and discipline of the Church, in order to their becoming preachers, catechists, and schoolmasters; to teach the elements of useful knowledge and the English language to Mohammedans and Hindus, having in such attainments no object but secular advantage; to prepare and print translations of the Scriptures, the liturgy, and moral and religious tracts; to receive English missionaries on their arrival from England; and provide them with instructors in the native languages. The foundation-stone of the college was laid by the Bishop on the 15th of December, 1820. It was not completed until after his death; but it was finished shortly after his decease, and stands an honourable monument of the enlightened piety of its founder. Bishop Middleton died on the 8th of July, 1822.[2]

[1] Each Society contributed in the first instance 5000*l.*, and a similar sum was granted by the Church Missionary Society. A fourth sum of like amount was contributed by the Bible Society, to be applied to the expense of Translations.

[2] Bishop's College has not yet fulfilled the objects of Bishop Middleton, and its actual condition may create a painful smile, when compared with his

A proposal was made, as we have seen, in the House of Commons, to give a legislative sanction to the establishment of the Presbyterian Church of Scotland in India, concurrently with that of the Church of England; but it was rejected, as inconsistent to recognise two different systems as alike related to the State, and upon the understanding that the Company would provide for the religious necessities of the members of the Scottish Church.[1] A chaplain of that establishment was accordingly appointed by the Court to each of the three Presidencies, and churches were speedily constructed by the liberality of their countrymen in India. Questions of respective rights soon occurred, and especially with regard to the ceremony of marriage, which the Scotch minister maintained that he was entitled to perform according to the rules of his communion, while such marriages were held to be invalid under the Ecclesiastical law of England, conformably to which the See of Calcutta was bound to act. With a view to determine the question, the technical merits of which were involved in obscurity, a petition was presented by the members of the Scotch Society to Parliament, praying that the privilege of being married according to their own forms might be placed beyond a doubt;—on the other hand, the Bishop and English Clergy forwarded a counter-petition, praying that the law regarding matrimony might not be hastily altered, and representing the confusion which would unavoidably attend the hitherto untried experiment of two churches equally accredited by the same country and fully recognised by the same law. Neither of the petitions was presented;

enthusiastic anticipations. "Can you," he writes to a friend, "forgive the feelings of a founder, if I tell you that the other day, as I listened to the woodman's axe employed in clearing the ground, I actually began to muse upon what might hereafter be the studies and glories of the place."—Life ii. 153. The slow advance of the institution may, perhaps, be partly ascribed to the abandonment or neglect of that part of the original plan which proposed to open the College in one department to the merely secular English studies of Hindus and Mohammedans; the actual students being expected to prosecute studies chiefly of a religious character, with a view to become qualified as teachers of Christianity. It must, however, be recollected, that twenty-five years are but a short term in the existence of such an establishment, and that the system of which it is a part is still in its infancy.

[1] At a subsequent date the objection was overruled, and the act renewing the Company's Charter in 1833 contained a clause making it incumbent on the Company to maintain two chaplains of the Church of Scotland at each of the Presidencies.

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the subject had already engaged the attention of the Houses of Parliament, and a bill was passed in June, 1818, legalising both for the past and the future, all marriages performed in the customary manner by ordained ministers of the Church of Scotland officially appointed as chaplains in India, provided that one or both of the parties professed to be a member of the Scottish Church.[1]

The facilities afforded by the Legislature to the admission into the territories of the Company of persons undertaking to disseminate a knowledge of Christianity among the natives were speedily taken advantage of, and the several religious communities of the United Kingdom rivalled each other in their exertions to improve the efficiency of the missions formerly sent out, or to establish them where none had previously existed. In the south there were remains of the Tranquebar and Tinnivelly missions, originally encouraged and assisted by the Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge, but sadly declined from their former flourishing condition. They were now, however, renovated by the patronage of the original promoters, and that of the Church Missionary Society. In Bengal, the Baptist Mission was very largely reinforced, but was no longer suffered to labour alone, the Church Missionary and London Missionary Societies supporting an equal number of instructors in Christian truth. Other communities were not idle; and even America sent forth auxiliaries to the cause in India, while more especially interesting herself in Ceylon and the Burman dominions. More than one hundred missionaries, besides schoolmasters and native catechists, were assembled in British India in 1823[2] for missionary purposes, in place of the scanty number who held a precarious footing there prior to the renewal of the charter.

[1] Life of Bp. Middleton, i. 132. Thornton's Law of India, 218.

[2] By the General Survey of Missions in India, published in the Church Missionary Register for 1823, the following appears to be the number and distribution of the missionaries of the several associations.

	BENGAL.	MADRAS.	BOMBAY.
Christian Knowledge Society	1	7	0
Church Missionary Society	19	11	1
London Missionary Society	11	14	3
Baptist	30	0	0
Wesleyan	0	3	0
American	0	0	4
	61	35	8

Besides, however, the direct employment of missionaries, a variety of important accessories to the diffusion of the Gospel were set on foot; and Committees of the Bible Society and of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel were formed at each of the Presidencies, for the purpose of promoting generally the operations of the missionaries, and supplying the necessary aids to instruction, in copies of the Scriptures, and translations of them and of scriptural tracts into the native languages. Each of the principal missionary establishments was provided with a printing-press of its own, although none engaged so largely in the work of translating and printing as the Baptist Mission of Serampore, under whose superintendence, by the end of 1822, either the whole, or considerable portions of the Scriptures had been printed and circulated in twenty languages spoken in India, while translations into other dialects were in progress. These translations were hastily executed, and without adequate previous preparation; but they formed a groundwork on which improved versions might be conveniently executed, and led the way to maturer and more perfect performances.

Notwithstanding all this manifestation of energy, and the immense sums which were raised in England and in India for the great object of the conversion of the natives, the work went slowly forward. Few genuine converts were made, and of them fewer still were persons of consideration or rank.[1] Various causes contributed to retard the progress of Christian truth. There were real difficulties in the way of its being embraced by the Hindus, as its adoption involved not merely a profession of faith, or a departure from forms or ceremonies, but a change of the habits of a whole life, and a violent disruption of all social ties. It required a stronger love of truth than prevailed among the Hindus to persuade them to such a sacrifice. As subjects of speculation, the great doctrines of Christianity might have found acceptance; but it was scarcely to be expected that men grown old in a system which was

[1] In 1823, the Serampore missionaries estimated the number of natives in the Bengal province converted to Christianity by the union of the Churches, engaged in spreading the Gospel in India, at one thousand. The author of a work called "Queries and Replies," published in Calcutta, denied the accuracy of the estimate, and asserted that the full number did not exceed three hundred, it might be less.—Lushington's Institutions in Calcutta, p. 226.

part and parcel of their daily lives, and who were in a great degree indifferent to truth for its own sake, should assent to what their own feelings regarded as of little consequence, at the expense of everything they prized and every connexion which they cherished. This was the chief stumbling-block with the better classes. The learned were also rendered obdurate by the pride of knowledge, and by their proficiency in disputation, in which few of the missionaries could contend with them. The multitude were further impracticable through their ignorance and superstition, and their fondness for the pageantry of their social and religious ceremonies. With the Mohammedans the difficulty was of a different, but not less insurmountable, description. Hatred of Christianity was an article of their creed. The quarrel was twelve centuries old, and with the bigoted Mussulmans of India it had lost none of its virulence.

These were the principal obstacles on the part of the natives, and they were found so formidable that many zealous and pious persons among the missionaries despaired of surmounting them. Instead, therefore, of addressing themselves exclusively to the Mohammedans and Hindus, they conceived that the Christian population equally demanded their care. At the Presidencies, and one or two chief military stations, a number of persons professing Christianity were, from the paucity of accredited ministers, deprived, in a great degree, of the offices of religion, and gladly accepted the assistance of men who made religious teaching their duty, although not members of the regular church: hence an early result of the missions for the conversion of the heathen, was the extension of schism; and chapels were built and congregations were formed under the direction of separatists, who were more intent on establishing their own particular views among Christians, than on diffusing the great truths of Christianity among the followers of Brahma or Mohammed.

A less questionable departure from the plan of direct conversion, was the attempt to exercise a wholesome preliminary influence upon the minds of youth, through the medium of early education. The natives of India in general, although not without instruction, reaped little benefit from their national system. Those who were des-

tined to follow learning as a profession, whether Hindus or Mohammedans, went through a long and arduous course of study, which, whatever its moral or religious tendency was not unpropitious to intellectual development. Some of the sons of wealthy persons were occasionally carried beyond the mere rudiments of their own speech, and were accomplished Persian scholars, or were made to acquire some conversancy with English; but the mass of the people were either wholly untaught, or were instructed in the lowest possible amount of human knowledge. It is sufficiently illustrative of the defects of the system to observe that it did not comprehend the use of books: the boy learnt his letters by copying them from a board before him, on sand or on palm leaves, and the same process taught him to write. He acquired some knowledge of spelling by reiterating the syllables aloud, as they were repeated aloud by the master or the monitor; and the rudiments of arithmetic were learned in the same manner. No faculty was exercised except that of the memory; and no opportunity was afforded him of acquiring a knowledge of useful facts, or of becoming imbued with those moral sentiments which are indirectly conveyed through fables and fictions suited to youthful imaginations. To correct this system—to substitute for it an education better meriting the name—to enlarge the mind—to ameliorate the feelings—to inculcate principles of morality, was felt by persons of all persuasions to be an indispensable prelude to the elevation of the national character, and a probable preparation for the more extensive dissemination of Christianity. The Governments at the three Presidencies took the lead in recognizing the necessity of raising the standard of education among the natives; and although deeming it to be impolitic, and incompatible with their obligations to their native subjects, to take an active share in those measures which combined religious with secular tuition, they liberally encouraged and assisted with funds the various schemes that were now set on foot for the improvement of native education.[1]

[1] The Baptist Mission, in 1824, had thirty schools under its charge, containing about three thousand children. A like number were taught in about twenty schools in the neighbourhood of Chinsura, under the conduct of missionaries of the London Missionary Society, but with the pecuniary aid of the Government. The Church Missionary Society, besides schools in Calcutta

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The chief object of most of the schools which were thus established, was instruction in the language of the country through the medium of books compiled and printed for the purpose, in which sound principles of morality were inculcated; the most interesting works of human skill and divine power were described; the leading facts of geography and history were narrated, and European methods of calculation were explained. In most of the Missionary schools translations of the Old and New Testaments formed part of the course of reading; but it was considered expedient in many places, even by the bodies representing in India the religious societies in England, to avoid adopting any arrangement which should inspire the natives with a suspicion of the ultimate object of the schools, and deter them from giving to their children the benefit of a course of instruction which could not fail to elevate their principles, at the same time that it insured them novel and beneficial information. In addition to those seminaries which proposed instruction in the knowledge of Europe, conveyed through the vernacular dialects, the Government felt it to be equally a duty to encourage the studies of those among the natives of India, who followed the learning of the country as a literary class, and devoted their lives to the cultivation of Sanscrit and Arabic literature. Besides the obligation of compensating for the loss of that patronage which Maulavis and Pundits were formerly accustomed to receive from natives of wealth and power, whom the rule of foreigners had impoverished or annihilated, and the policy of gaining the goodwill of the people by countenancing pursuits to which

and other places, had a number at Burdwan, where nearly two thousand boys were instructed; there were also in the same neighbourhood ten female schools. The Christian Knowledge Society established several schools in the vicinity of Calcutta. In Calcutta, a School Society was formed of respectable natives conjointly with Europeans, to superintend and improve the indigenous schools in that city. A number of schools, containing about two thousand eight hundred boys, were brought under their supervision, and an English school was established, admittance to which was the reward of distinction in the native seminaries; to this the Government also liberally contributed. In order to supply all these different seminaries with books, a School-Book Society was likewise formed for the printing of original or translated works of an elementary class suited to juvenile instruction. Many natives of talent and respectability engaged in the preparation of these works. The Government also contributed to the expense. At Bombay a Society of Europeans and natives was formed for promoting native education, and there, as well as at Madras and in Bengal, the Missionary Committees were active in forming and conducting native schools.

they attached almost exclusive estimation, it was thought prudent to acquire a direct influence over the national studies, with a view to improve the mode of their cultivation, to direct them to practical objects connected with the courts of justice, in which many questions were determinable according to the rules of Mohammedan and Hindu law, and to graft upon them, by degrees, the knowledge of the West, which could scarcely be communicated to the literary classes through any other chennel. It was also anticipated, that, once masters of such information, the persons to whom literary occupation was a livelihood would be the fittest and most capable agents in its dissemination. With these purposes, the existing native colleges were subjected to qualified European supervision; and the project of Lord Minto, of establishing colleges at Nuddea and Tirhoot, was commuted to the institution of a Sanscrit college in Calcutta for the tuition of Brahmans, and of youths of the medical caste. The college was not founded until after the departure of the Governor-General from India; but the plan was matured, and the preliminary steps were taken during his administration.

Most of the Missionary establishments attempted the formation of an English school in connexion with their indigenous schools; and, in some cases, promotion to an English school was made the reward of diligence in the native seminaries. There prevailed, however, no very ardent desire to benefit by such opportunities; and very extensive distrust of the ulterior object of the English schools, of their being intended, under cover of instruction in English, to convert the youth to Christianity, deterred the people from having recourse to them. The amount of instruction sought for, was also of the very lowest description; and the great aim of those by whom the schools were attended, was to become qualified for the duties of a copyist, or a clerk in some public or private office. The want of tuition of a higher character became at last perceptible to the more respectable classes of the Hindus, and they displayed a readiness to make arrangements for its provision, which was only checked by the fear of endangering their national worship. To remove this source of apprehension, they were encouraged by several of the principal members of the British community, to

establish an English seminary on a liberal foundation, of which they should retain the entire direction in their own hands, and over which they should exercise undivided control; a joint committee of Europeans and natives was formed, to consider and determine the general plan of the establishment, after which the European members withdrew from all interference; the consequence was the foundation of the English College of Calcutta, an institution which promises to exert an important influence upon intellectual development in Bengal.[1]

The measures of the Government of Madras were confined during the period under consideration to the acquirement of information respecting the state of education in the provinces: the Collectors were directed to report the number of the schools and colleges in their respective Collectorates; but some interval necessarily elapsed before the receipt of their replies. The advance of native education was in a somewhat more forward state at Bombay, and a society was formed in 1815, for the promotion of the education of the poor, by which several schools were established with the aid of the Government. In 1822, societies were formed, having for their objects more especially the improvement of native education.[2]

Another act originating with the Governor-General, was a departure from the cautious policy of former Governments in regard to the Press of India, and the removal of

[1] The leading Europeans on this occasion were the Chief Justice, Sir Edward Hyde East, and Mr. Harington, a member of the Supreme Council. According to Mr. Hough (History of Christianity in India, iv. 393), of these two gentlemen, the latter retired from the Committee at the desire of the Governor-General, apprehending that his appearance at the head of the college might be construed into an attempt of the Government to convert the natives. "Sir Edward also," he says, "out of respect to the Government, was induced to retire, to the great surprise and disappointment of all who had embarked in the work." These circumstances seem to rest upon misinformation. The author with many others beside the two gentlemen specified, was included in the Committee, and the principle of their proceedings was from the first, the relinquishment of the institution to native management exclusively, as soon as the mode of conducting it, and the course of study to be pursued in it, was devised. Bishop Middleton's notice of the seminary is in accordance with the author's recollections. "The wealthy Hindoos have just set on foot a school or college, without any aid or countenance from the Government, who (very wisely, I think), have wished the work to be done by themselves;" i. 391.

[2] For these and the foregoing particulars respecting the progress of education from 1814 to 1823,—see Lushington's History of Religious, Benevolent, and Charitable Institutions of Calcutta, Cal. 1814, Church Missionary Register. —Reports of Societies, and a valuable Memoir by Mr. Fisher on the Establishment of Native Schools by the Local Governments of India.—Comm. Com. 1832, Appendix Public, i.

some of the restraints to which it had been subjected. In the early portion of its career, the Indian Press had been left to follow its own course, with no other check than that which the law of libel imposed. The character of the papers of early days, sufficiently shew that the indulgence was abused, and that while they were useless as vehicles of local information of any value, they were filled with indecorous attacks upon private life, and ignorant censures of public measures. To repress so great a nuisance, Lord Wellesley, after sending one Editor to England, and intimidating others into a prudent reserve, established a censorship; and the journals were submitted on the eve of their issue, to the perusal of an officer of the Government, by whom, what he considered objectionable matter, was struck out. This control, and the improving taste and feelings of the age, gave to the Indian chronicles a new character, and rendered them respectable, if not very authentic, vehicles of public information. The duties of the Censorship were leniently discharged, and little dissatisfaction was felt with the existing practice, when the Marquis of Hastings, entertaining exalted notions of the benefits of a free expression of the sentiments of the public, determined to relieve it from the only restraint under which it laboured. At the same time, the Press was by no means left to its own guidance; and defined limits circumscribed its freedom. The Censor was removed, but the Editors were restricted from publishing animadversions on the proceedings of the Indian authorities in England; disquisitions on the political transactions of the local administration, or offensive remarks on the public conduct of the members of the Council, the Judges, or the Bishop of Calcutta; discussions having a tendency to create alarm or suspicion among the natives as to any intended interference with their religion; the republication from English or other newspapers of passages coming under the preceding heads, or otherwise calculated to affect the British power or reputation in India;[1] and private scandal, or personal remarks on individuals, tending to excite dissensions in society. The Editors were held responsible for the observance of these rules, under the penalty of being proceeded against in such manner as

[1] See the orders in the Asiatic Monthly Journal, June, 1820, p. 610.

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the Governor-General might think applicable to the nature of the offence. Subject to these limits and responsibilities, the Press was free, both to Europeans and to natives.

The establishment of a free Press in India was contemplated with very different feelings by different classes of persons; and, as usual in controverted topics, both the benefits and evils of the measure were greatly exaggerated. The main advantages, as stated by Lord Hastings himself,[1] were the salutary control which public scrutiny exercises over supreme authority; and the cheerfulness and zeal with which all ranks of society co-operate in measures, the motives and objects of which they understand, and in which they concur. This scrutiny and this concurrence, however, were wholly at variance with the circumstances of society in India, the bulk of which was formed of the salaried servants of the Government, already bound by their engagements to furnish it with information, and to execute its commands. The remainder of the Indian public consisted of a very few merchants, traders, or artisans, residing in India upon sufferance, having no acknowledged place in the constitution of the Government, no voice in its proceedings, no permanent stake in the welfare of the country, and little, if any, knowledge of its condition or relations. Much benefit could not be anticipated from the comments of a few hundred persons of this description, administered through conductors of journals, who were either public servants themselves, or were dependent for their privilege of dwelling in India upon the pleasure of the superior powers: the whole forming a body of no weight or influence, and in no essential point corresponding with a public, such as the term denoted in the parent country. The same circumstances, however, if they nullify the advantages of newspaper enlightenment, also counteracted its mischievous tendencies, and rendered the Indian Press incapable of embarrassing the purposes or proceedings of the State. It might become, as it had previously been, a source of annoyance to individuals, a vehicle of private calumny or malice; but, as far as the political interests of Great

[1] Answer to an Address presented by the inhabitants of Madras, 24th July, 1819. Asiatic Journal, Jan. 1820.

Britain and India were concerned, its influence was too insignificant to endanger their stability or alter their relations. The Government, also, had full power to arrest any such mischievous attempts at their outset. The unbridled freedom of the native Press involved weightier consequences, as its lucubrations were addressed to vast, independent, and ill-constructed multitudes. Such an organ directed by hostile agency might misrepresent the acts and purposes of the ruling authority, and inspire the people with deep and dangerous discontent. That Press, however, had yet scarcely sprung into existence; and the system was too new and strange, too foreign to the habits and feelings of the people, to grow by rapid steps, into a wide-spread and commanding influence. The Government had here, also, the remedy in its own hands, and the so-termed freedom of the Indian Press was, in reality, a matter of very little moment.

The first experience of the consequences of removing the supervision of the Censor was, however, calculated to confirm the apprehensions of those who were adverse to its abolition. The measure was followed by the establishment of a Journal,[1] which infringed the prohibitory rules that had been substituted for the censorship, lent itself to the utterance of morbid discontent and personal resentment, assailed the conduct of private individuals, impeached the acts of public functionaries, spread acrimonious dissensions through society, and defied, while it affected to deprecate, the displeasure of the Government.[2] Repeated intimations of that displeasure were communicated to the Editor through the usual official channels, and he was warned on more than one occasion that, unless he conformed to the regulations established for the guidance of the press, his licence to remain in India would be revoked, and he would be required to proceed to England. A probable consciousness of the incongruity of so severe a punishment with the eulogium which he had pronounced upon the expression of public opinion, as well as

[1] The Calcutta Journal, of which the Proprietor and Editor was Mr. J. S. Buckingham, a gentleman permitted to reside in Calcutta by special licence.

[2] Letter from the Chief Secretary to the Government of Bengal to Mr. Buckingham, 17th May, 1821, cited in the Statement of Facts, printed in Calcutta.

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the genuine kindness of his nature, rendered the Governor-General reluctant to inflict the penalty that had been threatened, and he left India without having carried his menaces into effect. A more consistent course was followed by the firmness of his successor. Although, however checked in the abuse of its nascent liberty, the press of Calcutta was liberated from the risk of needless and vexatious interference, and became, both in the English and native languages, a useful instrument in the dissemination of knowledge.[1]

The most important of the proceedings in England originating in the interval which has been reviewed, have already been described. Few others, relating to the administration of affairs in India, engaged the attention of Parliament or the Company. The thanks of both for the services of the Marquis of Hastings in the Pindari war were voted with general consent; but neither on these occasions, nor on that of the war of Nepal, did the Ministers or the Directors pronounce any sufficient commendation of the chief merits of Lord Hastings, — the soundness, foresight, and comprehensiveness of his policy, which were more remarkable even than the wisdom, skill, and energy of his military operations. A small, but influential party in the Board, and in the Court of Directors, still adhered to the narrow and antiquated views of the days of Sir George Barlow, and affected to regret the extension of the British dominions in India. It was to the Commander-in-Chief, therefore, that the thanks were presented. In that capacity, also, a grant of sixty thousand pounds was voted to be vested in the hands of trustees for the benefit of the Marquis and his family.[2]

Notwithstanding these demonstrations of approval, which could not in justice or decency be withheld, the Governor-General, deeply mortified by the want of confidence exhibited in the correspondence of the Court relating to the Hyderabad affair, and indignant at the tone in which their sentiments were expressed, determined to relinquish his high office, and to rejoin his family in

[1] The first Bengal newspaper, the Sambád Chandriká, or "Moon of Intelligence," was started in 1822. At present, 1846, there are five in Bengali and three in Persian printed in Calcutta, besides others at the different Presidencies The circulation of each is but small.

[2] May 15th, 1819.

Europe. His resignation was tendered in 1821. It was then felt that the tribute due to his great services in peace, as well as in war, could no longer be deferred; and on the 23rd of May, 1822, a resolution of the Court of Directors was communicated to the Proprietors, expressing their deep regret at the resignation of the Marquis of Hastings, and offering him their thanks for the unremitting zeal and eminent ability with which, during a period of nearly nine years, he had administered the government of British India, with such high credit to himself, and advantage to the interests of the East India Company. The Court of Proprietors adopted the resolution; and, adverting to the previous acknowledgment which had passed the Court of the great military and political talents of the Governor-General, requested the executive body to convey to his Lordship the expression of their admiration, gratitude, and applause. The vote was just, though tardy. The administration of the Marquis of Hastings may be regarded as the completion of the great scheme of which Clive had laid the foundation, and Warren Hastings and the Marquis Wellesley had reared the superstructure. The crowning pinnacle was the work of Lord Hastings, and by him was the supremacy of the British Empire in India proper finally established. Of the soundness of the work no better proof can be afforded than the fact that there has been no international warfare since his administration. Rajput, Mahratta, and Mohammedan have remained at peace with each other under the shade of the British power. The wars in which the latter has been engaged have carried that power beyond the boundaries of Hindustan, but no interruption of internal tranquility from the Himalaya to the sea has been suffered or attempted.

The Marquis of Hastings quitted his government on the 1st of January, 1823. Expressions of regret for his departure had previously poured in from every quarter, and there is reason to believe that they were sincere.

Lord Hastings had deserved well both of the European and native community. He was not indifferent to the good opinion of those subordinate to his station or subject to his authority, and sought it not only by the splendour of his military triumphs, the comprehensiveness of

his foreign policy, or the diligence, wisdom, and rectitude of his civil administration, but by considerations for the feelings, and anxiety for the prosperity and happiness, of every order of society. Whatever plan proposed the amelioration of the condition of the natives of India, whatever tended to their moral and intellectual elevation, received his hearty countenance and coöperation; and in the minor, but not unimportant article of personal deportment, Lord Hastings was ever scrupulously conciliatory and kind to every class of the native population. The example which he set was not in vain: and it was under his administration that even the respectable native inhabitants of the Presidency were first seen to associate on an equal footing with Europeans in devising and carrying out projects of public good. With the European portion of the society his habits were the same; and no sacrifice of personal comfort or convenience deterred Lord Hastings from promoting, by his participation and encouragement, whatever was projected for the diffusion of benevolence, the cultivation of knowledge, and the general good and happiness of the community.

The glories of the early administration of the Marquis of Hastings were heightened by the mild lustre of its close; and the triumphs of military success were justified by their application to the maintenance of universal tranquillity, the promotion of the welfare of the people and the prosperity and consolidation of the British Empire in India.

END OF THE SECOND BOOK.

APPENDIX.

I.

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From Umur Singh and his sons, Ram Das, and Urjun Thapas to the Raja of Nipal, dated Raj-gurh, 2nd March, 1815.

A copy of your letter of the 23rd December, addressed to Runjoor Singh, under the Red Seal, was sent by the latter to me, who have received it with every token of respect. It was to the following purport: — "The capture of Nalapanee by the enemy has been communicated to me from Gurhwal and Kumaon, as also the intelligence of his having marched to Nahn: having assembled his force, he now occupies the whole country from Barapursa to Subturee and Muhotree. My army is also secretly posted in various places in the junguls of the mountains. An army under a general has arrived in Gorukpoor, for Palpa, and another detachment has reached the borders of Beejypoor. I have further heard that a general-officer has set off from Calcutta, to give us further trouble. For the sake of a few trifling objects, some intermediate agents have destroyed the mutual harmony, and war is waging far and wide: all this you know. You ought to send an embassy to conciliate the English, otherwise the cause is lost. The enemy, after making immense preparations, have begun the war, and unless great concessions are made they will not listen to terms. To restore the relations of amity by concession is good and proper; for this purpose it is fit, in the first place, to cede to the enemy the departments of Bootwul, Palpa, and Sheeoraj, and the disputed tracts already settled by the commissioners towards Barah.[1] If this be insufficient to re-establish harmony, we ought to abandon the whole of the Turace, the Doon, and the low lands; and if the English are still dissatisfied, on account of not obtaining possession of a portion of the

No. I.

[1] Meaning the twenty-two villages on the Sarun frontier.

No. I.

mountains, you are herewith authorised to give up, with the Doon, the country as far as the Sutlej. Do whatever may be practicable to restore the relations of peace and amity, and be assured of my approbation and assent. If these means be unsuccessful, it will be very difficult to preserve the integrity of my dominions from Kunka Teestta to the Sutlej. If the enemy once obtain a footing in the centre of our territory, both extremities will be thrown into disorder. If you can retire with your army and military stores to pursue any other plan of operations that may afterwards appear eligible, it will be advisable. On this account, you ought immediately to effect a junction with all the other officers on the western service, and retire to any part of our territory which, as far as Nipal, you may think yourself capable of retaining. These are your orders."

In the first place, after the immense preparations of the enemy, he will not be satisfied with all these concessions; or if he should accept of our terms, he would serve us as he did Tippoo, from whom he first accepted of an indemnification of six crores of rupees in money and territory, and afterwards wrested from him his whole country. If we were to cede to him so much country, he would seek some fresh occasion of quarrel, and at a future opportunity would wrest from us other provinces. Having lost so much territory, we should be unable to maintain our army on its present footing; and our military fame being once reduced, what means should we have left to defend our eastern possessions? While we retain Bisahur, Gurhwal is secure: if the former be abandoned, the Bhooteas of Ruwain will certainly betray us. The English having thus acquired the Doon and Ruwain, it will be impossible for us to maintain Gurhwal; and being deprived of the latter, Kumaon and Dotee will be also lost to us. After the seizure of these provinces, Achain, Joomlee, and Dooloo, will be wrested from us in succession. You say "that a proclamation has been issued to the inhabitants of the eastern kurats;" if they have joined the enemy, the other kurats will do so likewise, and the country, Dood Koosee, on the east, to Bheeree, on the west, cannot be long retained. Having lost your dominions, what is to become of your great military establishments? When our power is once reduced, we shall have another Knox's mission, under pretence of concluding a treaty of alliance and friendship, and founding commercial establishments. If we decline receiving their mission, they will insist; and if we are unable to oppose force, and desire them to come unaccom-

panied with troops, they will not comply. They will begin by introducing a company: a battalion will follow, and at length an army will be assembled for the subjection of Nipal. You think that if, for the present, the lowlands, the Doon, and the country to the Sutlej, were ceded to them, they would cease to entertain designs upon the other provinces of Nipal. Do not trust them! They who counselled you to receive the mission of Knox, and permit the establishment of a commercial factory, will usurp the government of Nipal. With regard to the concessions now proposed, if you had, in the first instance, decided on a pacific line of conduct, and agreed to restore the departments of Bootwul and Sheeoraj, as adjusted by the commissioners, the present contest might have been avoided. But you could not suppress your desire to retain these places, and, by murdering their revenue officer, excited their indignation, and kindled a war for trifles.

At Jythuk we have obtained a victory over the enemy. If I succeed against General Ochterlony, and Runjoor Singh, with Juspao Thapa and his officers, prevail at Jythuk, Runjeet Singh will rise against the enemy. In conjunction with the Seiks, my army will make a descent into the plains; and our forces, crossing the Jumna from two different quarters, will recover possession of the Doon. When we reach Hurdwar, the Nuwab of Lukhnow may be expected to take a part in the cause; and, on his accession to the general coalition, we may consider ourselves secure as far as Khunka. Relying on your fortune, I trust that Bulbhudur Koonwur and Rewunt Kajee will soon be able to reinforce the garrison of Jythuk; and I hope, ere long, to send Punt Kajee with eight companies, when the force there will be very strong. The troops sent by you are arriving every day: and when they all come up, I hope we shall succeed both here and at Jythuk.

Formerly, when the English endeavoured to penetrate to Sundowlee, they continued for two years in possession of Barch Pursa and Muhotree; but, when you conquered Nipal, they were either destroyed by your force, or fell victims to the climate with the exception of a few only, who abandoned the place Orders should now be given to all your officers to defend Choudundee, and Choudena in Bejypoor, and the two kurats, and the ridge of Mahabharut. Suffer the enemy to retain the low lands for a couple of years: measures can afterwards be taken to expel them. Lands transferred under a written agreement

No. I.

cannot again be resumed; but if they have been taken by force, force may be employed to recover them. Fear nothing, even though the Seiks should not join us. Should you succeed now in bringing our differences to an amicable termination by the cession of territory, the enemy in the course of a few years would be in possession of Nipal, as he took possession of the country of Tippoo. The present, therefore, is not the time for treaty and conciliation. These expedients should have been tried before the murder of the revenue officer (in Gorukpoor), or must be postponed till victory shall crown our efforts. If they will then accede to the terms which I shall propose, it is well; if not, with the favour of God and your fortune and bounty, it shall be my business to preserve the integrity of my country from Kunka to to the Sutlej. Let me entreat you, therefore, never to make peace. Formerly, when some individuals urged the adoption of a treaty of peace and commerce, I refused my assent to that measure; I will not now suffer the honour of my prince to be sullied by concession and submission. If you are determined on this step, bestow the humiliating office on him who first advised it. But for me, call me to your presence; I am old, and only desire once more to kiss your feet. I can recollect the time when the Goorkha army did not exceed twelve thousand men. Through the favour of heaven, and by the valour of your forefathers, your territory was extended to the confines of Khunka, on the east. Under the auspices of your father, we subjugated Kumaon; and, through your fortune, we have pushed our conquests to the Sutlej. Four generations have been employed in the acquisition of all this dignity and dominion. At Nalapanee, Bulbhudur defeated three or four thousand of the enemy. At Jythuk, Runjoor Singh, with his officers, overthrew two battalions. In this place I am surrounded, and daily fighting with the enemy, and look forward with confidence to victory. All the inhabitants and chiefs of the country have joined the enemy. I I must gain two or three victories before I can accomplish the object I have in view—of attaching Runjeet Singh to our cause. On his accession, and after the advance of the Seiks and Goorkhas towards the Jumna, the chiefs of the Dukhun may be expected to join the coalition, as also the Nawab of Lukhnow, and the Salik-Ramee-Leech.[1] Then will be the time for us to drive out the enemy, and recover possession of the low countries of Palpa,

[1] It is not known who Umur Singh means by the Salik-Ramee-Leech; and some other of his names of places and persons differ from any in common use.

as far as Beejypoor. If we succeed in regaining these, we can attempt further conquest in the plains.

There has been no fighting in your quarter yet; the Choudundee and Choudena of Beejypoor, as far as the ridge of Muhabharut and Soolecana, should be well defended. Countries acquired in four generations, under the administration of the Thapas, should not be abandoned for the purpose of bringing matters to an amicable adjustment, without deep and serious reflection. If we are victorious in the war, we can easily adjust our differences; and if we are defeated, death is preferable to a reconciliation on humiliating terms. When the Chinese army invaded Nipal, we implored the mercy of Heaven by offerings to the Brahmins, and the performance of religious ceremonies; and, through the favour of one and intercession of the other, we succeeded in repulsing the enemy. Ever since you confiscated the Jageers of the Brahmins, thousands have been in distress and poverty. Promises were given that they should be restored at the capture of Kangrah; and orders to this effect, under the red seal, were addressed to me, and Nin Singh Thapa. We failed, however, in that object, and now there is universal discontent. You ought, therefore, to assemble all the Brahmins, and promise to restore them their lands and property, in the event of your conquering and expelling the English. By these means many thousand worthy Brahmins will put up their prayers for your prosperity, and the enemy will be driven forth. By the practice of charity, the territory acquired in four generations may be preserved; and, through the favour of God, our power and dominion may be still further extended. By the extension of territory, our military establishment may be maintained on its present footing, and even increased. The numerous countries which you propose to cede to the enemy yielded a revenue equal to the maintenance of an army of four thousand men, and Kangrah might have been captured. By the cession of these provinces, the reputation and splendour of your Court will no longer remain. By the capture of Kangrah, your name would have been rendered formidable; and, though that has not happened, a powerful impression has, nevertheless, been made on the people of the plains by the extension of your conquests to the Sutlej. To effect a reconciliation by the cession of the country to the west of the Jumna, would give rise to the idea that the Goorkhas were unable to oppose the English, would lower the dignity of your name in the plains, and cause a reduction of your army to

No. I.

the extent of four thousand men. The enemy will, moreover, require the possession of Bisahur, and after that the conquest of Gurhwal will be easy; nor will it be possible, in that case, for us to retain Kumaon, and with it we must lose Dotee, Acham, and Joomlah, whence he may be expected to penetrate even to Bheree. If the English once establish themselves firmly in possession of a part of the hills, we shall be unable to drive them out. The countries towards the Sutlej should be obstinately defended; the abandonment of the disputed tracts in the plains is a lesser evil: the possession of the former preserves to us the road to further conquest. You ought, therefore, to direct Gooroo Rungnath Pundit and Dulbunjun Pandeh to give up the disputed lands of Bootwul, Sheeoraj, and the twenty-two villages in the vicinity of Bareh, and thus, if possible, bring our differences to a termination. To this step I have no objections, and shall feel no animosity to those who may perform this service. I must, however, declare a decided hostility to such as, in bringing about a reconciliation with the English, consult only their own interest, and forget their duty to you. If they will not accept these terms, what have we to fear? The English attempted to take Bhurtpoor by storm; but the Raja Runjeet Singh destroyed a European regiment, and a battalion of sepoys. To the present day they have not ventured to meddle with Bhurtpoor again: whence it would seem that one fort has sufficed to check their progress. In the low country of Dhurma they established their authority; but the Raja overthrew their army, and captured all their artillery and stores, and now lives and continues in quiet possession of his dominions. Our proffers of peace and reconciliation will be interpreted as the result of fear; and it would be absurd to expect that the enemy will respect a treaty concluded under such circumstances. Therefore, let us confide our fortunes to our swords; and, by boldly opposing the enemy, compel him to remain within his own territory; — or, if he should continue to advance, stung with shame at the idea of retreating, after his immense preparations, we can then give up the lands in dispute, and adjust our differences. Such, however, is the fame and terror of our swords, that Buldhudur, with a force of six hundred men, defeated an army of three or four thousand English. His force consisted of the old Gourukh and Kurrukh companies, which were only partly composed of the inhabitants of our ancient kingdom, and of the people of the countries from Bheree to Gurhwal; and with these he de-

stroyed one battalion, and crippled and repulsed another. My army is similarly composed: nevertheless, all descriptions are eager to meet the enemy. In your quarter you are surrounded with the veterans of our army, and cannot apprehend desertion from them; — you have also an immense militia, and many Jageerdars, who will fight for their own honour and interests. Assembling the militia of the low land, and fighting in the plains, is impolitic: call them into the hills, and cut the enemy up by detail — (a passage here, the sense of which cannot be discovered). The enemy is proud, and flushed with success, and has reduced under his subjection all the western Zemindars, the Ranas, and Raja of Kuhlor, and the Thakooraen, and will keep peace with no one. However, my advice is nothing. I will direct Ram Doss to propose to General Ochterlony the abandonment, on our part, of the disputed lands, and will forward to you the answer which he may receive.' All the Ranas, Rajas, and Thakooraen, have joined the enemy, and I am surrounded: nevertheless, we shall fight and conquer, and all my officers have taken the same resolution. The Pundits have pronounced the month of Bysakh as particularly auspicious for the Goorkhas; and, by selecting a fortunate day, we shall surely conquer. I am desirous of engaging the enemy slowly and with caution, but cannot manage it, the English being always first to begin the fight. I hope, however, to be able to delay the battle till Bysakh (April, May), when I will choose a favourable opportunity to fight them. When we shall have driven the enemy from hence, either Runjoor or myself, according to your wishes, will repair to your presence. In the present crisis, it is very advisable to write to the Emperor of China, and to the Lama of Lassa, and to the other Lamas; and, for this purpose, I beg leave to submit the enclosed draft of a letter to their address; any errors in it, I trust, will be forgiven by you; and I earnestly recommend that you will lose no time in sending a petition to the Emperor of China, and a letter to the Lama. No. I.

II.

PAGE 57.

Proposed Petition to the Emperor of China by the Raja of Nepal.

I yield obedience to the Emperor of China, and no one dare invade my dominions; or if any power has ventured to encroach No. II.

No. II.

on my territory, through your favour and protection I have been able to discomfit and expel them. Now, however, a powerful and inveterate enemy has attacked me; and, as I owe allegiance to you, I rely on obtaining your assistance and support. From Khanka to the Setlej for a thousand kos war is waging between us. Entertaining designs upon Bhote, the enemy endeavours to get possession of Nepal, and for these objects he has fomented a quarrel and declared war. Five or six great actions have been already fought; but, through the fortune and glory of your Imperial Majesty, I have succeeded in destroying about twenty thousand of the enemy; but his wealth and military resources are great, and he sustains the loss without receding a step. On the contrary, numerous reinforcements continue to arrive, and my country is invaded on all points. Though I might obtain a hundred thousand soldiers from the hills and plains, yet without pay they cannot be maintained; and though I have every desire to pay them, I have not the means. Without soldiers I cannot repel the enemy. Consider the Gorkhas as your tributaries; reflect that the English come to conquer Nepal and Bhote, and for these reasons be graciously pleased to assist us with a sum of money, that we may levy an army and drive forth the invaders. Or, if you are unwilling to assist us with subsidies, and prefer sending an army to our aid, it is well. The climate of Dharma (Bhután) is temperate, and you may safely send an army of two or three hundred thousand men by the route of Dharma into Bengal, spreading alarm and consternation among the Europeans as far as Calcutta. The enemy has subjugated all the Rajas of the plains, and usurped the throne of the King of Delhi, and therefore it is to be expected that these would all unite in expelling the Europeans from Hindustan. By such an event your name will be renowned throughout all Jambudwip (India); and wherever you may command, the whole of its inhabitants will be forward in your service. Should you think that the conquest of Nepal, and the forcible separation of the Gorkhas from their dependence on the Emperor of China, cannot materially affect your Majesty's interests, I beseech you to reflect, that without your aid I cannot repulse the English; that these are the people who have already subdued all India, and usurped the throne of Delhi; that with my army and resources I am quite unable to make head against them; and that the world will henceforth say, that the Emperor of China abandoned to their fate his tributaries and dependants. I acknowledge the su-

premacy of the Emperor of China above all the potentates on earth. The English, after obtaining possession of Nepal, will advance by the routes of Bhadrinath and Mansarowar, and also by that of Digarchi, for the purpose of conquering Lassa. I beg, therefore, that you will write an order to the English, directing them to withdraw their forces from the territory of the Gorkha State, which is tributary and dependent upon you, otherwise that you will send an army to our aid. I beseech you, however, to lose no time in sending assistance, whether in men or money that I may drive out the enemy and maintain possession of the mountains; otherwise he will, in a few years, be master of Lassa. No. II.

III.

PAGE 57.

From the three Governors at Arzung, named, first, Shee-Chan-Chun, principal Vizir: secondly, Shee-Taran: thirdly, Kho-Taran. Let this Letter be taken to the Officer commanding at Rungpur, who, after opening it and ascertaining its contents, will forward it to his master.

This is written by the enlightened Vizir of his Majesty the Emperor of China, and by the two Vizirs who are Hakims of this place, namely, Shee-Taran and Kho-Taran. These three, of whom one has lately arrived from the capital, from the presence of the Emperor, and the other two the Governors of Arzung, have agreed to write to the English gentlemen as follows:— No. III.

From a letter which was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans, it was understood that the English had demanded of the Raja of Gorkha, and of Dhama Shanga, a free passage to this quarter, declaring that they had no intention of attacking those chiefs, and that they only wanted a free passage to Lassa, when it would be seen what would happen. It was stated also, that the English proposed that the above-mentioned chiefs should pay to them the tribute which they now pay to China. A letter to the same effect was received from the Raja of Gorkha, addressed to the two Tarans at Lassa. The two Tarans of this place sent the original letter to the Emperor. The heart of his Imperial Majesty is as pure as the sun, and enlightened as the moon, and truth and falsehood are in all matters

No. III. apparent to him. Not relying on the Raja of Gorkha's letter, he, in order to ascertain the truth of the circumstances, sent from his own presence Shee-Chan-Chun with a royal army; that person accordingly will soon arrive with the army at Tingari, and will inquire into your proceedings.

Such absurd measures as those alluded to appear quite inconsistent with the usual wisdom of the English. It is probable that they never made the declaration imputed to them: if they did, it will not be well. On a former occasion, when Thron-Tan came here to make war against the Raja of Gorkha, a letter was received from the English, addressed to Thron-Tan, asking assistance. The hostile course which, according to the Raja of Gorkha, they have now adopted, is, therefore, beyond measure surprising. An answer should be sent as soon as possible to Tingari, stating whether or not the English have made the absurd propositions imputed to them to the Raja of Gorkha and Dhama Shanga. It is probable that they did not. If they did not, let them write a suitable explanation addressed to Shee-Chan-Chun, that he may make a corresponding communication to the Emperor, stating that the whole story is a falsehood of the Raja of Gorkha. Let the true state of the case be told, that it may be reported to the Emperor. The Emperor of China is just. Be it known to the English gentlemen that his Majesty of China is just and merciful. Send an answer as soon as possible.

Dated 23rd Jemadurs-sani, 1231. Hij. (23rd May, 1816).

IV.

PAGE 219.

Substance of a Mahratta Proclamation issued on the 11th February, 1818, by the Honourable Mr. Elphinstone, Sole Commissioner for the territories conquered from the Peshwa.

No. IV. From the time when Baji Rao ascended the Musnud, his country was a prey to faction and rebellion, and there was no efficient government to protect the people. At length Baji Rao was expelled from his dominions, and took refuge in Bassein, where he was dependent on the bounty of Kandi Rao Rastia. At this time he entered into alliance with the British Government, and was immediately restored to the full possession of his

authority; the tranquillity that has been enjoyed since that period is known to all ranks of men. At Baji Rao's restoration, the country was laid waste by war and famine, the people were reduced to misery, and the Government derived scarcely any revenue from its lands: since then, in spite of the farming system, and the exactions of Baji Rao's officers, the country has completely recovered, through the protection afforded it by the British Government, and Baji Rao has accumulated those treasures which he is now employing against his benefactors. The British Government not only protected the Peshwa's own possessions, but maintained his rights abroad. It could not, without injury to the rights of others, restore his authority over the Mahratta chiefs, which had expired long before its alliance with him; but it paid the greatest attention to satisfying his admissible demands, and succeeded, in spite of many difficulties, in adjusting some, and in putting others in a train of settlement. Among these were Baji Rao's claims on the Gaekwar. The British Government had prevailed on that prince to send his prime minister to Poona for the express purpose of settling those demands, and they were on the eve of adjustment with great profit to the Peshwa, when Gangadhar Sastri, the Gaekwar's Vakil, was murdered by Trimbakji Dainglia, the Peshwa's minister, while in actual attendance on his court, and during a solemn pilgrimage at Pundrapur. Strong suspicion rested on Baji Rao, who was accused by the voice of the whole country; but the British Government, unwilling to credit such charges against a prince and an ally, contented itself with demanding the punishment of Trimbakji. This was refused, until the British Government had marched an army to support its demands; yet it made no claim on the Peshwa for its expenses, and inflicted no punishment for his protection of a murderer: it simply required the surrender of the criminal, and, on Baji Rao's compliance, it restored him to the undiminished enjoyment of the benefits of the alliance. Notwithstanding this generosity, Baji Rao immediately commenced a new system of intrigues, and used every exertion to turn all the power of India against the British Government. At length he gave the signal of disturbances by fomenting an insurrection in his own dominions, and preparing to support the insurgents by open force. The British Government had then no remedy but to arm in turn. Its troops entered Baji Rao's territories at all points, and surrounded him in his capital before any of those with whom he had in-

No. IV.

trigued had time to stir. Baji Rao's life was now in the hands of the British Government; but that Government, moved by his professions of gratitude for past favours, and of entire dependence on its moderation, once more resolved to continue him on his throne, after imposing such terms upon him as might secure it from his future perfidy. The principal of these terms was a commutation of the contingent, which the Peshwa was bound to furnish, for money equal to the pay of a similar body of troops; and, on their being agreed to, the British Government restored Baji Rao to his friendship, and proceeded to settle the Pindaris, who had so long been the pests of the peaceable inhabitants of India, and of none more than the Peshwa's own subjects. Baji Rao affected to enter with zeal into an enterprize so worthy of a great government, and assembled a large army, on pretence of cordially assisting in the contest; but in the midst of all his professions he spared neither pains nor money to engage the powers of Hindustan to combine against the British; and no sooner had the British troops marched towards the haunts of the Pindaris than he seized the opportunity to commence war without a declaration, and without even an alleged ground of complaint. He attacked and burned the house of the British Resident, contrary to the laws of nations and the practice of India, plundered and seized on peaceable travellers, and put two British officers to an ignominious death. Baji Rao himself found the last transaction too barbarous to avow; but as the perpetrators are still unpunished, and retain their command in his army, the guilt remains with him. After the commencement of the war, Baji Rao threw off the mask regarding the murder of Gangadhar Sastri, and avowed his participation in the crime by uniting his cause with that of the murderer. By these acts of perfidy and violence, Baji Rao has compelled the British Government to drive him from his musnud, and to conquer his dominions. For this purpose a force is gone in pursuit of Baji Rao, which will allow him no rest; another is employed in taking his forts; a third has arrived by way of Ahmednagar, and a greater force than either is now entering Kandesh, under the personal command of his Excellency Sir Thomas Hislop; a force under General Munro is reducing the Carnatic, and a force from Bombay is taking the forts in the Konkan, and occupying that country, so that in a short time not a trace of Baji Rao will remain. The Raja of Sattara, who is now a prisoner in Baji Rao's hands, will be released, and placed at the head of an independent sovereignty

of such an extent as may maintain the Raja and his family in comfort and dignity. With this view the fort of Sattara has been taken, the Raja's flag has been set up in it, and his former ministers have been called into employment. Whatever country is assigned to the Raja will be administered by him, and he will be bound to establish a system of justice and order; the rest of the country will be held by the Honourable Company. The revenue will be collected for the Government, but all property, real or personal, will be secured; all wuttun and enam (hereditary lands), warshásan (annual stipends), and all religious and charitable establishments will be protected, and all religious sects will be tolerated and their customs maintained, as far as is just and reasonable. The farming system is abolished; officers shall be forthwith appointed to collect a regular and moderate revenue on the part of the British Government, to administer justice, and to encourage the cultivators of the soil. They will be authorized to allow of remissions in consideration of the circumstances of the times. All persons are prohibited from paying revenue to Baji Rao or his adherents, or assisting them in any shape. No deduction will be made from the revenue on account of any such payments. Wuttundars, and other holders of land, are required to quit the standard of Baji Rao, and return to their villages within two months from this time. The Zemindars will report the names of those who remain; and all who fail to appear at that time shall forfeit their lands, and shall be pursued without remission until they are entirely crushed. All persons, whether belonging to the enemy or otherwise, who may attempt to lay waste the country, or to plunder the roads, will be put to death wherever they are found. No IV.

V.

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NOTES FOUND AT ASIR-GERH.

1. *From Dowlat Rao to Jeswant Rao Lar.*

I send you the news: the Company and the Sirkar are friends, and have joined to annihilate the Pindaris and secure the roads. The Company have required Hindia and Hurda from the Sirkar, who replied "take them," and has written the necessary papers, No. V.

No. V. and has also written a chor-chiti (a note authorising the quitting of the fort) to you. I write you the information of what has passed; but do you be in readiness, and keep your people, so that your manhood may be known to all, and that no trick or deceit may be in your jurisdiction. Be careful: do not keep your family or children with you, but send them to your house, or to some place of safety, so that no person may be acquainted with their residence. Have no incumbrances about you. Be ready. What is decreed will take place. Keep your heart steady to me. There is no need to write much; you will understand everything from this.

2. (*Written in Sindhia's own handwriting.*)

Obey all orders that may come from Srimant (the Peshwa). Plead not that I have given no orders, but do exactly as Srimant may require you. Should you not do so, I shall be perjured. The people have written you from hence, so that you will know everything that is going on. Consider this note as equal to a thousand notes, and act accordingly.

VI.

PAGE 281.

Various properties and rights claimed by Raja Mulhar Rão Holkar in parts of Kandesh and the Dekhin, subject to the Peshwa as Desmukh, Head of a district, or as Patel, Head of a village.

1.

No. VI. DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN THE PERGANA OF CHANDORE, ETC.

A house in Chandore.

Several villages in Jagir.

Seven per cent. on the Government revenue of the village of Mutád.

A certain quantity of grain from sundry villages.

One rupee per village for the Desmukh and for his Gomashta or agent.

Three and a half per cent. on all money coined in the mint of Chandore.

No. VI.

The customs taken at the four towns of Chandore, Devgaon, Raichur, and Búri, during two months in each year

A sum levied from each village for the maintenance of a writer in attendance on the officers of the ruling power, on the part of the Desmukh.

Fees on all deeds conveying real property or vested rights, which require the Desmukh's signature.

A khelat, or dress of honour, by the revenue contractor or the jagirdar, on the settlement of the year's revenue accounts, also requiring the counter-signature of the Desmukh.

Various gardens, mango groves, and tanks, rent-free, in different villages and towns.

A fee, or present, from certain villages on the determination of their assessment, and its annual payment. A present from the same at the festival of the Dashara; and a present of one rupee from each, if visited by the Desmukh; and a similar fee on the appointment of a new Gomashta.

Right of free pasture in various places.

A present at marriages and births, where the villagers can afford it, however trifling.

Seven [illegible] of the Morago supplied by the village to the [illegible]

A full suit of clothes, value two hundred rupees, annually from the Customs of Chandore.

A certain quantity of sesamum and molasses from each village, on various occasions.

A portion of any fine imposed upon Bramans, as an expiation of offence against Caste.

2.

PATEL RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANAS OF NASIK, DHER, SANGAMNER, ETC.

A certain proportion of all crops when gathered.

An allotment of rent-free land in each village.

A piece of cloth from each family on occasion of a marriage.

A piece of cloth annually from each weaver's shop.

A betel nut daily from each grocer.

A blanket annually from each shepherd.

A proportion of sugar from every quantity manufactured.

A pair of shoes annually from each chumar, or worker in leather.

A handful of every sort of vegetables daily from the sellers.

A certain quantity of oil daily from the makers

No. VI. 3.

DESMUKH'S RIGHTS IN VARIOUS VILLAGES IN THE PERGANA OF GALNA.

Five per cent. per annum on the Government revenue.

Two rupees from the large, and one from the small villages per annum, for offerings to the Manes in the month Bhadon.

Two-thirds of a fourth of all customs and duties.

Money and food on occasion of marriages.

A share of the crops.

Half a seer of oil daily from every oil press.

A certain quantity of oil on the Desmukh's visiting a village.

Proportions of cane, molasses, and sugar from every field and mill.

Two seers of rice from every field.

A portion of the load of every Bunjara bullock that passes through the village.

A present of a rupee a-year from every village.

Two betel leaves from every load, and ten from each shop daily, and one betel nut daily from each grocer.

At fairs in the vicinity of a fort, a portion of [illegible] article—as a handful of grain from each load, or of [illegible] each basket: twenty-five mangoes from each cart [illegible] five canes from a similar load of sugar-cane, &c.

A set of horse-shoes annually from every smithy.

Two bundles of straw annually from each village.

Shoes, blankets, cloth as before mentioned.

A cart-load of firewood annually from each village.

Five mango-trees in every hundred.

A tax of five rupees a-year on eunuchs, and on vagrants with bears or wild animals.

Portions of meat and spirits daily from butchers and venders of spirituous liquor, and a skin and a half annually from each village.

Whatever platters (of leaves) or pots are required for devotional purposes must be supplied by the manufacturers, and free labour is expected from various castes, when required by the Desmukh.

Contributions, in money or kind, are also levied at the great Hindu festivals, the Dewali, Dasahara and Sankránt.

The whole of these, and of similar rights in other places, which were formerly valued at more than three lakhs of rupees annually, were valued in 1819 at little more than one, and of that the greater part was intercepted by the officers appointed to make the collections.

VII.

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Comparative Statement of the Revenues and Charges of British India in the Years 1813-14 *and* 1822-23.

No. VII.

1813-14.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Receipts	£11,172,000	5,297,000	759,000	17,228,000
Charges	7,135,000	4,893,000	1,589,000	13,617,000
Surplus Revenue				£3,611,000
Deduct Interest on Debt			£1,537,000	
Supplies to England			116,000	
				£1,653,000
Surplus in 1813-14				£1,958,000

1822-23.	Bengal.	Madras.	Bombay.	Total.
Receipts	£14,168,000	5,585,000	3,372,000	23,120,000
Charges	8,746,000	5,072,000	4,264,000	18,082,000
Surplus Revenue				£5,038,000
Deduct Interest				1,694,000
Surplus in 1823-4				£3,444,000

ITEMS OF AUGMENTED RECEIPT.

	Bengal.		Madras.		Bombay.	
	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.	1813-14.	1822-23.
Mint	60,000	80,000	16,000	21,000	6,000	2,000
Post-Office	45,000	61,000	20,000	25,000	6,000	11,000
Stamps	16,000	150,000	31,000	62,000	,,	17,000
Judicial	104,000	54,000	20,000	19,000	6,000	8,000
Customs	322,000	477,000	190,000	218,000	108,000	158,000
Land Reve.	3,928,000	4,448,000	893,000	877,000	37,000	130,000
Do. Ced^{d}. P.	2,271,000	2,411,000	,,	,,	206,000	360,000
Conquered	1,664,000	1,806,000	,,	,,	291,000	1,430,000
Nerbudda	,,	609,000	,,	,,	,,	,,
Salt	1,779,000	2,553,000	155,000	148,000	,,	,,
Opium	964,000	1,493,000	,,	,,	,,	1,158,000
Marine	31,000	33,724	9,000	8,000	40,000	21,000
Carnatic	,,	,,	1,131,000	1,464,000	,,	,,
Tanjore	,,	,,	436,000	459,000	,,	,,
Mysore	,,	,,	1,519,000	1,400,000	,,	,,
Nizam	,,	,,	685,000	669,000	,,	,,
Travancore	,,	,,	91,000	89,000	,,	,,
Cochin	,,	,,	32,000	23,000	,,	,,
Farms and Licences	,,	,,	62,000	100,000	53,000	74,000
Dutch Settlements	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,	,,

No. VII.

TOTAL INCREASE OF REVENUE.

1822-23	£23,120,000	
1813-14	17,228,000	
Increase	£5,892,000	
Of which the increase in Bengal was		£2,991,000
" " Madras		288,000
" " Bombay		2,613,000
		£5,892,000

Increase in Salt—Bengal	£774,000	
" Opium—Bengal	529,000	
	1,303,000	
" " Bombay	1,158,000	
	£2,461,000	

INCREASE ON LAND IN BENGAL.

Lower Provinces	£560,000	
Ceded ditto	140,000	
Conquered ditto	142,000	
		£842,000

Revenue from the terr[illegible]
Ditto from the Mahratt[illegible]

Repo[illegible]

B. *Comparison of Re[illegible]*
1813–14 *to* 1822–23.

	Revenue.	Charges and Interest.	Local Surplus.
1813-14	£17,228,000	£15,154,000	£1,958,000
1814-15	17,231,000	15,684,000	1,547,000
1815-16	17,168,000	16,665,000	503,814
1816-17	18,010,000	16,842,000	1,161,000
1817-18	18,305,000	17,597,000	708,000
1818-19	19,392,000	19,224,000	168,000
1819-20	19,172,000	18,981,000	191,000
1820-21	21,292,000	19,423 000	1,869,000
1821-22	21,753,000	19,488,000	2,265,000
1822-23	23,120,000	19,778,000	3,342,000

Comm. Comm. 1832. App. Finance, No. 4, Art. 1.

JACKSON

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